THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, IN FIVE BOOKS.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Kt.

The ELEVENTH EDITION, *printed from a Copy revis'd by* HIMSELF.

To which is PREFIX'D,

The LIFE of the AUTHOR,

NEWLY COMPIL'D,

From Materials more ample and authentick than have yet been publiſh'd;

By Mr. *OLDYS.*

Alſo his TRIAL, with ſome Additions:

TOGETHER WITH

A new and more copious INDEX *to the whole* WORK.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

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THE LIFE OF Sir WALTER RALEGH.

By WILLIAM OLDYS, *Gent.*

LIFE

THE LIFE OF Sir *WALTER RALEGH.*

EXPERIENCE, and her records, have ſometimes manifeſted to us, That as men, renowned for glorious exploits, abound more in ſome ages than others, according to the genius of the times, or general taſte and purſuit of their contemporaries; ſo if a martial ſpirit ſpring up in the reign of an active and adventurous ſoveraign, he ſhall riſe into high repute, be much honoured and emulated: As, on the other ſide, if it is his fortune to live under a prince of a contrary character, his unfaſhionable virtue, unleſs it be of a ſupple nature, and can mould itſelf to occaſions, will become criminal; and his courage, of leſs ſecurity than cowardiſe.

THE WORTHY, of whoſe life and fortunes I have been perſuaded to attempt a rehearſal, will appear, in the following narrative, a convincing evidence of this obſervation. And what renders his ſtory more remarkable is, that tho' he gave ſuch repeated proofs of a ſuperior conduct, in ſo many important ſtations and characters of life; tho' he was not only maſter of all the accompliſhments requiſite to *defend* a ſtate in war, but to *adorn* it in peace; and did render himſelf illuſtrious, as well by *letters* in the latter, as he had done by *arms* in the former condition; yet that a warlike reign was of greater *ſafety* to him, and a peaceful one prov'd his *deſtruction*. I ſhall not anticipate the cauſes, but only premiſe thus much; That whoever can attend to the repreſentation of a brave man wreſtling with adverſities, and riſing higher in the notice and admiration of the world, the more violently he was oppos'd; whoever is any way concerned to know the effects of thoſe prepoſſeſſions which diffident princes may entertain, and the proſtitutions to which their ſordid inſtruments may be won; or would be informed, what a pernicious foe in his country an inſinuating foreigner may be to thoſe natives who are its real friends; I may recommend him here; and venture to promiſe a proſpect inſtructive, entertaining, and full of variety.

FOR tho' abundance of ſolid particulars are naturally ſunk in the rapid current of time, while many leſs ſubſtantial are floating upon the ſurface, to the hand of every ordinary memorialiſt: And tho' ſome ſhining circumſtances, in the proſperous part of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s life, have been darken'd through envy; as others, in the unfortunate period, through intereſt, by the age in which he lived; nevertheleſs, his ſingle life may perhaps be found more fruitful of memorable incidents, than many hiſtories of intire ages: Inſomuch, as I may be apprehenſive, with a late collector of his memoirs, " That the deſcribing a perſon of ſo " diffuſive a praiſe, ſo equally great in ſo many different parts of life, will be like at- " tempting a landskip from a high hill, where the multiplicity and extent of the proſpects

" may

" may rather diſtract the mind, than direct it; and call for judgment to reſtrain the fancy, " which is apt to run *riot*, when employ'd upon too many objects." Many guides may indeed appear to lead us through this wilderneſs; but, numerous as the authors are who mention him, they contain but fragments of his ſtory; divers whereof, hitherto widely diſpers'd, have eſcap'd not only our general hiſtorians, but the many compilers of diſtinct pieces on his actions. Even the moderns, who have treated of him with impartiality, have yet been deficient in point of induſtry, ſo as to prove no leſs injurious to his merits, than ſome who in his own age conſpir'd to depreciate them. Hence the generality, having been too ſuperficial and undigeſted; having neither regarded due choice and order of matter, proportion in the parts, or connexion of the whole; nor yet diſcharged themſelves by ſuch references to proper vouchers, as might ſatisfy thoſe readers it is my ambition to pleaſe; I have eſteemed the number of ſuch writers, no diſcouragement to the revival of his ſtory.

And firſt for the name of *Ralegh*, otherwiſe written *Rale* and *Ralega*, in ſome old deeds I have formerly ſeen;[a] it is certainly of great antiquity in this kingdom; ſince there are ſome villages and towns in the weſt, as well as other parts, ſo call'd,[b] which might at firſt receive their denomination from ſome, as well as afterwards give it to others, who were natives or poſſeſſors thereof. And ſince we are credibly inform'd, that one of thoſe diſtricts belonged anciently to noble lords of the ſame name,[c] as alſo that ſeveral of them were ſo call'd from the very family we are to ſpeak of:[d] And as the *Raleghs* of *Devonſhire* will appear to have flouriſhed there before the conqueſt; they might be the progenitors of thoſe in other counties; as it is expreſly intimated out of the records they were of thoſe in *Warwickſhire*.[e] But as we are alſo told of no leſs than five knights of this name, at one time differently ſituated in that weſtern county before-mention'd;[f] and that there were three great families ſo named alſo there, contemporary with Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s, who bore arms different from thoſe of his paternal coat;[g] we may conclude, they were not all of one lineage; and at the ſame time, that it is owing to the eminency of this great man, that a diſtinction of the ſeveral houſes, and his in particular, when all but his were in a manner extinct, has been ſo elaborately endeavoured by the antiquaries and genealogiſts of his own time.

As to the family of Sir *Walter Ralegh* therefore in particular, it is generally agreed on, that *Smalridge* in the pariſh of *Axminſter*, in the county of *Devon*, was one of their moſt ancient ſeats. But Sir *William Pole*, who is ſaid to have been one of the greateſt ſearchers into the antiquities of that country, has been ſingularly ſhort in the time of their firſt ſettling there. However, if we ſhould agree with him upon that perſon for Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s direct anceſtor, who firſt removed thither out of *Nettlecomb-Ralegh* in *Somerſetſhire*, in the reign of king *Henry* III, from whom there is a ſucceſſive deſcent of thoſe ſix knights, Sir *Wimond*,[h] Sir *Hugh*, Sir *John*, Sir *Peter*, and two Sir *Johns* more; beſides others, who were either of the ſame degree themſelves, or married into families diſtinguiſh'd with it, even down to *Wimond* the grandfather of Sir *Walter Ralegh*:[i] I know not but it may be alſo allowed, that the honours of this pedigree were ſufficient to have been boaſted of by ſome of his traducers. For tho', in the eye of heraldry, many titles are accounted more noble than knighthood; tho' native and patrimonial dignities, or ſuch as deſcend neceſſarily from father to ſon, may in the eye of the common lineal claimant appear moſt legitimate; and ſuch as are venal, be eſteemed in that of the wealthy, moſt valuable; yet thoſe which are perſonal, the individual acquiſition, or recompence of every man's proper merit, will, in the eye of reaſon, be held moſt honourable.

[a] Among the numerous collections of *Richard Gaſcoigne*, Eſq; a ſkilful and famous antiquary in the middle of the laſt century.

[b] *Ralegh* in the pariſh of *Pilton*, near *Barnſtaple*; *Street-Ralegh*, in the pariſh of *Aileſbeer*, eight miles eaſt of *Exeter*; *Comb-Ralegh* near *Honiton*; alſo *Widdycomb-Ralegh*, and *Coliton-Ralegh*, all in *Devonſhire*: Beſides *Nettlecomb-Ralegh* in *Somerſetſhire*; *Ralegh* in *Eſſex*, a market-town, thought to be the ſame called *Raganeia* in Dooms-day-book, *&c.*

[c] *Camden*'s *Britannia* in *Devon*.

[d] *John Prince*'s *Worthies* of *Devon*, fol. 1701. p. 531.

[e] *Dugdale*'s *Antiquities* of *Warwickſhire*, fol. 1656. p. 412.

[f] *Prince*'s *Worthies*, fol. 517. [g] *Ibid.* fol. 516.

[h] In a viſitation-book, made *anno* 1623, of the counties of *Wilts*, *Dorſet* and *Somerſet*, among the MS. collections of *Brown Willis* Eſq; of *Whaddon-Hall* in *Bucks*, there is a pedigree of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s family from the reign of king *John*; with a copy whereof that worthy antiquary having obliged me, I find this *Wymond*, in the time of king *Henry* III, is therein called lord of *Coliton* and *Nettlecomb*: So it may ſeem, the eſtate in *Somerſetſhire* was of later acceſſion to the family, and that in *Devonſhire* the more ancient ſeat; or that the removal was made rather to the former, than the latter country.

[i] *Prince*, fol. 530.

But

But however grateful it may ſeem in that author, who has characteris'd the aforeſaid Sir *William Pole*, as the firſt and beſt antiquary of his county;[a] though none of his works were ever printed, or perhaps now remain ſufficient to prove him ſo to the public;[b] yet we are at liberty to obſerve, that *John Hooker*, another famous antiquary and hiſtorian of the ſame county, appears to have been his ſenior;[c] whoſe actual publications, ſeveral years before Sir *William Pole* is ſaid to have privately apply'd himſelf to theſe ſtudies, had eſtabliſh'd his character, through the applauſes of the beſt judges in his own time;[d] and who, with reſpect to Sir *Walter Ralegh* in particular, being related to, and acquainted with him, had not only the greateſt opportunities to be expert in his genealogy, but withal publicly addreſſing an account thereof to Sir *Walter* himſelf, when this knight was in the very meridian of envy and detraction, had the greateſt obligations upon him to be ſtrictly accurate in diſplaying it. Now this author, in one of his performances, gives us to underſtand; that *Smalridge* was in the poſſeſſion of the *Raleghs* before the *Norman* conqueſt; and that one of the family, being taken priſoner by the *Gauls*, did, for his deliverance upon St. *Leonard*'s day, build, at his return home, a chapel there, conſecrated to that ſaint; and therein, as a grateful monument, hung up his target:[e] the records of which foundation are ſaid to have been given by a prieſt of *Axminſter* to Sir *Walter Ralegh*,[f] as their moſt rightful owner. So much for the antiquity of the family in *Devonſhire*: and as for its derivation, the ſaid *Hooker*, even in a printed dedication to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as I hinted (which he repeatedly confirms in the aforeſaid performance) not only avouches his alliance to the *Courtenays*, earls of *Devon*, and other illuſtrious houſes; but traces the ſtream of conſanguinity up to the kings of *England*: where he ſays, "That one of "his anceſtors in the directeſt line, Sir *John de Ralegh* of *Fardel* (another ſeat of their ancient "inheritance in the pariſh of *Cornwood*, eight miles eaſt of *Plymouth*) eſpouſed the daughter "of Sir *Roger D'Amerei*, who married *Elizabeth* daughter of *Gilbert* earl of *Glouceſter*, by "*Joan D'Acres*, daughter of king *Edward* I. which *Gilbert* was deſcended of *Robert* earl of "*Glouceſter*, ſon of king *Henry* I." So goes up to the conqueror: and farther adds, "That "in like manner he may be derived by his mother alſo out of the ſame houſe."[g] But ſince theſe two authors, the likelieſt we have in print to have confirm'd us in the truth of this matter, vary thus from each other; ſince Sir *William Pole* thought it rather another family of the *Raleghs*, which was thus royally deſcended; ſince alſo five or ſix ancient pedigrees of this family, which I have ſeen in manuſcript, by the heraldical viſitors, and antiquaries of thoſe weſtern parts, alſo differ, not only from *Hooker*, but in ſeveral points both from Sir *William Pole*, and from one another; and laſtly, ſince it will be conſider'd, that I have not undertaken to account for the whole race of the *Raleghs*, but only one ſelect perſon of the name, here let the truth, as to theſe remote anceſtors or alliances, hover for me: for I am not moved, on the wings of conjecture, to make my ſelf a party with any of thoſe antiquaries, nor ſhall endeavour to compremiſe the difference between them, unleſs ſuch prevailing authorities had occurr'd, as would enable me to do it with certainty. Beſides, as thoſe whoſe virtues have adorned them with a ſufficiency of *perſonal* honours, are ever leaſt anxious about ſuch as are *relative*: ſo it might well argue but little *weight* in the judgment of a hiſtorian, to ſhew himſelf contentious

[a] The ſame *John Prince*, fol. 506, who was honour'd by the deſcendants of Sir *W. Pole* with the peruſal of what remain'd in his time of that knight's collections; as his anceſtor had been by Sir *William* himſelf, with an office which he held under him. *Ib.* fol. 505.

[b] Many of Sir *William*'s MSS miſcarried in the civil wars ſo effectually, that the very titles and arguments of them are likewiſe periſhed, as *Prince* tells us in the ſame page; and thoſe four or five volumes this author appears to have had ſome view of, having been ſince lent about, are thought, and have been reported by ſome of the family, to be now alſo irretrievably loſt. See the *Engliſh baronets*, 12mo. 1728. vol. 1. p. 323. Yet I have been told by a perſon of great honour and knowledge in curioſities of this kind, that he had heard one volume of thoſe collections, if not more, is ſomewhere in being.

[c] Sir *William Pole*, who was high ſheriff of *Devonſhire*, and honour'd by king *James* with knighthood in 1606, when *Ralegh* was in diſcredit with him, ſeems to have been a writer chiefly in his reign; for though he might apply himſelf twenty years to theſe ſtudies, according to *Prince*, fol. 506. we yet find one of his largeſt volumes written *Ann.* 1616, in the ſame page. But Mr. *Hooker*, who was the firſt chamberlain of *Exeter* about 1554, and twice member of parliament for that city, as we find in the *Notitia Parliamentaria*, by *Brown Willis* Eſq; vol. 2. 1716. p. 272; as alſo for *Athenry* in *Ireland* about 1570, as I find by his own words; did actually ſet forth in print his tracts about the government of *Exeter*, and biſhops of that *ſee*; beſides his augmentations of the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* chronicles, with other pieces, before, or by the year 1587; and, having lived to near eighty years, died in 1601, according to *Anthony Wood*, and my ſaid author *Prince*, in his life; though the former of them quotes from *Hooker*'s own words, that he was living in 1605 (if 'tis not a miſtake of the preſs) and the latter has made no boggle at the blunder.

[d] As biſhop *Godwin*, *Richard Carew* Eſq; the *Corniſh* antiquary, and Mr. *Camden*, whoſe words in one place are, *Vir eruditus, & de antiquitatis ſtudio optimè meritus D. Joannes Hookerus*. Britan. 8vo. *Franc.* 1616. p. 138.

[e] *Hooker*'s *Synopſis Chronographical*: or hiſtorical record of *Devonſhire*, a MS, as quoted by *Prince*, fol. 530. A copy whereof, in this author's time, was in the cuſtody of Mr. *John Eaſtchurch* of *Wood* in that county; ſtill extant, as I have heard in thoſe parts; and pity it is, that it has not yet ſeen the publick light; ſince above a hundred years ago, it was reviſ'd by ſo able a judge of its worth as Sir *John Dodderidge*, and had his recommendation to the preſs.

[f] *Triſtram Riſdon*'s deſcription of *Devon*, in *Axminſter*.

[g] *Hooker*'s epiſtle dedicatory to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, before his tranſlation and continuation of the chronicles of *Ireland*, printed in *Hollinſhed*, vol. 2. 1587.

about theſe *feathers* for his worthy; eſpecially ſuch a one, as ſhall be found to have thought ſo juſtly *light* of them himſelf.

HOWEVER, as all accounts allow him a very honourable extract; let us prefer which we pleaſe, the freedom ſome great courtiers took in calling him *Jack* and *Upſtart*, upon his advancement to queen *Elizabeth*'s favour, is thought to have ſomewhat reflected rather on themſelves; in ſuffering their ſprightly parts to take ſuch advantage of their noble principles. One of theſe ſarcaſms I find recorded by lord *Bacon*, in his little book of *Apophthegms*,[a] where he ſays, "That when queen *Elizabeth* had advanced *Ralegh*, ſhe was one day playing on the virginals, "and my lord of *Oxford* with another nobleman ſtood by; when it happen'd that the ledge "before the jacks was taken away, ſo that they were ſeen; whereupon that lord and the other "nobleman ſmil'd and whiſper'd a little: the queen mark'd it, and would needs know, *what* "*was the matter?* His lordſhip anſwer'd, *They laugh'd to ſee, that when* jacks *went up*, heads "*went down.*" Though the application of this reflection particularly to *Ralegh*, if ſuch was made, is diſputable, notwithſtanding lord *Bacon*'s alluſion, yet it is plain, that Sir *Robert Naunton*, who was ſecretary of ſtate at the time of *Ralegh*'s death, and whoſe *obſervations* on that queen's *favourites* were written, though not printed, before thoſe *Apophthegms*, thought alſo, that it was made upon *Ralegh*: for he has ſaid, with relation to this jeſt by that witty earl, "We all know it ſavours more of emulation and his humour, than of truth; it being a certain "note of the times, that the queen, in her choice, never took into her favour a mere new man, "or a mechanick."[b] But it is believ'd, Sir *Walter Ralegh* himſelf was afterwards pretty even with his *quality-critics*; where he ſo ſolidly expoſes the emptineſs of merit, nay, the real detriment to it, in poſterity's being entitled to the rewards of their anceſtor's virtues, by *hereditary* honours; ſucceſſion of *blood*; and nobility in *parchment*: *thoſe only being truly* noble, *who by worthy acts have render'd themſelves moſt* notable.[c]

His parentage.

ALL therefore that needs be added on this head, as a matter more immediately requiſite, and indeed ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe, is, That Sir *Walter Ralegh* was the ſon of *Walter Ralegh* Eſq; of *Fardel* aforeſaid; who being thrice married, had by his firſt wife *Joan*, daughter of *John Drake* of *Exmouth* in *Devon* Eſq; two ſons, one named *George*, and the other *John*; which laſt married *Anne* the daughter of Sir *Bartholomew Forteſcue* of *Filley* in *Devon*, and relict of ----- *Gaicrick* of *Ford*; and they had iſſue. His *ſecond* wife was daughter of one *Darell* of *London*; by whom he had a daughter named *Mary*,[d] who was married to *Hugh Snedale* of *Hilling* in *Cornwall* Eſq; and had iſſue:[e] his *third* wife was *Catherine* daughter of Sir *Philip Champernon* of *Modbury*, and relict of *Otho Gilbert* of *Compton* in *Devon* Eſq; He had by this laſt *Venter*, his third ſon, *Carew*, afterwards knighted, and of *Wiltſhire*, who married *Dorothy* daughter of Sir *William Wroughton*, and relict of Sir *John Thynn*; by whom he had iſſue; and laſtly, his fourth ſon, named *Walter*, the ſubject of our enſuing diſcourſe; who was thereby the *uterine* brother of thoſe three eminent knights, Sir *John*, Sir *Humphrey*, and Sir *Adrian Gilbert*. By this laſt wife, Mr. *Ralegh* had alſo one daughter, named *Margaret*; who was married firſt to ---- *Radford* of *Mount Radford* in *Devon*, clerk of the peace; and afterwards to ---- *Hull* of *Larkebere* Eſq; in St. *Leonard*'s pariſh, *Exeter*.[f]

THE family was indeed at this time much declin'd from its former ſplendor of fame and affluence of fortune: for the eſtate of *Smalridge*, which remain'd in the name of *Ralegh* to the time of *king* Henry VIII, was then ſold, by Sir *Walter*'s grandfather *Wimond*, to *John* the father of Sir *John Gilbert* of *Compton*; but I cannot find it reduc'd to that low ebb, in the latter reſpect, which ſome have intimated: for *Fardel* remain'd ſtill in their poſſeſſion; which, after the death of Sir *Walter*'s father, fell to the eldeſt ſon *George*; and there were beſides,

[a] I mean the only genuine and uncorrupted edition of them, publiſhed by the author himſelf, in ſmall 8vo, 1625. 'Tis the firſt *Apophthegm* in the book.

[b] Sir *Robert Naunton*'s *Fragmenta Regalia*, 4to. 1642, in his character of Sir *W. Ralegh*, p. 28.

[c] *Hinc dictus nobilis, quaſi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* See Sir *W. Ralegh*'s hiſtory of the world, lib. 1. c. 9. ſect. 4.

[d] The viſitation of *Devonſhire*, *Ann.* 1564, by *William Hervy* Eſq; *Clarencieux*, a MS. in the heralds-office.

[e] Among the errors of the clerk or tranſcriber of this *viſitation*, in the paragraph concerning Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s father (too obvious and minute to be here taken notice of) that aſſertion of this daughter's having no iſſue ſhould not be deem'd one; that book being written probably before ſhe was married.

[f] Though Sir *W. Pole*, in *Prince*'s *Worthies*, fol. 530, mentions Sir *W. Ralegh*'s father to have been but twice married, omitting his ſecond wife, and alſo his daughters by her, and his third; yet as one or both of thoſe daughters will hereafter occur, proving him manifeſtly defective in that omiſſion, I have thought it moſt reaſonable to follow ſome other antiquaries of thoſe parts and times, who concur in his marriages and iſſue as they are here diſplay'd. And for this intelligence, the publick is principally obliged to the incomparable *Harleyan* library; its noble owner having honour'd me with the permiſſion of collecting it from the pedigrees of the *Devonſhire* gentry, an original MS. by *Tho. Weſtcot*, recorder of *Totneſs*, fol. *ſign.* 99, C. 16. *pag.* 59; and of collating it with *Richard Munday*'s MS. coll. of pedigrees, fol. *ſign.* 90. A. 10. *pag.* 53; and with the viſitation of *Devonſhire*, by *Hen. St. George* Eſq; *Richmond*-herald, and *Sampſon Lennard*, blue-mantle, deputies for *W. Camden* Eſq; *Clarencieux*, *Ann.* 1620, fol. *ſig.* 64. B. 14. *pag.* 366. But ſome of the pedigrees in theſe books, and others I have ſeen of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s family, might perhaps be improved, at leaſt with relation to the more ancient branches; that is to ſay, from king *Henry* II. down to king *Henry* VIII's reign, out of the valuable old deeds and evidences which remain in the cuſtody of Sir *John Trevelyan* of *Nettlecomb* in *Somerſetſhire*, Bart.

Widdycomb-

Widdycomb-Ralegh, and *Coliton-Ralegh* in their poſſeſſion; the former of which was ſold, by Sir *Walter*'s elder brother Sir *Carew Ralegh*, to *George* the natural ſon of *George* aforeſaid; and the latter was ſold, by Sir *Walter* himſelf, to *Richard Martin*, or his father, of *Exeter*.[a] But neither of theſe places claim the honour of his birth.

Birth-place.

For his father having the remainder of a fourſcore-years leaſe, in a pleaſant farm call'd *Hayes*, ſituate in the pariſh of *Budley*, in that part of *Devonſhire* bordering eaſtward upon the ſea, near where the *Ottery*, or river of *Otters*, diſcharges it ſelf into the *Britiſh* channel; and reſiding upon the ſaid farm during the time of his laſt marriage: this was the birth-place of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; and it is accordingly diſtinguiſh'd, as for nothing more remarkable, by topographical writers to this day. After the expiration of that leaſe, *Ralegh* apply'd, but unſucceſsfully, to Mr. *Duke* of *Otterton*, to whom the eſtate devolv'd, to ſell it him; as appears by *Ralegh*'s letter to him, wherein he ſays, "That for the natural diſpoſition he had to the place, being "born in that houſe, he had rather ſeat himſelf there, than any-where elſe."[b] From whence, it ſeems, that what ſome are, by another *Devonian* antiquary, ſaid to have reported, and himſelf appears only to have recorded; as if "Sir *Walter Ralegh* was born in the city of *Exeter*, and "in the houſe adjoining to the palace-gate,"[c] has no authority, and perhaps, had not ſo much as rumour to countenance it.

Born.

As to the time of his birth; I find the computation has been made from *Camden*'s account of his age at his death, that he was born in the year 1552. And herewith correſponds an obſervation I have found in an aſtrological author, who, fixing his birth in the ſixth year of king *Edward* VI, which anſwers to the year of our Lord aforeſaid, calls it "A year remarkable "in our chronicles; firſt, for that ſtrange ſhole of the largeſt ſea-fiſhes, which, quitting their "native waters for freſh and untaſted ſtreams, wandered up the *Thames* ſo high, till the river "no longer retained any brackiſhneſs; and ſecondly, for that it is thought to have been ſome-"what ſtain'd in our annals with the blood of the noble *Seymer*, duke of *Somerſet*: events "(ſays he) ſurpriſingly analogous both to the life of this adventurous voyager, Sir *Walter* "*Ralegh*, whoſe delight was in the hazardous diſcovery of unfrequented coaſts; and alſo to "his unfortunate death."[d]

Educated at *Oxford*.

That his younger years were ſeaſon'd at the univerſity of *Oxford*, we may gather from good authorities; as *Hooker* aforeſaid, lord *Bacon*, and *Anthony Wood*; which laſt ſays, "He "became commoner of *Oriel College*, in or about the year 1568, when his kinſman *C. Cham-*"*pernon* ſtudied there; and that his natural parts being ſtrangely advanced by academical "learning, under the care of an excellent tutor, he became the ornament of the juniors; and was "worthily eſteem'd a proficient in oratory and philoſophy"[e]. But in that he came ſo late thither as this author mentions, and ſtayed ſo long there as three years, which he afterwards mentions; and, as the biographical fry who follow have nibbled out of him, they are all miſtaken: for he will preſently appear two years before that time amounts to, in the wars abroad. What time then can we ſpare for his reſidence at *Chriſt-Church College* alſo, in that univerſity; whereof Dr. *Fuller* would needs have him a member, either before or after he was of *Oriel*;[f] unleſs we could find, as I fear we ſhall not, that he return'd from the ſchool of *Mars*, to that of the *Muſes*? Little more can we expect to have been obſerved of this more remote part of his life; and yet ſomething more in it has been preſerved by lord *Bacon* aforeſaid, who had the judgment to foreſee, that every little circumſtance would be acceptable of a man, whoſe fortunes and misfortunes had render'd him ſo memorable. And indeed it has been repreſented to me as a matter of no ſmall honour to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that a caſual expreſſion of his, in his immature and greeneſt years, ſhould prefer it ſelf to the commemoration of that great philoſopher, in his ſageſt and moſt advanc'd age. But as he had obſerv'd, on the *nature* of *things*; That great objects may be diſcern'd through a little crevice; ſo he knew, with reſpect to the *nature* of *men*, that a great diſcovery of genius may be made through a ſmall and ſudden repartee: and hence might he be moved to remember; "That while *Ralegh* was a ſcholar at *Oxford*, "there was a *cowardly* fellow, who happen'd to be a very good *archer*; but having been groſly "abuſed by another, he bemoaned himſelf to *Ralegh*, and aſk'd his advice; *What he ſhould do* "*to repair the wrong that had been offer'd him?* Ralegh *anſwer'd*, *Why*, challenge *him---at a* "*match of* ſhooting."[g]

[a] *Prince*'s *Worthies*, fol. 531.

[b] Dated from the court 26 *July* 1584, and quoted by *Anthony Wood* in *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 435.

[c] The antiquities of *Exeter*, by *Richard Izacke*, chamberlain of that city, 8vo. 1681, p. 147.

[d] Supplement to *G. Le Neve*'s collection of nativities MS. *penes me*, fol. 9.

[e] *Anthony Wood*'s *Athen. Oxon.* as before in Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s life.

[f] See Dr. *Tho. Fuller*'s church-hiſtory, fol. 1656, in his table of the learned writers of *Oriel College*, lib. 4. fol. 104; and alſo that of *Chriſt-Church*, lib. 5. ſect. 32.

[g] Lord *Bacon*'s Apophthegms new and old, 8vo. 1625. p. 292.

How

How long he continued at the univerſity, is at laſt rightly concluded by *Anthony Wood* to be uncertain; but as ſure as he thinks himſelf right in ſettling him a ſtudent of the municipal laws in the *Middle Temple*, upon ſeeing a copy of verſes he might write in that inn of court; I take this aſſertion to be a greater uncertainty than the other. For though Sir *Robert Naunton*, and poſſibly from him moſt other writers of *Ralegh*'s life, have alſo conſign'd him to the ſtudy of the law, on his leaving *Oxford*; there is a late author who believes it a miſtake ſo obvious, that no merit can reaſonably be aſſum'd from correcting it:[a] for Sir *Walter*, at his arraignment, in a reply to the attorney-general, lays a heavy imprecation upon himſelf, *If ever he read a word of law or ſtatutes, before he was a priſoner in the Tower.*[b] So that if this *Ralegh* was the author of that *poem* before-mention'd, and of the *Middle-Temple* in that year it was written, which we ſhall preſently arrive at, we muſt yet take care to keep the *lawyer* clear from the *templar*.

For we are expreſly told by *Hooker*, "That, after *Ralegh* had laid a good ground to "build his actions on at the univerſity, he travell'd into *France*;"[c] and this is confirm'd by *Camden*, according to whoſe account of the time, *Ralegh* could not be, at his departure, above ſeventeen years of age; and by the occaſion of his firſt going over, it will appear that a military courſe of life firſt fledg'd his fame. For as it has been rightly obſerv'd, *Ralegh* had the advantage of a ſtirring age to encourage and exerciſe his active genius, throughout the whole ſeries of his firſt engagements. *France* was now embroil'd in civil wars; *England* ſoon after, to divert a menaced danger from the encroaching power of *Spain*, lent aſſiſtance to the then diſtreſs'd and humble *States* of *Holland*; *Spain*, by a political repriſal, raiſed ſtubborn inſurrections in *Ireland*; and the *Pope*, to make the rebellion more permanent, and more plauſible, religiouſly pretended that kingdom was a perquiſite of St. *Peter*.[d]

But firſt of *France*: and here we need not recur to the original of thoſe commotions there; need not trace the *Hugonots* to their fountain-head;[e] apologiſe for their oppoſitions againſt the *Guiſards*;[f] labour to reconcile queen *Elizabeth*'s defence of another prince's oppreſſed ſubjects, to the laws of nations, when imminent danger, by ſuch oppreſſions, threatned her own;[g] nor, laſtly, aggravate her motives againſt *France* in particular, from their late violation of covenants, relating to the rendition of *Calais*:[h] theſe topics being to be ſought where they have already been, and it is more proper they ſhould be directly diſcuſſed. Sufficient therefore it will be, to obſerve in this place, out of *Camden*'s annals, that though the queen had her hands full of diſorders at home, yet ſhe was not wanting either in commiſeration or relief to the perſecuted proteſtants of *France*; and not only exhorted other princes of the ſame perſuaſion to lend their hands to the common cauſe, but ſupply'd the queen of *Navarre* with money and men to ſupport it; permitting *Henry Champernon*, a relation by marriage of the earl of *Montgomery*, to march with a ſelect troop of a hundred gentlemen voluntiers, well mounted and accoutred, into *France*; who bore in their ſtandard this motto: Finem det mihi Virtus: *Let valour decide the cauſe.* In the liſt of theſe voluntiers, was *Philip Butſhed*, with *Francis Barcley*, men afterwards of note in their time; and this *Walter Ralegh*, the moſt noted of all, then a very young man, and firſt beginning to puſh his fortune in the world; *admodum adoleſcens, jam primum ſatis monſtratus*, ſays our above-cited *annaliſt*.[i]

Goes to the wars in *France*.

The greateſt hiſtorian in *France* of thoſe times, tells us, this ſelect troop of horſe arrived in the *French* camp, on the 5th of *October* 1569, and that they were very honourably receiv'd by the queen of *Navarre* and the princes.[k] But what ſervices diſtinctly they perform'd in *France*, or how long they continued there, neither the writers of that country, nor of our own, have, I think, given full ſatisfaction. This conſequence we draw from ſome circumſtances in the latter part of *Ralegh*'s life, that he eſtabliſhed himſelf a conſiderable reputation while he was in that kingdom; and from our author *Hooker* aforeſaid, "That he ſpent good part of his youth "in wars and martial ſervices there:"[l] agreeable to which, is that paſſage in another author, who alſo ſeems to have known him; where, ſpeaking of his education, he adds; "It was not

[a] Mr. *Lewis Theobald*'s memoirs of Sir *W. Ralegh*, 8vo. 1719. p. 5.

[b] The trial of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, 8vo. 1719. p. 25; and in the *State Trials*, vol. 1. fol. 180.

[c] *Hooker*'s epiſt. dedic.

[d] *Theobald*'s memoirs of Sir *W. Ralegh*, p. 5.

[e] The original or derivation of the *Hugonots* is differently given by *French* authors. See the Sieur *Caſtelnau*'s memoirs of *Francis* II. and *Charles* IX. of *France*. lib. 2. cap. 7. And in *Eſtienne Paſquier*'s *Recherches de la France*, among his works. *Amſterd.* 1723. tom. 1. fol. 858, a whole chapter on the word *Huguenot*.

[f] See Sir *Jerom Bowes*'s tranſlat. of an apol. for the Chriſtians in *France* of the evangelical or reform'd religion, 8vo. *Lond.* 1579

[g] Hereof, beſides *Albericus Gentilis*, *De Jure Belli*; *Grotius*, and *Puffendorf*. See the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*'s diſcourſe of God's diſpoſing of kingdoms, 4to. 1691.

[h] Of theſe covenants, ſee at large in *Speed*'s chron. 2d edit. fol. 1163.

[i] *Annal. Reg. Eliz. Ann.* 1569.

[k] *Jac. Ang. Thuani hiſtoriarum ſui temporis.* tom. 2. fol. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601.

[l] *Hooker*'s epiſt. dedic. &c.

part

" part, but wholly gentleman, wholly ſoldier."[a] And hence may we not only account for the greateſt *chaſm* in all the memoirs which have hitherto appear'd of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s life; but alſo preſume, that he was here initiated in thoſe accompliſhments both civil and military, through the language and politeneſs of the people, as well as their warlike and miniſterial affairs, whereof he afterwards gave ſuch manifold proofs; and of which, in a period cluſter'd with ſuch extraordinary events, he muſt have here had ſuch an extenſive and inſtructive proſpect.

Some *French* hiſtorians tell us, that what with the ſupplies of queen *Elizabeth*, who ſent the *French* proteſtants a hundred thouſand angels, beſides ſome pieces of cannon and ammunition; and what with the aids of their other allies, the proteſtant army, which took the field under admiral *Coligny* and the prince of *Conde*, and encamp'd about *Limoſin*, this year of *Ralegh*'s going over, being in the beginning of their third civil war, amounted to no leſs than twenty-five thouſand fighting men; when the king's army under his brother the duke of *Anjou*, being encamp'd at *Rochlabeille*, amounted to above thirty thouſand.[b] But others reckon the proteſtant army of equal number; and obſerve, tho' their men and horſe died at *Limoſin* in great numbers for want of food and forage; and tho' a great reward was offer'd for the admiral, dead or alive, that it only added fuel to the fire: for what terror could it ſtrike, ſays my author, into perſons, who headed an army of thirty thouſand men, and ventur'd their lives with the utmoſt bravery on all occaſions?[c] As for the inſincere league or union of *France* and *England*, by the pretended marriage, which appears to have been negotiated two years after between the two crowns;[d] it ſeems not to have withdrawn theſe *Engliſh* auxiliaries, at leaſt not him along with them; becauſe *Ralegh*'s continuance in *France* would then fall ſhort of *Hooker*'s implication aforeſaid. But as we ſhall diſcover him to have been in that kingdom beyond the death of king *Charles* IX, which from *Ralegh*'s entrance thither is about five years; and that in this compaſs of time near thirty battles, ſieges, overthrows, treaties, and capitulations on one ſide or other may be enumerated; it is manifeſt that our young volunteer was hazardouſly engaged in ſome, if not ſeveral of them. He had afterwards occaſion to mention, upon his obſerving here, the ill conſequence of having commanders in equal power, whom it is almoſt impoſſible to chuſe of equal courage and diſcretion, " How well he re- " member'd, that when the prince of *Conde* was ſlain after the battel of *Jarnac*, the *proteſtants* " did greatly bewail his loſs, in reſpect to his religion, perſon, and birth: yet that comforting " themſelves, they thought it rather an advancement, than hinderance to their affairs; for (as " he judiciouſly proceeds to diſtinguiſh between the military virtues of this *prince*, and the *ad-* " *miral* aforeſaid) ſo much did the *valour* of the one out-reach the *adviſedneſs* of the other; " that whatſoever the *admiral* intended to *win*, by waiting the *advantage*; the *prince* adven- " tur'd to *loſe*, by being over-confident in his own *courage*."[e] In another place *Ralegh* ſpeaks of a ſtratagem which he and his company uſed with ſucceſs at *Languedoc*, where the enemy had fortify'd themſelves in certain caves which had but one narrow entrance cut in the mid-way of the high rocks, and " which (ſays he) we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine; till " at laſt, by certain bundles of lighted ſtraw let down by an iron chain with a weighty ſtone in the " midſt, thoſe that defended it were ſo ſmother'd, that they ſurrender'd themſelves, with their " plate, money, and other goods, therein hidden; or they muſt have died like bees that are " ſmoak'd out of their hives."[f] And in another place he gratefully takes notice of a deliverance he had in theſe wars. 'Tis where, reaſoning upon the manner and opportunities of retreats in battle (with that ſagacity and experience which are no ſtrangers in his writings) he firſt gives an example of its being leſs diſhonour to retire in the dark, than to be ruin'd in the light, in the ſentiment of *M. de la Noue*, upon the retreat made juſt before the battle of *Moncountour*. " For (ſays that *Frenchman*) ſtaying upon our reputation in *ſhew*, not to diſlodge by " *night*; we loſt our reputation *indeed*, in diſlodging by *day*; whereby we were forced to fight " upon our diſadvantage, and to our ruin: yet (ſays *Ralegh*) did that worthy gentleman " count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, brother to the late famous prince of *Orange*, make the retreat at " *Moncountour* with ſo great reſolution, as he ſaved one half of the *proteſtant* army, then " broken and diſbanded, of which my ſelf was an eye-witneſs, and was one of them who had " cauſe to thank him for it."[g] But by what means *Ralegh* eſcaped that comprehenſive de-

His character of the *French* generals.

Stratagem at *Languedoc*.

Deliverance at the battle of *Moncountour*.

[a] See Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ghoſt; or *England*'s forewarner, *&c. Utrecht*, printed by *John Schellem*, 4to. 1626. p. 15.

[b] *J. de Serres*, *Anno* 1569.

[c] *Mich. de Caſtelnau*'s memoirs, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 7, 8.

[d] Certain *articles*, *conſiderations*, *demands*, and *anſwers*, about the *league* between us and *France*, under the year 1571, are refer'd to in Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s *table-book*, or repertory of all his *ſtate-papers*, a MS in my poſſeſſion, written in 8vo. about the year 1588. p. 147. And theſe *articles*, *&c.* are mention'd there to be enter'd in his *diarium* of foreign matters, lib. A. pag. 25. As for the letters of the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors upon this occaſion, they were collected by Sir *Dudley Digges*, and printed under the title of the *compleat ambaſſador*, fol. 1655.

[e] See Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *hiſtory* of *the world*, lib. 5. cap. 2. ſect. 3.

[f] Ib. lib. 4. cap. 2. ſect. 16. [g] Ib. lib. 5. cap. 2. ſect. 8.

ſtruction which broke out in the third year of this turbulent period, unleſs with young *Sidney* (afterwards a knight of great renown for his own accompliſhments, and the patronage of other men's, then upon his travels in *France*) he took ſanctuary in the ambaſſador *Walſingham*'s houſe,[a] we deſpair at this diſtance of learning: for then the cruel and inſidious young *king* aforeſaid, inflam'd by the *queen mother*, and her firebrands of religion, perpetrated that horrible *maſſacre* of all the *proteſtants* in the capital city, and other parts of his realm; the invitation to which was the nuptials of his ſiſter; the ſignal to which was the bell they rung to their pious mattins; and in the execution whereof, among many thouſands, fell the great *admiral* aforeſaid, by the procurement of his implacable enemy the duke of *Guiſe*.[b] And though the comet, which ſoon after glar'd out of the face of heaven upon theſe bloody actors for many months together,[c] ſeems to have wrought little remorſe or contrition in them during life; yet is their untimely and violent end, with the extirpation of the very line of *Valois*, ſomewhat remarkable; eſpecially that of this king himſelf, whoſe early delight in hunting of wild beaſts, thus improved to the ſlaughter of his fellow-creatures; till in leſs than two years after that inhuman maſſacre, his inſatiable thirſt of his people's blood, was quenched by an irreſiſtible extravaſation of his own.[d]

Now that *Ralegh* was, till the death of that king, and even longer, in *France*, we may be fully convinc'd, from the further light I have fortunately met with, in an eminent author of his own time. For Mr. *Richard Hakluyt*, in his moſt excellent *collection* of *voyages*, dedicating his tranſlation of a *French* adventure therein to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, tells him, That "calling "to mind you had ſpent *more years* in *France* than I, and underſtand the *French* better than "my ſelf; I perceiv'd you approve my endeavour, not for any private eaſe, but for the ſpecial care "you had of thoſe to be employ'd in your own-like enterpriſe."[e] And how long *Hakluyt* had been in *France*, appears in his dedication to Sir *Francis Walſingham* of his firſt edition of thoſe voyages;[f] where he takes the occaſion to tell his patron, that *himſelf* had been *five years* in that kingdom: ſo that *Ralegh* muſt have been at leaſt ſix years there.

And this will lead us near the time we are to look for him in *London*, if we take for our guide in the chronology of *Ralegh*'s life, that copy of verſes before-mentioned which *Anthony Wood* took for his, in relation to *Ralegh*'s profeſſion. Theſe verſes I have found to be a commendatory poem of three ſtanza's, by *Walter Rawely* of the *Middle Temple*, as he is there written; and printed among others, before a ſatire call'd the *ſteele glaſs*, publiſhed in 1576, by a learned and ingenious poet of repute in thoſe days, named *George Gaſcoigne* Eſq;[g] an *Eſſexian* born, and therefore nearly related, as I take it, to that excellent genealogical antiquary of the ſame ſurname, who afterwards lived, and died I think, in *Yorkſhire*; and of whom I

[a] See *Digges*'s compleat ambaſſador, fol. 250.

[b] The maſſacre of *Paris* was begun on St. *Bartholomew*'s day 1572. And if between *Mezeray*'s eſtimate of the numbers that were butcher'd over *France*, which is one of the leaſt; and *Pereſixe*'s, which is one of the largeſt, we incline to the *medium*; we ſhall prefer the computation of *Natalis Comes*, who wrote earlier, and about the very time. He reckons them at *threeſcore thouſand*. And ſo inſatiable was the fury of theſe parricides, that they ſpared neither age, ſex, nor quality; *vel puberes, vel impuberes*, ſays he, *trucidati ſunt*; *neque ullius ſexûs, vel ætatis, vel dignitatis, habita eſt ratio*. vid. Hiſt. Nat. Com. lib. 23. p. 508. But yet Sir *W. Ralegh*, in one of his MS *diſcourſes* on the *marriage* between *England* and *Savoy*, hereafter more particularly ſpoken of, numbers them (not yet ſo high as ſome of their own hiſtorians) at no leſs than a hundred thouſand. And *Margaret*, queen of *Navarre*, confeſſes in her *memoirs*, liv. 1. That ſeveral of *her brother's friends fell as well as his enemies*, in the blind rage of this diffuſive and undiſtinguiſhing deſolation. Inſomuch that in contempt of all princely promiſes and proteſtations of amity, their hiſtorians were ſuffer'd to boaſt, *More hereticks had been deſtroy'd in that* one day, *than in all the* twelve years *of the war*. Well therefore did that deputy of the reformed religion, in his treaty for a peace with the *king* and *queen mother*, which they agreed to, inſiſt upon ſecurity for the preſervation of it: and when the *queen mother* ſaid, *Why, is not the word of a king ſufficient ſecurity?* Well did he anſwer; *No, by St.* Bartholomew, *Madam*. How much this flagrant exploit was gloried in over *France* and *Rome*, their *proceſſions*, *thankſgivings*, *medals*, and *jubilee*, will ſufficiently declare.

[c] This blazing ſtar, on which 30 different books were written, which had been read by *Tycho Brahe*, the noble *Dane*, before he compos'd his larger work thereon, firſt appear'd on the 9th of *November* 1572, in the form of a *lozenge* of four points, and continued immoveable nine months, ſays *De Serres*. Sir *Thomas Smith*, in a letter dated *December* 11. that year to Sir *F. Walſingham*, deſcribes it a fair comet without beard or tail, on the back-ſide of *Caſſiopeia*'s chair, and on the edge of *Lactea via*; that it was between the ſize of *Jupiter* and *Venus*, and had then appear'd three weeks in *England*. In another letter to *Walſingham*, he notes how much the *French* and *Engliſh* aſtronomers varied as to the placing this ſtar in the ſigns of the *Zodiac*. See Sir *Dudley Digges*'s compleat ambaſſador, fol. 299, and 316. But *Camden*, in his annals of queen *Elizabeth*, more particularly obſerves it to have ſhone brighter than the planet of *Jupiter* in the *perigee* of his *eccentric* and *epicycle*; that it continued in the ſame place full ſixteen months; though after eight months it viſibly diminiſhed. Mr. *Thomas Digges* and Dr. *John Dee*, two famous mathematicians of thoſe times, have learnedly proved by the doctrine of *Parallaxes*, that it was fixed in the *celeſtial*, not the *elementary* region; and that it diſappeared by aſcenſion. *Theodore Beza* very ingeniouſly apply'd it to the ſtar which appear'd at the ſlaughter of the *Innocents* under *Herod*. And queen *Elizabeth*'s gallant comportment at the ſight of it, from her window at *Richmond*, which ought not to have eſcaped her *annaliſt* aforeſaid, is preſerved by the earl of *Northampton*, in his learned *Defenſative againſt the poiſon of ſuppoſed prophecies*. 2d edit. fol. 1620. p. 77.

[d] That extraordinary eruption of blood carried off king *Charles* IX, on the 30th of *May* 1574, in the 24th year of his age. His ſucceſſor, *Henry* III, was ſtabb'd to death by a *Jacobin* frier, named *James Clement*, *Anno* 1589, in that very chamber where the council had been held for the fatal *Bartholomew*'s day; ſo made way for the houſe of *Bourbon*: and the duke of *Guiſe* was murder'd in the ſaid king's cabinet at *Blois*, about a year before. See the hiſtorians of *France*.

[e] *Hakluyt*'s voyages, *&c.* ſecond edit. tom 2. fol. 301.

[f] Printed in one vol. fol. 1589.

[g] This ſatire is printed in one of the ſaid *Gaſcoigne*'s collections of poems, called a *Hundred ſeveral flowers bound up in one ſmall* poeſy, 4to. without date; but ſet forth, I take it, the ſame year with that ſatyr.

have

have elſewhere more particularly ſpoken. Now though I have had the opportunity of ſeeing ſome original manuſcripts of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s writing, and his name written ſeveral times by his own hand, I ſhall not cavil at the *pſeudography* thereof before the ſaid printed copy of verſes; becauſe I could inſtance greater errors of the like nature, which yet have not excluded authors from the reputation of their compoſitions; but more eſpecially, becauſe there are ſome glimmering circumſtances which render the writing of that piece by this our author probable to me: as namely, a kind of familiar dependency which that *Gaſcoigne* had upon the lord *Gray* of *Wilton*; as in the dedication of this, and ſome other of his works, is evident; under which nobleman *Ralegh* will ſoon after appear to have ſerved in the wars of *Ireland*. Again, *Gaſcoigne* had led a life ſomewhat like *Ralegh* in foreign travel and military ſervices: then 'tis to be noted *Gaſcoigne* uſed the very *motto*, under his picture prefix'd to that ſatyr before-mention'd; which, after his death, is ſo well known to have been aſſumed by, or appropriated to, *Ralegh* himſelf; *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.* All which ſeem to ſhadow out the *links*, if not the perfect *chain*, of ſome acquaintance between them. But the poem it ſelf, to me, diſcovers, in the very firſt line of it, a great air of that ſolid axiomatical vein, which is obſervable in other productions of *Ralegh*'s muſe:

Sweet were the ſauce would pleaſe each kind of taſte.

And the whole middle *Hexaſtic*, is ſuch an indication of his own fortune or fate; ſuch a caution againſt that envy of ſuperior merit which he himſelf ever ſtruggled with; that it could proceed from no hand more properly than his own.

Though ſundry minds in ſundry ſort do deem;
Yet worthieſt wights yield praiſe to every pain:
But envious brains do nought, or light eſteem,
Such ſtately ſteps as they cannot attain:
For whoſo reaps renown *above the reſt,*
With heaps of hate *ſhall ſurely be oppreſs'd.*

Laſtly, As to the particular of his being at this time of the *Middle Temple*, all we can conclude of it is, ſince he has ſo publickly and ſolemnly proteſted he never ſtudied the law there; that it might be as cuſtomary in the inns of court then, as it is now, for a young gentleman to be with a friend, or have the uſe of his chambers while he is out of town, or even have chambers of his own, rather than be confin'd to the ſingularities of a family in lodgings, and never read a word of the law; much leſs have any purpoſe to practiſe it. And this is ſtrengthned by what I have met with both in ſome old writings, and ſome hiſtorians of thoſe times, which obſerve, that the *inmates* not only in private houſes, but thoſe who dwelt among the lawyers, and did not follow their profeſſion, grew ſo numerous and inconvenient, that there was an order or proclamation for their removal out of the inns of court about the latter end of queen *Elizabeth*'s, or the beginning of her ſucceſſor's reign.[a] In what ſenſe he might be of the *Middle Temple*.

His next ſtage of action was in the *Netherlands*, according to one of the writers of his life; who tells us he ſerved under the prince of *Orange*, as a volunteer againſt the *Spaniards*; making himſelf, in the *low-countries*, maſter of the art military; and confirming, through the ſucceſs of his firſt campaigns, his reſolution to advance himſelf by arms, as the nobler and readier way to glory.[b] Sir *Robert Naunton* alſo intimates, that before he was in *Ireland* under the lord *Grey*, he was engaged in the *Low-countries*, and alſo in a voyage at ſea.[c] Another author likewiſe agrees in this *Low-countries* ſervice, and voyage at ſea, before *Ralegh* was known at court.[d] But whereas the firſt of theſe two writers mentions an earlier expedition of *Ralegh*'s in *Ireland*, before this of the *Low-countries*, as his firſt expoſure to a military life, being ignorant of all the time he paſs'd in the *French* wars; and whereas the laſt fixes him in that firſt *Iriſh* expedition, under general *Norris*; I apprehend them to be herein both miſtaken; the former, in that *Ralegh* appears not to have been twice againſt the rebels in *Ireland*, nor once as his firſt engagement in war; and the latter, in that this *Norris* appears not to be in *Ireland*, when the courſe of *Ralegh*'s employments will allow him to have been in that kingdom: Goes to the *Netherlands*.

[a] Further; to confirm this conjecture of *Ralegh*'s being only an inmate there, I have been led to enquire after the *regiſters* of the *Middle Temple*, which are ſtill extant, of thoſe times; and upon a diligent ſearch, have ſatisfy'd my ſelf that there was no ſuch perſon *enter'd as a ſtudent of the law* in that inn, by the name of *Walter Ralegh*, or any name like it, either in this year that he wrote the aboveſaid *poem* from thence, or any other year before, up to the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign: though ſome of his countrymen, and I think relations, occur there in that ſpace of time.

[b] In lives *Engliſh* and foreign, 8vo. 1704. vol. 1. p 76.

[c] *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 28.

[d] *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, 8vo. 1650. p. 74.

But

But now that there is room for *Ralegh*'s being in the *Netherlands* we find general *Norris* to be there.

For the emperor *Charles*'s natural ſon *Don John* of *Auſtria*, a briſk, forward young man, fluſh'd with the late victorious battle of *Lepanto* againſt the *Turks*, and high in the Pope's favour; being ſent by his brother the king of *Spain* in the year 1577 governour of the *Low-countries*, to divert his mind from higher reaches at home; and having incurr'd the general odium of the ſtates for his tyranny over them, no leſs than the jealouſy of the *Engliſh*, for his treachery to this nation; queen *Elizabeth* thought the *Dutch* now more immediately needful of her notice; and more particularly from a diſcovery that had been made to her, ſome ſay, by the prince of *Orange*, of a vain project the ſaid *Don John* had form'd of reſcuing the queen of *Scots* out of priſon; and by marriage with her, or the force of arms, to dethrone the queen of *England*, and make himſelf maſter of her crown: for *Don John*'s *haughty conceit of himſelf*, ſays Ralegh, *overcame the greateſt difficulties, tho' his judgment was over-weak to manage the leaſt.*[a] Wherefore the queen not only receded from that peace with the *Spaniards*, and neutrality then in agitation; but ſent the *States* both men and money, as they had requeſted, to carry on the war more powerfully againſt them. Among the forces, both *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, which now poured over, under Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Robert Stewart*, colonel *John North*, *Henry Cavendiſh*, and others, not to forget colonel *Thomas Morgan*; whoſe veteran troops were the firſt perfect harquebuſiers of our nation, and the firſt who taught us to like the musket;[b] there is here, and here only, I think, a vacancy in the ſtory of *Ralegh*, that will admit of him under the firſt of thoſe commanders: ſo might he probably ſhare in the danger and honour of that memorable *Lammas* day, *Anno* 1578, which buried the reputation of *Don John*; which this governour did not two months ſurvive; and which has raiſed the emulation of pencils, as well as pens, to commemorate. For the ſtates having thus gather'd a powerful army, and planted themſelves near the village of *Rimenant*, about a league from *Mecklin*; *Don John*, at the head of, ſome ſay thirty thouſand men;[c] being aſſiſted by the prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the beſt commanders of *Spain*, now reſolved to give them battle. He made a furious onſet; but in the end, by a notable ſtratagem, was deluded to a great overthrow.[d] For perceiving, as he thought, the whole confederate army encamped before the ſaid village, in an open and inviting plain; *Don John*, too raſh to take advice, and too raw to prevail without it, precipitouſly detach'd a ſtronger force to encounter them; which ſo ſucceeded on both ſides, that the ſtates army, after a convenient reſiſtance, feigning a flight, quitted this their counterfeit camp; the *Spaniards* eagerly purſuing, in a ſcattered and diſorderly manner, to compleat their ſuppoſed victory; till, amaz'd, they found themſelves in the midſt of the fugitives true camp, environ'd with nineteen thouſand horſe and foot; a number conſiderably greater than the aſſailants. To extricate themſelves was impoſſible; there was a river on one ſide; when they attempted the thicket on the other, it was lined with an armed ambuſcade of *Engliſh* and *Scots*; and when they aſſaulted the trenches, they could not ſuſtain the fury of the artillery. Yet was the battle vigorouſly maintained from morning till night; tho' the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, harraſs'd by a long and weariſom march, came but a day, ſome ſay but an hour, to the field, before the encounter began: and yet partly thro' bravery, partly thro' the ſultry warmth of the weather; or, as one author has it, more ſenſible of a little heat of the ſun, than any cold fears of death,[e] they made themſelves further remarkable, by ſtripping off armour and cloaths, and fighting in their ſhirts; till at laſt, thoſe who had purſued the ſtates army in a pretended flight, were themſelves driven, with great ſlaughter, to a real one. And had count *Boſſu*, *La Noue*, with the reſt of the ſtates commanders, been but vigorous in charging the *Spaniards* upon this retreat, it would have proved an abſolute diſcomfiture, and might have put an end to all ſucceeding oppreſſions. But it was ſufficient to chaſtiſe *Don John* for the faithleſs treaties of peace wherewith he had abuſed the ſtates, upon his entrance into that government. "The fortune "of the day (ſays my laſt author) may be better aſcribed to the ſervice of the *Engliſh* and "*Scots*, by comparing this charge near *Rimenant*, where the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were in great "numbers, with the like charge given by *Don John*, half a year before at *Gemblours*, where "the ſucceſs was contrary; there being at that time but a handful of *Engliſh* and *Scots*, and "they put into confuſion by their own horſes."[f]

The battle of Rimenant.

Soon after, a proſpect preſented it ſelf for *Ralegh* to try his fortune in another element; for his brother Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, having now newly obtain'd a patent of the queen to plant

[a] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Hiſtory of the World in Pref.
[b] See Sir *Roger Williams*'s brief Diſcourſe of the *Spaniſh* diſcipline in war, 4to. 1590. Alſo his *Actions* of the *Low-countries*, 4to. 1618, p. 126.
[c] *Grimſtone*'s general Hiſtory of the *Netherlands*, Fol. 1609, p. 662.
[d] *Fam. Strada de Bel. Belg.* Anno 1578.
[e] Lord *Bacon*'s Diſcourſe of war.
[f] *Ibid.*

and

and inhabit ſome northern parts of *America*, unpoſſeſs'd by any prince with whom ſhe was in alliance, ſoon engaged *Ralegh*, upon his return into *England*, who was always ready to graſp at every occaſion, that might reputably advance his fortune or his knowledge, to embark in this adventure. For tho' the coaſts from the cape of *Florida* northwards to the iſles now called the *Newfoundlands*, had been before diſcovered by *John Cabot* the father, with *Sebaſtian* and *Sancius* his ſons,[a] both *Engliſhmen* born, through the authority and expence of king *Henry* the ſeventh; yet there wanted not only more inland reſearches and the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, but the very trade and commerce with *Newfoundland* was very ſlothfully neglected, even ſince the reign of king *Edward* VI;[b] for our merchants and adventurers in his time enrich'd this nation conſiderably from their fiſhery in thoſe parts, as appears by that act,[c] wherein care is taken to prevent the exaction of any doles or taxes from them by the officers of the admiralty, that they might not be diſcourag'd from the merchandiſe of fiſh, but tranſport it more plentifully into the realm, and at more reaſonable rates. Now *Gilbert* having, as I ſaid, procured an ample commiſſion to repoſſeſs theſe advantages with improvement, by piercing more effectually into the bowels of thoſe tracts which extend immenſely into the north from thirty, or rather twenty-five degrees of ſeptentrional latitude, many gentlemen of good account reſorted to him, among whom we ſhall find his brother *Ralegh* to be one; ſo that from theſe preparations was expected a potent fleet. Nevertheleſs, among ſuch variety of volunteers, diſpoſitions were various; which in the end bred diviſion, and even confuſion of the attempt: for, after the ſhipping was by degrees prepared, and the men ready to go aboard; ſome diſagreeing in opinion, ſome ſhrinking at obedience, and others failing of their promiſes and engagements; the greater number were diſperſed, leaving the general, with a few only of his aſſured friends. "However, with theſe he ventur'd to ſea; where, having taſted "of no leſs misfortune, he was ſhortly after driven to retire home with the loſs of a tall ſhip; "and more to his grief, of a valiant gentleman named *Miles Morgan*."[d] Now this misfortune at ſea, and loſs of a ſhip with that valiant gentleman, I have not only reaſon to believe was by a ſharp encounter they had with the *Spaniards*, however tenderly touch'd at that time, perhaps to avoid their triumph, by my author before referr'd to; but that *Ralegh* was in this very engagement, and his life in great danger thereby. For there is another author, who, in his *addreſs* to him before-mention'd, tells him, that after his return from his land-ſervices, having gained ſufficient knowledge and experience therein, "To the end that you might be every way "able to ſerve your prince and commonwealth (ſays he) you were deſirous to be acquainted "with *maritimal* affairs: then you, together with your brother Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, travel-"led the ſeas for the ſearch of ſuch countries as, if they had then been diſcover'd, infinite com-"modities in ſundry reſpects would have enſued; and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet "then accompanying you had, according to appointment followed you; or your ſelf had "eſcaped the dangerous *ſea-fight*, when many of your company was ſlain, and your ſhips "therewith alſo ſore batter'd and diſabled."[e] This unfortunate adventure cannot, I think, be confounded with that ſecond attempt upon *Newfoundland*, made afterwards by theſe two brothers, becauſe from this, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* never return'd, as we ſhall hear; beſides, the courſe of this voyage is ſo particularly recorded, that we may affirm no ſea-fight, or any ſuch deſertion of adventurers happen'd therein; and as we know how to account for a good part of *Ralegh*'s time, till that ſecond attempt was more notoriouſly made; ſo we may from thence, and the delays aforeſaid, be able to compute that this firſt, happen'd in 1579; for I have at laſt found the fleet was preparing, but not ſet out, in the latter end of the foregoing ſummer.[f]

In a dangerous ſea-fight.

[a] And perhaps before them, by *Madoc ap Owen Guyneth*, a *Britiſh* prince, who is ſaid in the *Welſh* chronicles to have tranſported himſelf and ſome colonies to theſe parts about the year 1170, where he named ſeveral of the places and productions after the language of his own country, which remain to this day; as the fruit called *Guyneth*, from his own name; and the bird call'd *Pengwin*, which is *Welſh* for *white-head*, whereof, from the abundance of the birds ſo marked, there is an iſland ſtill ſo call'd: and many other *Welſh* words they have in uſe. See Sir *George Peckham*'s report of the diſcovery and poſſeſſion of *Newfoundland* in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 173. And *Howel*'s letters, vol. 2. nº 54.

[b] And yet within four years before Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* obtain'd his patent, there reſorted to the coaſts of *Newfoundland* for fiſh about fifty ſail, of *Engliſh*, above a hundred ſail of *Spaniards* for cod, and thirty more from *Biſcay* for whale to make train-oil; about fifty ſail of *Portugueſe*; and about an hundred and fifty ſail of the *French* and *Bretaigns*. My author obſerves, that the trade our nation had then to *Iceland*, was the reaſon the *Engliſh* were not there in ſuch numbers as other nations. See *Ant. Parkhurſt*'s letter in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 132.

[c] *Ann. 2. Edwardi ſexti.*

[d] Captain *Edward Haies*'s report of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*'s voyage to *Newfoundland*, &c. in *Richard Hakluyt*'s collection of voyages, &c. of the *Engliſh* nation, tom. 3. printed *Lond.* 1600. p. 164.

[e] *Hooker*'s epiſtle dedicatory to Sir *Walter Ralegh* before his tranſlation, and continuation of the chronicles of *Ireland*, cited.

[f] There is an old dramatic performance (lately imparted to me by Mr. *Theobald*) entitled, *The hiſtory of* Promos *and* Caſſandra, written by *George Whetſtones*, Gent. who, in his dedication thereof to *W. Fleetewood* Eſq; recorder of *London*, expreſſes himſelf, "Reſolved to ac-"company that excellent captain Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, "in this honourable voyage: and concludes with his "prayers that God would preſerve him in it, 29 *July* "1578."

THIS ill ſucceſs kept not theſe adventurers long abroad; and now new diſturbances broke out which call'd for men of experience in war at home. For the firſt dart of any conſequence which was thrown from *Spain* or *Rome* upon *Ireland*, being in 1580, we ſhall then find *Ralegh* among that body of his countrymen which effectually broke its force, and ſhielded off the miſchief wherewith it would otherwiſe have gall'd that kingdom. For as to the invaſion of *Thomas Stucley*, two years before, it blew over into *Africa*; where that meteor of oſtentation, and tool of ambitious princes, fell in the plains of *Alcazar*, and with royal company expir'd. But now that *James Fitz-Morris* of the *Geraldine* family was come over,[a] and not long after *San Joſepho*, under the pope's banner, with *Spaniſh* and *Italian* forces, to aſſiſt the *Deſmonds* in the *Munſter* rebellion, and had landed in three ſhips at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*; where having built a fort which they call'd *Fort del Ore*, and re-fortify'd it with the benedictions of *Allen* an *Iriſh*, and *Sanders* an *Engliſh jeſuit*; the *Iriſh* rebels under Sir *James* and Sir *John*, brothers to the earl of *Deſmond*, ſoon reſorted thither to join, as the *Engliſh* forces alſo did to diſperſe them. Their ſhips were ſoon taken by *Thomas Courtenay*, a *Devonſhire* gentleman; and *Fitz-Morris* himſelf, for a prey he had made of ſome *garons* and other cattle, was by Sir *William Burk* and his ſons ſoon ſlain, and his quarters expos'd at *Kilmallock*. The next, whoſe fate drew on, was Sir *James Deſmond*; who, on the fourth of *Auguſt* in the above-mention'd year, having made an inroad upon *Muſkerry*, and taken a great booty from Sir *Cormac Mac Teige*, ſheriff of *Cork*; the ſaid ſheriff making head againſt him, recover'd the booty, wounded Sir *James* mortally, and took him priſoner. In that condition he was kept, till by letters from the lord juſtice named Sir *William Pelham*, and the council, he was deliver'd to Sir *Warham Sentleger*, then provoſt-marſhal of *Munſter*, and to captain *Ralegh*; and according to the commiſſion directed to them, he was examin'd, indicted, arraign'd; and then, upon judgment, drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd; and his head and limbs impal'd upon the city gates of *Cork*, for a terror to his aſſociates, and a prey for the fowls of the air. Thus the peſtilent *Hydra* of this rebellion loſt another of his heads:[b] and this is the firſt appearance we meet with of *Ralegh* in *Ireland*;[c] enough to ſhake the report of thoſe who ſay he was a *militia* there,[d] and had his firſt commiſſion from *Arthur* lord *Grey*, baron of *Wilton*; tho' indeed under him we ſhall find the greateſt part of *Ralegh*'s ſervices in this kingdom perform'd: for that lord came over deputy of *Ireland* on the twelfth of *Auguſt* aforeſaid; but the ſword was not reſign'd to him by the lord juſtice *Pelham* till a month after.[e]

A captain in the wars of *Ireland.*

THIS lord *Grey* was reputed a warm and ſanguine man, ſomewhat wanting among the *Iriſh*, perhaps in *Julius Agricola*'s qualification, who knew how to temper what was *neceſſary* in his government of the *Britons* with what was *agreeable:* for the *Engliſh* governor is thought to have been ſo zealous of a healthy conſtitution, as ſcarcely to refrain from ſcarifying the parts which were ſound, that he might be ſure of clearing away thoſe which were infected; and gave ſome proofs he agreed in the ſentiment of a ſucceeding deputy, *That the* Iriſh *were like* nettles, *ſure to make thoſe* ſmart *who* gently *handled them*; *but muſt be* cruſhed *to prevent* ſtinging. His firſt expedition againſt the *Obrines*, whom he is thought to have attack'd raſhly to his diſadvantage in their woods and faſtneſſes before he was ſworn, loſt him ſome credit, and ſeveral brave *Engliſh* officers. But the chief commander in theſe parts at this time was the earl of *Ormond*, ſoon after governor of *Munſter*, a man of ſuch loyalty, as to have reduc'd his rebellious brothers to allegiance; and of ſuch courage, as conſtantly partaking in every danger with his own ſoldiers, made him much beloved by all his adherents; while his apparent contempt thereby of that danger, gain'd him no leſs fear from all his adverſaries. He, on the other ſide, bending his courſe againſt the foreign enemy, encamped his army at *Tralegh*, within ken of the *Spaniſh* fort aforeſaid: hereupon many of thoſe invaders diſlodged, whom the earl valiantly engag'd, ſlaying ſome, and taking others priſoners; the reſt flew to the coverts of *Glaningell*. The priſoners he took, confeſs'd their force was not above ſeven hundred ſtrong; but that they had brought arms and ammunition for five thouſand natives, beſides a maſs of money for the *Deſmonds* and Dr. *Sanders*, and daily expected farther ſupplies from *Rome*; for it was abſolutely determin'd by the pope and king *Philip* to make a compleat conqueſt of *Ireland*, and *England* beſides; nay, ſo confident they ſeem'd of ſucceſs, if we can credit the aſſertion of an author who was this year in *Spain*, that his *holineſs* had provided a chalice to drink the queen of *Eng-*

[a] About the beginning of *July* 1579, ſays *Hooker*, in his ſupply of the *Iriſh* chron. fol. 154. And biſhop *Carleton*, in his thankful remembrance of God's mercy: being an hiſtorical collection of the deliverances in church and ſtate, from the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*, 4to. 1624. p. 38.

[b] The lord juſtice's letter to the queen, in commendation of this ſervice, dated 12 *Auguſt* 1580.

[c] *Hooker*'s ſupply of the *Iriſh* chronicles, in the 2d vol. of *Hollinſhed*, fol. 168.

[d] *Fragmenta Regalia.*

[e] Hiſtory of *Ireland*, by *Richard Cox* Eſq; 1689. fol. 366, *&c.*

land's

land's precious blood,[a] ſays he, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be made a ſacrifice. Now after the aforeſaid defeat, about three hundred of the enemy having made their way back to the fort, the earl followed them cloſe, and encamped at *Dingle:* but wanting ammunition for a battery, was forced to retire. And, finding himſelf of unequal force to withſtand another ſalley the *Spaniards* made, return'd to join the deputy at *Rakele*; who having now about eight hundred horſe and foot with him, under the conduct of captain *Ralegh*, *Zouch*, *Denny*, *Mackworth*, and others, decamped and marched up towards the fort. But *Ralegh*, who had obſerv'd it to be the cuſtom of the *Iriſh Kerns*, upon any diſlodgment of the *Engliſh* camp, to flock in parties thither, and glean away whatever they ſaw left behind; linger'd, and lay in ambuſh to receive them. They came accordingly with their wonted conſtancy and greedineſs; but in the midſt of their proling, *Ralegh* fell upon them ſo advantageouſly, that he enclos'd them all with his men, and took every rebel upon the ſpot, who was not ſlain in reſiſtance. Among them there was one laden with withies, who being demanded, *What he intended to have done with them?* Boldly anſwer'd, *To have hung up the* Engliſh *churls. Well*, ſaid *Ralegh*; *but they ſhall now ſerve for an* Iriſh *kern:* ſo commanded him to be immediately tuck'd up in one of his own neckbands; and dealt with the reſt of theſe robbers and murderers according to their deſerts.[b] We read of another *Iriſh* rebel, but of greater rank, named *Brian O Rourk*; who being afterwards to ſuffer at the gallows, ſhew'd great concern that it was to be by the common halter; and earneſtly petition'd, not for pardon or *preſervation* of his *life*, but that they would change the *inſtrument* of his *death*; and inſtead of a *rope*, to let him take his ſwing in a *withy:* but being ask'd, *Why he inſiſted upon ſuch an inſignificant diſtinction?* he anſwer'd, *'Twas a diſtinction had been paid to his countrymen before him.* I remember lord *Bacon* ingeniouſly applies this example to illuſtrate the force or tyranny of cuſtom.[c]

Surpriſes the *Iriſh Kerns* at *Rakele*.

WHILE the lord deputy lay before the fort, there arriv'd in the bay of *Smerwick*, vice-admiral *Bingham*, and ſoon after Sir *William Winter*, admiral of the fleet, with freſh ſupplies: hereupon the lord deputy reſolved to beſiege the fort by land, while the admiral ſhould batter it by ſea. But firſt the *Spaniards* were ſummon'd to ſurrender at diſcretion: they anſwer'd, "They were ſent, ſome, from the *holy father*, who had given that realm to king *Philip*; and "ſome from that king, who was to recover this land to the church of *Rome*, which by her "majeſty's means was become ſchiſmatical and excommunicate; therefore, in ſhort, were "obliged to retain what they had, and recover what they could."[d] Nor did they omit the advantage they thought this parley would produce of finding the *Engliſh* unguarded, to make a ſally upon them; but they were ſo diſappointed, through the vigilance and valour of *Ralegh*'s company, and that of captain *Denny*, that ſuch as were not left dead behind, were forced to retreat with more haſte than good ſpeed. The culverins and other pieces of ordnance being now landed, and a large mountainous bank laborioufly cut through, for the carriages to paſs to the place convenient for planting them; the deputy is ſaid, by my author *Hooker*, to have given the enemy another ſummons by cannon-ſhot to ſurrender, and receive mercy.[e] But they anſwer'd as before: thereupon the artillery was order'd to attack the fort both by land and water. *Ralegh*, as the ſame hiſtorian records, commanded the firſt three days after the opening of the trenches; and aſſaulted the fort ſo roughly from his battery, that he forced the *Spaniards* to ſeveral excurſions; but they ſkirmiſh'd ſo warily, and hived again ſo nimbly, that there was no cloſing with them effectually. The fourth day was commanded by *Zouch*, under whom a tall proper gentleman, named *John Cheke*, the ſon of a knight well known among the learned for his writings, venturing ſo near the fort as to look over the *parapet*, paid his life for his curioſity; being obſerved by a *Spaniard*, who levell'd his piece, and brought him to the ground. But now the trenches for the full battery were drawn ſo near the *Spaniards*, and the *Engliſh* play'd their cannon ſo furiouſly and inceſſantly upon them from every ſide, that the enemy began to fear, ſomewhat prophetically, what they had built for a garriſon would prove their monument, and they ſhould be buried alive in the ruins of it. Therefore, finding no ſuccours arrive, they beat a parley, and hung out the white flag, crying out *Miſericordia*, *Miſericordia*; but the lord deputy would not liſten to any treaty with the confederates of traitors and rebels; no, not ſo much as to their departure with bag and baggage, or free paſſage to any one particular perſon; nothing but an abſolute ſurrender. And as for mercy, which *Hooker* before intimates to have been offer'd on proviſo of their timely ſubmiſſion, we find by

Beſieges fort *Del Ore*.

[a] *Geo. Whetſtone*'s *Engliſh* Myrror, *&c.* dedicated to queen *Elizabeth*. 4to. 1586. p. 154.
[b] *Hooker*'s ſupply, *&c.* fol. 107, &c. *Cox*'s hiſtory of *Ireland*, fol. 376.
[c] Lord *Bacon*'s eſſays.
[d] *Hooker*'s ſupply, fol. 171.
[e] Idem, Ibid.

Edmund

Edmund Spenſer, who was then ſecretary to the lord deputy, and upon the very ſpot, that his lordſhip never gave the *Spaniards* any hopes of it. For as this author writes, "When firſt "their ſecretary Seignor *Jeffrey*, an *Italian*, was ſent to treat with the lord deputy for grace, "he was flatly refuſed it; and afterwards, when their colonel, named *Don Sebaſtian*, came forth "to entreat that they might part with their arms like ſoldiers, and at leaſt be ſpared their lives, "according to the *cuſtom* of *war* and *law* of *nations*; it was ſtrongly deny'd him, and told "him by the lord deputy himſelf, that they could not juſtly plead either *cuſtom* of *war* or *law* "of *nations*; for that they were *not* any *lawful enemies*; and if they were, he inſiſted upon "their ſhewing by what commiſſion they came thither, into another prince's dominions, to war? "And when they ſaid they had none to produce; but were only adventurers, that came to "ſeek fortune abroad, and to ſerve in wars among the *Iriſh*, who deſired to entertain them, "it was then anſwer'd, that the *Iriſh* themſelves, as the *earl* and *John* of *Deſmond*, with the reſt, "were no lawful enemies, but rebels and traitors; and therefore they, who came to ſuccour "them, no better than rogues and runnagades; eſpecially coming with no licence or commiſ- "ſion from their own king: wherefore it would be diſhonourable for him, in the name of his "queen, to condition, or make any terms with ſuch raſcals. So left to their choice, whether "they would yield themſelves, or not."[a] Then the ſaid colonel did abſolutely yield himſelf, the fort, with all therein; and craved only *mercy*, which it was not thought good (ſays my ſaid author) to ſhew them.

Enters the fort.

FOR after the lord deputy had by captain *Jaques Wingfield*, maſter of the ordnance, diſcover'd they were in earneſt; that they had yielded, and ſurrender'd the fort, on the ninth of *November*,[b] *Ralegh* and *Mackworth*, who had the ward of that day, firſt enter'd the caſtle, and, with their companies, made a great ſlaughter; ſo that except one *Iriſh* nobleman, who was repriev'd; another *Iriſhman*, and an *Engliſhman*, who were ſent to publick execution; except alſo *San Joſepho* the *Spaniſh* commander, and his camp-maſter; with a few *Spaniſh* officers, who were ſent priſoners into *England*, and reſerv'd for ranſom; all the invaders, between four and five hundred, were, according to the deputy's poſitive command, put to the ſword; and the country was thus weeded of theſe noxious foreigners. As for *Ralegh*, he never was taxed, that I can learn, with any cruelty upon this account, more than *Mackworth*, or the reſt of the officers: but notwithſtanding it was afterwards alledg'd, that the *Engliſh* army there was not enough to keep the enemy all priſoners, and ready to mutiny for want of their proviſions out of the fort; or that the *Engliſh* expected hourly aſſaults from the *Iriſh* rebels, more than fifteen hundred at hand;[c] or freſh oppoſition from *Spain*, three thouſand carbines being in readineſs to come over;[d] or that they had not barks enough to tranſport their priſoners into *England*; or that an article in the deputy's inſtructions themſelves, was to *ſhorten the war by effectual proſecutions*;[e] queen *Elizabeth* did afterwards expreſs much diſſatisfaction at this deciſive conduct in the ſaid lord deputy.

Puts the *Spaniards* to the ſword.

RALEGH, as *Hooker* goes on, was quarter'd this winter at *Cork*; where he obſerv'd the ſeditious practices of *David* lord *Barry*, *Patrick Condon*, and other ringleaders of the rebellion in thoſe parts, to diſtreſs ſo intolerably thoſe ſubjects who were peacefully inclin'd, and foment the diſaffected to an inſurrection; that he was forced to take a journey in perſon to the lord deputy at *Dublin*;[f] where he remonſtrated the dangerous conſequences he foreſaw, ſo urgently, that, the caſe being taken into conſideration by his lordſhip and the council, they return'd him with a full commiſſion to enter upon the caſtle called *Barry-Court*, with all other lands of the ſaid *Barry*; and to reduce him to peace and ſubjection, by ſuch means as he judg'd moſt feaſible; appointing him for his farther enablement a party of horſe. In the interim, ſuch meaſures were uſed with thoſe in authority at *Cork*, that the commiſſion proved of little effect; but though the ſaid eſtate of *Barry-More*, was made over to the mother of *David Barry*, and only rented to the ſon; and though it was his principal ſeat; yet partly in fear of that commiſſion, partly through ſpite and indignation, he burnt the caſtle himſelf to the ground, and waſted the country about it with greater outrage and deſtruction, than his enemies, had they taken it, would have done. Moreover, as *Ralegh* was on his journey back to his quarters, an old rebel of *Barry*'s faction, named *Fitz-Edmonds*, who was ſeneſchal of *Imokelly*, lay in wait to ſet upon and ſeize him, with a party of horſe and ſome *Kerns*, at a ford through which he was to paſs between *Yougall* and *Cork*: ſome hiſtorians call the place *Corabby*.[g] *Ralegh* was much inferior

His commiſſion to ſeize upon *Barry-Court*.

[a] *Spenſer*'s view of the ſtate of *Ireland*; in the laſt edition of his works, vol. 6. 12mo. p. 1611.
[b] *Stow*'s chronicle in that year.
[c] Biſhop *Carleton*'s hiſtorical collection of deliverances, p. 48. And lord *Bacon*'s diſcourſe of war.
[d] *George Whetſtone*'s *Engliſh* Mirror, p. 157.
[e] *Cox*'s hiſtory of *Ireland*, fol. 366.
[f] *Spenſer*, in his view of *Ireland*, gives ſome political reaſons why the lord deputy's ſeat of reſidence had better be more in the middle of the kingdom, than at *Dublin*: agreeable to the ancient obſervation on the hide of leather; which, being preſs'd or trod upon only on one ſide, the diſtant parts will riſe, but in the centre, keeps all parts down.
[g] *Cox*'s hiſtory of *Ireland*, p. 367.

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in number, being, at his ſetting out, accompanied but with ſix men, and they ſcatter'd behind when he approach'd the ford. Here *Fitz-Edmonds* and his crew ſallied from their ambuſcade, and croſs'd him, to oppoſe his paſſage, whom *Ralegh* manfully encounter'd and defeated, or at leaſt broke through them, ſo that he got clear over the river:[a] but one of his company, Mr. *Henry Moyle*, following, either took a part too deep and unfordable, or plung'd into a quick-ſpring; or his horſe, otherwiſe foundering, threw him down in the middle of it; where, between fear of drowning and being taken by the enemies, he called out to *Ralegh* for help; who, tho' he had eſcap'd both dangers, yet incurred them again to ſave his companion's life: but *Moyle*, in haſte and confuſion remounting, over-leap'd his horſe, and fell down on the other ſide into a deep mire, where he might have been ſtifled, had not *Ralegh* recover'd him a ſecond time, and brought him ſafe to land; but his horſe run over to the rebels.[b] *Ralegh* waited on the oppoſite bank, with his ſtaff[c] in one hand, and a piſtol in the other, for the reſt of his company who were yet to croſs the river; among whom was his ſervant *Jenkin*, who had two hundred pounds of his money in charge; a ſum in thoſe days enough to make a ſoldier of fortune in theſe circumſtances look about him; eſpecially now the *ſeneſchal* had got a recruit of twelve men, and was in all above twenty ſtrong againſt him. Yet this hero, as his party called him, when he beheld *Ralegh* ſtand his ground, and the reſt of his company advance, whom he poſſibly thought might be of greater number than they were, only exchanged a few rough words with him, and thought it beſt to offer no further moleſtation. Not long after, there being a parley between the earl of *Ormond* and the rebels, where the *ſeneſchal* beginning to vaunt of his own exploits, *Ralegh*, who was preſent, charg'd him openly with flat cowardiſe, as having lately twenty to one on his ſide, and durſt not encounter him alone. One of the rebels own comrades pretended an unwonted diffidence in their champion upon that rencounter; but gave confident aſſurances he would never be ſo remiſs again upon any like occaſion. This ſo chaff'd the earl of *Ormond*, that he challeng'd the *ſeneſchal*, with Sir *John Deſmond*, and any four they would nominate, to meet himſelf, captain *Ralegh*, and four more whom they would bring, at the place aforeſaid; where they would paſs the great river to them, and there, two to two, four to four, or ſix to ſix, fight and determine the point in debate between them; but no anſwer was then return'd: wherefore the *white knight*, named *Fitz-Gibbon*, was afterwards ſent to him with a repetition of the challenge; but the rebels then abſolutely refuſed it. Soon after the earl of *Ormond* departed from his long and weariſome ſervices here to *England*, about the ſpring of the year 1581. His government of *Munſter* was given to captain *Ralegh*, in commiſſion with Sir *William Morgan* and captain *Piers*. *Ralegh* lay for the moſt part at *Liſmore*; and, in the country and woods thereabouts, ſpent all this ſummer in continual action againſt the rebels.[c]

Defeats *Fitz-Edmonds*.

Saves his friend's life.

In a challenge.

Commiſſioner for the government of *Munſter*.

THEN *Ralegh* remov'd with his little band of fourſcore foot and eight horſe, to his old quarters at *Cork*; but receiving intelligence by the way, that the arch-traitor *Barry* was at *Clove*, with ſeveral hundred men, he reſolved to paſs through that town, and offer him the combat. Accordingly at the town's end he met *Barry* and his forces, whom *Ralegh* charged with great bravery, and put him to flight. As he purſued his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy in a plain, by a wood-ſide; upon whom, having only ſix horſe-men with him, expecting probably his company would ſoon join him, he gave the onſet; but the rebels, who were in much greater number, being cut off from the wood, and having no other relief, faced about, and fought very deſperately, killing five of the horſes belonging to *Ralegh*'s company, whereof his own was one, and he himſelf very near being over-borne by the numbers upon him, had not his truſty ſervant *Nicholas Wright*, a *Yorkſhire* man, interpos'd; who perceiving his maſter's horſe ſo mortally wounded with darts, and plunging paſt all recovery, encounter'd ſix of the enemy at once, and killed one of them; while another of his fellow-ſervants, named *Patrick Fagaw*, reſcued *Ralegh*; which had been ſo unſucceſsfully attempted by *James Fitz-Richard* and his *kern*, both of *Ralegh*'s company, that the man was ſlain, and the maſter very near the ſame fate; whereupon *Ralegh* would not ſuffer *Wright* to fight by him any longer, but order'd him *to charge above-hand, and ſave the gentleman*: at which command he ruſh'd into the throng of the enemy, diſpatch'd the antagoniſt who preſs'd ſoreſt upon Mr. *Fitz-Richard*, and reſcued him. In this ſharp ſkirmiſh, there were many of the rebels ſlain, and two taken priſoners, whom *Ralegh* carried with him to *Cork*; and while he lay here, he performed ſeveral other notable ſervices, which deſerve (ſays my author *Hooker*) to be for ever regiſter'd.[d]

Puts lord *Barry* to flight.

Reſcued in a dangerous engagement.

[a] *Cox*'s hiſtory of *Ireland*, fol. 367.
[b] *Hooker*'s ſupply, fol. 173.
[c] Theſe ſtaves were not ſhort like truncheons, but rather like poles, or watermen's ſtretchers, though not ſo long or clumſily made; for being headed at one end with a ſharp point or pile of iron, they might be uſed for defence, or offence, either as quarter-ſtaves, or ſpears. [d] *Hooker*'s ſupply, fol. 173. [e] Id. 174.

AMONG the reſt, his excellent conduct in the ſeizure of the lord *Roch* is more particularly remember'd and applauded. This nobleman, being much ſuſpected to hold confederacy with ſome of the chief rebels, *Ralegh* undertook to bring, with his family, before the earl of *Ormond* at *Cork*. But the deſign of this hazardous ſurpriſe took air among the enemy, and a party of eight hundred men, under *Fitz-Edmonds* and *Barry*, were gather'd to way-lay the *Engliſh* either going or coming. However *Ralegh*, knowing the lord *Roch* to be a powerful and popular man among the *Iriſh*, ſo ſuddenly commanded all his company to be in readineſs by eleven a-clock that night, and they were ſo punctual to the hour, that he directly marched away to *Bally in Harſh*, which was *Roch*'s ſeat, about twenty miles from *Cork*, and eſcaped the ambuſcade. He arrived there by break of day; but the townſmen were ſo alarmed, that they ſoon gather'd five hundred ſtrong. *Ralegh* drew up, and in ſuch manner beſtowed his men in the town it ſelf, that he ſoon quell'd and reſtrain'd the people there; then ſelecting half a dozen out of his company, among whom were *Arthur Barlow*, hereafter to be ſpoken of, with *Nicholas Wright* before-mention'd; and having appointed another little party to follow him, he marched up to the caſtle. He was met by three or four of *Roch*'s gentlemen, of whom he deſir'd to ſpeak with their lord; which was agreed to, on condition he would diſmiſs three or four of his own attendants; to which, with apparent readineſs, he comply'd; but ſo contriv'd, that none of them were lock'd out. Then he gave them directions which way the reſt alſo, without the gates, might be admitted, whilſt he ſhould hold the lord *Roch* in diſcourſe; which ſucceeded ſo happily, that by degrees his whole complement were got within the court-yard; ſome guarding the gates, others watching in the hall, each having his piece loaden with a brace of balls. The lord *Roch* was amaz'd and terrify'd at ſo ſilent and inſenſible a ſeizure; but, diſſembling his uneaſineſs, he would needs have *Ralegh*, and the gentlemen with him, participate of his plentiful table: yet the policy of his hoſpitality did not defeat that of their enterpriſe; for, as ſoon as the dinner was over, *Ralegh* ingenuouſly laid open the occaſion of his viſit. Lord *Roch* made many excuſes, and in the end abſolutely refuſed to go along with him. But when the commiſſion was produced, and he found *Ralegh* inflexible, he choſe to do that by conſent, which he found he muſt do by compulſion. Then *Ralegh* urged him to oblige his townſmen likewiſe, who had ſo faithfully riſen for his defence in his neighbourhood, to eſcort and defend him in his journey; to which lord *Roch* alſo conſented, profeſſing he doubted not but to clear himſelf of whatever allegations ſhould be laid to his charge. When his lordſhip, with his lady and attendance, had made themſelves ready, *Ralegh* was for another nocturnal progreſs; but though the night fell out ſo very dark and tempeſtuous, and the ways were ſo full of hills and dales, rocks and precipices, that many of his ſoldiers were much bruiſed by falls, and one of them ſo mortify'd, that he loſt his life in the march; yet the veil wherewith the reſt were ſhelter'd, by that obſcurity, from the more dangerous ambuſcades of their enemy, who had every-where beſtrew'd the paſſages to intercept them, made ſuch ſufficient compenſation for thoſe diſaſters, that by the next morning early he ſafely preſented his priſoners to the general; not without raiſing an univerſal aſtoniſhment at his dexterous evaſion of ſo many perils. But the lord *Roch*, upon examination, did make his words good; for being honourably acquitted, he approved himſelf a faithful ſubject ever after, and three of his ſons laid down their lives in her majeſty's ſervice.[a]

Seizes lord *Roch* in his own caſtle.

IN the month of *Auguſt*, the ſame year, the lord deputy made the aforeſaid captain *John Zouch* governor of *Munſter*, with whom *Ralegh* and *Dowdal* made ſeveral journeys to ſettle and compoſe the country; but the certain place of their reſidence was at *Cork*. And when *Zouch*, with *Dowdal*, made that ſecret expedition, in which he lopp'd off the third branch of this venomous hydra, Sir *John Deſmond*; whoſe body was hung by the heels on a gibbet, then fix'd on the gates of that city, and his head ſent to *London*: he left the government of *Cork* to *Ralegh*.[b] I have obſerv'd this ſervice againſt that Sir *John Deſmond* to have been commemorated by *Ralegh* himſelf in honour of *Zouch*, though in a diſcourſe on a different ſubject, and ſome years after his death;[c] for ſoon after his return with the lord deputy into *England*, he was kill'd in a duel by one of his intimate friends: and this I remark here, as ſomewhat diſproving the inſinuation that *Zouch*'s ſuperior preferment ſhould have nouriſhed any ſuch diſcontent in *Ralegh*,[d] as might occaſion that diſpute we ſhall hear of between him and the lord deputy afterwards in *England*. Nor can I impute it to the diſbanding his company, which might happen about this time; it ſeeming reaſonable, upon the ſilence of the earl of *Deſmond*,

governor of *Cork*.

[a] *Hooker*'s ſupply, p. 174.
[b] *Cox*'s hiſtory of *Ireland*, p. 367.
[c] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s true report of the deſperate fight near the *Azores*, *&c.* in *Hakluyt*'s voyages, vol. 2. part 2. p. 173.
[d] Lives *Engliſh* and foreign, more particularly cited in a ſucceeding note.

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the ſlaughter of his brothers, and the ſubmiſſion *Barry* had newly made, that the deputy, thinking *Munſter* was now growing quiet, ſhould not only leſſen the queen's expences there, by caſhiering ſeveral companies, and diſcharging many garriſons, which he did, ſo as to have for the whole ſervice of that province, only four hundred foot and fifty horſe; but that in the command of theſe, the *ſenior* officers ſhould be continued. However it was, *Ralegh* appears no longer, after this reduction, in the wars of *Ireland:* but how well his ſervices were received by the queen, and how nobly ſhe rewarded him for them after the earl of *Deſmond* himſelf was ſlain, we ſhall hear when we arrive at the time that his large poſſeſſions came to be divided among thoſe who had aſſiſted in quenching the flames of his rebellion.

His introduction at court.

RALEGH was not long in *England*, before his relation in ſome degree to the court began to appear. Tradition has induſtriouſly aſcrib'd his firſt introduction thither to a piece of gallantry, wherewith he ſurpris'd the queen accidentally in one of her walks. "Her majeſty meeting (ſays my author) with a plaſhy place, made ſome ſcruple to go on; when *Ralegh* (dreſs'd in the gay and genteel habit of thoſe times) preſently caſt off and ſpread his new plush cloak on the ground, whereon the queen trod gently over, rewarding him afterwards with many *ſuits* for his ſo free and ſeaſonable tender of ſo fair a *foot-cloth:* thus *an advantageous admiſſion* (ſays he) *into the notice of a prince, is more than half a degree to preferment.*"[a] After this, as the ſame author tells us, *Ralegh* coming to court, and finding ſome hopes of the queen's favour reflecting upon him, he wrote in a glaſs window, obvious to her eye,

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall

UNDER which her majeſty ſoon after wrote,

If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.

No romantic air, that may appear in theſe paſſages, has been able to deny them a recital by ſeveral ſerious authors: and indeed readers of experience, knowing how often an unuſual compliment, or artificial bait for favour, catches it, before the moſt ſubſtantial ſervices, will not only be apt to doubt whether ſuch incidents are to be call'd acceſſories, ſo much as principals in worldly promotion; but eſteem thoſe as the moſt inſtructive circumſtances in the lives of great men, which diſplay the foot-ſteps of their advancement; and how they firſt fell into the track of diſtinction: for the acquiſition of glory is like that of riches; the profound myſtery lies in coming at the prime ſtock; an ordinary prudence will increaſe it.

Deſcription of his perſon.

BUT though he always made a very elegant appearance, as well in the ſplendor of attire, as the politeneſs of addreſs; "having a good preſence, in a handſome and well compacted perſon; a ſtrong natural wit, and a better judgment; with a bold and plauſible tongue, whereby he could ſet out his parts to the beſt advantage;"[b] all very engaging advocates for royal favour, eſpecially in a female ſoveraign: yet, obſerving *Ralegh* had, at this time, render'd himſelf conſiderable enough by his actions; and that the queen was not wanting in due notice towards ſuch as were of a publick nature; I ſhould think theſe, of a more private and particular nature, might be accounted only as concurrent cauſes of his favourable reception at court; and eſpecially ſeeing others, about the ſame time offering, ſufficient of themſelves to eſtabliſh him there: but be that as it may, we find him, upon his return into *England*, employ'd in an expedition or two, by authority belike from the court; they being upon occaſions of ſtate. And though it imports not much whether it was now, or before he was in *Ireland*, that he accompanied the *French* ambaſſador, Monſieur *Simier*, among thoſe gentlemen who were appointed for his ſafe convoy to *France:* yet if that ambaſſador return'd home, when his maſter the duke of *Anjou* came laſt over in *November*, the year before-named, this is the place for it to be mention'd in. That *Simier* was, it ſeems, a proper advocate for the cauſe he came to plead; ſkill'd in all the inſinuating arts and devices of amorous addreſs, and thereby perhaps won more of the queen's attention to his maſter's ſuit, than ſat eaſy upon the earl of *Leiceſter*'s mind: for though this earl was now privately married to the late earl of *Eſſex*'s widow, yet his prejudice might at this time be renewed againſt the ambaſſador, for procuring him the queen's diſpleaſure, by diſcovering that marriage; as it was at firſt created, by ſupplanting him in his higher hopes. Indeed, the earl's animoſity is ſaid to have extended to the hiring of *bravo's* to aſſaſſinate the ambaſſador; and *Camden*, who relates thus much, aſſures us the queen publiſh'd (about two years before this time) a proclamation, commanding that no man ſhould offer any affront to *Simier*, or any of his attendants:[c] nay, if we will believe a certain collection of moſt flagrant accuſations againſt that earl, to which *Camden*, who ſeldom ſpares him, has paid much credit; the land it ſelf

Accompanies Monſieur *Simier* to *France*.

[a] *Fuller*'s worthies of *England*, fol. 1662. in *Devon*.
[b] *Frag. Reg.* p. 28, 29.
[c] *Camd. Annal. Reg. Eliz. Anno* 1579.

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was no boundary to the earl's revenge: for when other attempts fail'd, he is ſaid, among thoſe accuſations, to have "dealt with certain *Fluſhingers*, and other pirates, to ſink the ambaſſador "at ſea, with the *Engliſh* gentlemen, his favourers, who accompanied him at his return into "*France*; and though they miſſed of this practice alſo (as not daring to ſet upon him for "fear of her majeſty's ſhips; which, to break this deſign, attended by ſpecial command, to "waft him over in ſafety;) yet the foreſaid *Engliſh* gentlemen were holden four hours in chaſe "at their coming back, as Maſter *Ralegh* well knoweth (ſays my author) being then pre-"ſent; and two of the chaſers, named *Clark* and *Harris*, confeſſed afterwards the whole de-"ſignment."[a]

But after the duke of *Anjou* himſelf had been three months in *England*, he alſo departed to take upon him the government of the *Netherlands*. This departure was in *February* following; and though the queen ſeems to have declin'd the marriage with him, principally becauſe ſhe found her miniſtry ſo averſe to it; yet there was an author, and his printer, who, for having publiſhed a little treatiſe againſt it about two years before,[b] had their hands cut off but a few days after the duke came to *London*.[c] And ſhe ſhew'd him many other marks of favour and diſtinction; particularly, when he left the kingdom, ſhe bore him company in perſon to *Dover*, and having appointed a moſt ſplendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen to wait upon him to his new government; I find that *Ralegh* was alſo among this grand aſſembly. They attended the duke to *Antwerp*, where, making a moſt magnificent proceſſion, he was created duke of *Brabant*, *&c.* and inveſted with his charge. *Ralegh* ſeems not only to have ſtaid there ſome time after the lord admiral *Howard*, *Leiceſter*, young *Sidney*, and the reſt were return'd; but, through the opportunity of being perſonally known to the prince of *Orange*, honour'd with ſome ſpecial acknowledgments from him to the queen of *England*. And *Ralegh* mentions thus much himſelf, in a diſcourſe he wrote many years afterwards; wherein, ſpeaking of the *Hollanders* flouriſhing ſtate, he lays down, as the firſt cauſe thereof, the favour and aſſiſtance granted them by this crown; "which, ſays he, the late worthy and famous prince of "*Orange* did always acknowledge: and in the year 1582, when I took my leave of him at "*Antwerp*, after the return of the earl of *Leiceſter* into *England*, and *Monſieur*'s arrival there; "when he delivered me his letters to her majeſty, he pray'd me to ſay to the queen, from "him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur:* for certainly (ſays he) they had *wither*'d in "the *bud*, and *ſunk* in the beginning of their *navigation*, had not her majeſty aſſiſted them."[d]

And the duke of *Anjou* to *Antwerp*.

Brings over the prince of *Orange*'s acknowledgments to the queen.

Towards the end of *Auguſt*, this laſt mention'd year, the lord *Grey* reſign'd the ſword of *Ireland*, after he had been two years deputy in that kingdom:[e] and this muſt be the time, that diſpute between him and *Ralegh* was brought to a hearing, of which authors have ſo blindly written. Sir *Robert Naunton* "is confident, that among the ſecond cauſes of *Ralegh*'s growth (not de-"nying, or rather acquieſcing in his actions and accompliſhments to have been the firſt) "that variance between him and the lord *Grey*, in his deſcent into *Ireland*, was a principal; "for it drew them both over (ſays he) to the council-table, there to plead their cauſe; where "(what advantage he had in the cauſe, my ſaid author knew not, but ſays) he had much the "better in telling of his tale; and ſo much, that the queen and the lords took no ſlight mark "of the man and his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have acceſs to "the queen and the lords."[f] Now if this author is ſo defective, as not to have known the cauſe or ſubject of their quarrel; or, that *Ralegh*, leaving *Ireland* long before the lord *Grey*, was not likely to be drawn over together with him to the council-table; how much more muſt thoſe writers following him be ſo, who have confus'd this matter with ſeveral other particulars; though they ſeem to have had no other authority? One of them ſays, *Ralegh* had in *deed*, but not in *truth*, the better by the tongue;[g] and inſinuates (with great caution and delicacy he thought, no doubt) that the queen had been told ſomething ſo engaging of *Ralegh*, beſides his advantage in pleading, that it was *not to be mention'd*;[h] as if any of her courtiers dared

His diſpute with the lord *Grey*, reckon'd among the cauſes of his preferment.

[a] *Leiceſter*'s commonwealth, 8vo. 1641. p. 37.

[b] This treatiſe is entitled, *The Diſcovery of a gaping gulph, wherein* England *is likely to be ſwallowed by another* French *marriage, &c.* Printed with a ſmall letter, in a thin *Octavo*. 1579.

[c] The names of this author, and his printer or publiſher, were *John Stubbs* and *William Page*; and that ſentence was executed on them at *Weſtminſter November* 3. 1581, *vide Stow*'s chronicles and *Camden*'s annals in thoſe years.

[d] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s invention of ſhipping, in his ſelect eſſays, 8vo. 1650. p. 36.

[e] The ſentiments of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, upon the ſhort term even of three years (in thoſe unſettled times) to which the deputies of *Ireland* have been commonly circumſcrib'd, may be read in his *hiſtory of the world*, lib. 5. cap. 3. ſect. 5.

[f] *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 29.

[g] *Aulic. Coq.* p. 90.

[h] The ſame author of *Aulic. Coquin.* ſays a little before, "that *Ralegh* ſo took them (meaning the lords) by his pleac-"ing, eſpecially the earl of *Leiceſter*, that the queen was "told the *tale*, and *ſomething more of him*; and no ſooner "he came to be *known to her*, but ſhe *took him to grace*." Id. p. 75. I cannot be ſure this is the ſtyle of a *reverend father in God*, tho' Mr. *Tindal*, in his notes upon *Rapin*, would induce us to think ſo, in calling the author of this *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, by the name of *Goodman*, who was biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and did indeed write a *review of* Sir *Anthony Weldon*'s *court* and *character* of king *James*; which *review* is ſaid by *Anthony Wood* to be involv'd in this *Aulicus Coquinariæ:* but the *review* it ſelf, written in a thin *Folio*, and ſometimes quoted by *H. Foulis*, in his *Romiſh treaſons*, remains ſtill in MS. in the *Bodleian* library, and begins differently from this printed *anſwer* to that *court* and *character*.

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to ſay any thing to the queen's face, which this anonymous writer, near fifty years after her death, would be either aſham'd or afraid to repeat. A later writer makes ſuch diſtinctions of *Ralegh*'s extraordinary behaviour in this diſpute, as if he had been at the council-table, and ſeen as well as heard him.[a] And another, after them all, has found out the cauſe of this difference between them to be captain *Zouch*'s preferment;[b] of which we have before ſpoken, as improbable. But paſſing theſe over, our author *Naunton* goes on; and tho' he does not determine, whether the lord *Leiceſter* had then caſt in a good word for *Ralegh* to the queen; yet ſays "it is true, that he had gotten the queen's ear at a trice, and ſhe began to be taken with his "elocution, and loved to hear his reaſons to her demands: and the truth is, ſhe took him "for a kind of oracle, which *nettled them all*; yea, thoſe he relied on, began to take this his "ſudden favour for an alarm; to be ſenſible of their own ſupplantation, and to project his; "which made him ſhortly after ſing, *Fortune my foe, &c.*"

IT is hinted to us ſomewhat more expreſly, by another court-writer of thoſe times, and that's a rarity, ſuch being commonly too polite or political to be very obliging in hiſtorical particulars; that the earl of *Leiceſter* befriended *Ralegh* (perhaps through his friendſhip with young *Sidney*, that earl's worthily beloved nephew) in his firſt advancements at court; and that being willing, for his own eaſe, to beſtow handſomly upon another ſome part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy, to which a long indulgent fortune is obnoxious, either brought, or let him into that promiſing ſphere of preferment; where the earl ſoon found him ſuch an apprentice, as knew well enough how to ſet up for himſelf, ſays my ſaid author.[c] So that if the earl of *Suſſex*, who was *Leiceſter*'s antagoniſt, had any hand in *Ralegh*'s riſe, as ſome later writers of leſs authority have ſuggeſted,[d] it ſeems to have been afterwards, when *Ralegh*'s courtly ſplendor was, by occaſion, ſomewhat obſtructed; and *Leiceſter* meant to allay it, by interpoſing the young earl of *Eſſex*: for *Ralegh* continued, during that ſtorm, in ſome luſtre of a favour'd man, like billows which ſink but by degrees, even when the wind is down that firſt ſtirr'd them. But this we ſhall obſerve as we go on, that in all the different aſpects or conjunctions of intereſt, through the acceſs or change of new favourites in this long reign, none were leſs emerg'd by the ſmiles of the court, in the luxuries and vanities of it, nor more animated by its frowns to the enterpriſing of publick and ſuperior difficulties for the honour and aggrandiſement of his country. Not that he ſet out to ſea, but when he had deſpaired of raiſing himſelf on ſhore: for theſe publick enterpriſes were rooted ſo early in *Ralegh*'s aſpiring mind, that we perceive, even now, before factions at court could drive him from the land, or preferments and grants from the crown enable him for the ſea; that he had built at his own expence, to proſecute them, a ſtrong handſom ſhip, which was named *Bark Ralegh*, of two hundred ton burden.

As alſo the patronage of the earl of *Leiceſter*.

And earl of *Suſſex*.

Bark Ralegh.

AND now that the ſix years period of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*'s patent grew ſhort, four of them being elaps'd, he thought it high time to make a new attempt in perſon (ſince his aſſignments had proved of little conſequence) at thoſe diſcoveries he had before fail'd in, that he might confirm by experience what he had ſo excellently advanced in theory. Accordingly, having fitted out a fleet of four ſhips, *Ralegh* alſo victuall'd, and mann'd out his before-mention'd, which was the largeſt among them; and, in the quality of vice-admiral, ſet out to bear his brother *Gilbert* company, in this his laſt expedition to *Newfoundland*. The fleet departed from *Plymouth* on the 11th of *June* 1583. My author, who was in this voyage, tells us, no coſt was ſpared by *Ralegh* in proviſions and neceſſaries for the happy accompliſhment of it; yet that in two or three days following he return'd greatly diſtreſs'd to *Plymouth*, by reaſon his whole ſhip's company was infected with a contagious ſickneſs.[e] But lucky to him, perhaps, was this viſitation; ſince the voyage proved ſo fatal to thoſe who went through it, particularly Sir *Humphrey* himſelf; who, tho' he arrived in *Newfoundland* in the beginning of *Auguſt* following; took poſſeſſion of the country in right of the crown of *England*, by digging up a turf,

Sets out with Sir *H. Gilbert* to *Newfoundland*.

[a] *David Lloyd* ſays, *Ralegh*, upon this occaſion, ſtated his caſe with that clearneſs; urg'd his arguments with that evidence and reaſon; offer'd his apologies with thoſe pertinent and taking allegations, and his replies with that ſmartneſs; expreſs'd himſelf with that fluency and eloquence, and manag'd his *carriage* and *countenance* with that diſcretion, that he was, firſt, the ſtateſman's obſervation; next, her majeſty's favourite; and at laſt, her oracle. See this author's *Obſervations* on the *ſtateſmen* and *favourites* of *England* ſince the *Reformation*, *Octob.* 1665. p. 487.

[b] The author of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s life, in *Lives Engliſh and foreign*, 1704. vol. 1. p. 86, ſays, that *Ralegh*'s diſguſt at the deputy's preferring *Zouch*, grew to a difference between him and the ſaid lord *Grey*, which was referr'd by the council of war in *Ireland* to that in *England*; and there decided in *Ralegh*'s favour: the ſolliciting of which buſineſs was the true cauſe of his leaving *Ireland*. But he quotes no authority; and I think by what is before ſaid of the matter, this *true cauſe* will appear a groundleſs conjecture; at leaſt leſs probable, than what might perhaps be drawn from *Spenſer's View of Ireland*, vol. 6. p. 1609.

[c] Sir *Henry Wotton*'s parallel of *Robert Devereux* earl of *Eſſex*, and *George Villiers* duke of *Buckingham*.

[d] *Shirley*'s life of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, 8vo. 1677, p. 19. and the ſame in fol. p. 3.

[e] Captain *Edward Hayes*'s report of Sir *H. Gilbert*'s voyage to *Newfoundland*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 149. See alſo Sir *George Peckham*'s report of the diſcovery and poſſeſſion of *Newfoundland*, by that valiant and worthy gentleman Sir *H. Gilbert*, in the ſame volume, p. 165.

and receiving it with a hafel wand, deliver'd to him according to our law and cuſtom; alſo had aſſign'd lands to every man in his company, and was got three hundred leagues in his way home again, with full hopes of the queen's aſſiſtance to fit out a fleet not only for the north, but one alſo for the ſouth next year; yet over-hardily venturing in a little frigat of but ten ton burden, called the *Squirrel*; he was on the ninth of *September* following at midnight, in a high ſea, ſwallowed up.[a] Another of the veſſels, called the *Delight*, but few days before alſo ſuffer'd the ſame fate; and even the reſt return'd not without great hazard, hardſhip, and loſs: teaching (ſays *Camden*) that it is a more difficult matter to carry over colonies to remote countries upon private men's purſes, than he and *others* had perſuaded themſelves, to their own loſs and detriment:[b] but neither theſe unfortunate attempts by ſea hitherto, nor the ruin of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*'s eſtate, nor the loſs of his life, nor the hardſhips of all his company beſides, could teach *Ralegh* that leſſon: theſe examples and this experience were ſo far from ſatiating, that they did but ſharpen his appetite to ſuch honourable dangers.

And as we are aſſur'd from family tradition, by a late author of his own name and lineage, that the diſcoveries of the great *Columbus*, the conqueſts of *Fernando Cortez*, the famous *Francis Pizarro*, and other leaders of the *Spaniards*, who under the emperor *Charles* and his ſon *Philip* II, had made the greateſt and moſt ſurpriſing additions to their empire that ever prince received, or ſubjects wrought, were the favourite hiſtories that took up *Ralegh*'s early reading and converſation while he was but a young man;[c] we may preſume they ſo poſſeſs'd his noble genius (with perhaps alſo ſome late domeſtic and living examples) that no little perſonal oppoſitions at home, or particular miſadventures abroad, could ever diſcourage him from the purſuit of theſe grand and *national undertakings*. But when, by his own obſervation, he found the *Spaniards* had only ſettled upon the middle and ſouthern parts of *America*, and that there were certain vaſt territories yet unknown to the north of thoſe lands, which the *Spaniards* already enjoy'd, as fit perhaps for ſettlement, and as eaſy to conquer, as any they did enjoy: and when, by his enquiries, among the moſt obſervant pilots and mariners who had ſailed in the *Spaniſh* ſhips to the gulph of *Mexico*, many of whom he had opportunity to meet and diſcourſe with in *Holland* and *Flanders*, he had learnt that the *Spaniards* always went into the gulph of *Mexico* by *St. Domingo* and the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, where the currents with the trade-winds always ran together, and ſet into the bay; that they always *diſembogu'd*, as they call'd it, or *came out* by the *Havana* and the channels of *Bahama*, which they now call the gulph of *Florida*; and that, as they return'd by this gulph, they found a continued coaſt on the weſt-ſide *trending* away north, which they generally loſt ſight of by ſtanding away to the eaſt, to make for the coaſt of *Spain*; *Ralegh* fully determin'd that there was a vaſt extent of land north of that gulph, or weſt from the coaſt of *Spain*, which might be well worth diſcovering; and, after mature deliberation, fully reſolv'd upon the diſcovery. As ſoon as he had digeſted his propoſal, and diſplay'd the manner of proſecuting it in proper ſchemes, he laid them before the queen and council, to whom it appearing a rational, practical, and generous undertaking, her majeſty

[a] As authors have been very defective and erroneous in their accounts of this brave and publick-ſpirited, but unfortunate knight, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* of *Compton*; I ſhall here obſerve that *John Hooker*, who knew him, ſays he was bred at *Oxford*. See his *Supply of the* Iriſh *chronicles*, p. 132; tho' *A. Wood* is ſilent of any ſuch *Oxonian*. *Hooker* takes notice of his extraordinary ſervices in *Ireland*, for which he was made colonel of *Munſter*; and Sir *Roger Williams*, in his *Actions of the Low-countries*, tells us he was the firſt *Engliſh* commander who led a regiment thither to ſerve the prince of *Orange* againſt the *Spaniards*. But *John Prince*, who pretends to give us his life among his worthies of *Devon*, mentions nothing of his land-ſervices. The ſaid *J. Prince* quotes Sir *W. Pole*'s MSS. to vouch this *Gilbert*'s being knighted by the queen at *Greenwich* 1577. But *Hooker* aforeſaid ſhews him to have been knighted in the church at *Drogheda*, by Sir *Hen. Sidney*, deputy of *Ireland*, ſeven years ſooner at leaſt; and agreeable thereto, we find him call'd Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* in a letter of Sir *Thomas Smith*'s, dated 1572, among Sir *D. Digges*'s collection before-mention'd, p. 299. Laſtly, another writer of his life, in *Latin*, places his laſt expedition to *Newfoundland* twenty years ſooner than he undertook it, if it is not the fault rather of the printer than the author, *vid. Hollandi Heroologia Anglica*. fol. *Arnheim* 1620, p. 65. As for Sir *Humphrey*'s writings, we have extant in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 11. his *Diſcourſe* to prove a paſſage by the north-weſt to *Cathay* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, in ten chapters; firſt publiſh'd in 4to. 1576. at the end of which he mentions another diſcourſe, now laſt I fear; wherein he amended the uſual errors of *ſea-cards*, which make the degrees of longitude in every latitude of equal bigneſs; and invented a *ſpherical inſtrument*, with a *compaſs of variation*, for the perfect knowledge of the *longitude*; and laid down a preciſe order to prick the *ſea-cards*, with certain rules for the ſhortning any diſcovery, and knowing at the firſt entrance of any *fret*, whether it lies open to the ocean more ways than one, and how far the *ſea* ſtretches itſelf into the *land*. As for the *picture* at *Compton*, ſaid by *Prince* to be drawn for Sir *H. Gilbert*; if his author, Sir *W. Pole*, is no truer in his aſſertion of the queen's having given Sir *Humphrey* the gold chain repreſented about the neck thereof, than he was in her having knighted him, and there are no other ſignatures beſides that chain, and the inſcription of *virginia* on the globe, with the verſes under it relating thereto; I ſee not but the picture is to be doubted, as rather meant for his brother *Ralegh*, who was honoured with a golden chain by the queen, and whoſe title to that inſcription on the globe was beyond any man's in the world. But the ſtately poem in *Latin Hexameters*, upon his laſt expedition, by *Stephanus Parmenius Budeius*, a learned *Hungarian*, who was drown'd with him, was undoubtedly, among other *Engliſh* adventurers therein nam'd, chiefly intended for his honour. See it in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 138.

[b] *Camd. Annal. Eliz. Reg. Anno* 1583.

[c] See an hiſtorical account of the voyages and adventures of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with the diſcoveries and conqueſts he made for the crown of *England*, *&c.* humbly propos'd to the *South-Sea* company, 8vo. 1719, p. 8. Though no author's name is prefix'd to it, I take it to be written by captain *Philip Ralegh* hereafter mention'd.

was

was pleaſed in the beginning of the year 1584. to grant him full power to enjoy ſuch countries as he propoſed to diſcover, by her letters patents; which in epitomy, or diveſted of the tautologies uſual, if not neceſſary, in inſtruments of ſuch kind, are as follows.

The queen's letters patents to him for diſcovering of unknown countries.

" *ELIZABETH, &c. To all people greeting.* Know ye that out of our ſpecial grace, " we grant to our truſty and well-beloved ſervant *Walter Ralegh* Eſq; his heirs and aſſigns, " free liberty to diſcover ſuch remote heathen and barbarous lands not actually poſſeſſed by " any Chriſtian prince, nor inhabited by Chriſtian people, as to him or them ſhall ſeem good, " to hold the ſame with all prerogatives, commodities, juriſdictions, royalties, and privileges, " by ſea and land, as we by letters patents may grant, or any of our progenitors have granted; " with licenſe to inhabit or remain, build and fortify, at the diſcretion of the ſaid *W. Ralegh*, " his heirs, *&c.* the ſtatutes or acts againſt fugitives, or ſuch as depart this realm unprivileg'd " notwithſtanding.

" We likewiſe grant him or them full power to take or lead ſuch of our ſubjects, as ſhall " willingly accompany him or them; alſo to employ and uſe ſufficient ſhipping and furni- " ture for tranſportations and navigations in that behalf: ſo that none of thoſe perſons be ſuch " as are reſtrain'd by us, our heirs or ſucceſſors. Further, that the ſaid *W. Ralegh*, and his heirs, " ſhall enjoy for ever all the ſoil of ſuch lands ſo to be diſcover'd, and of all ſuch cities, caſtles, " or towns in the ſame, with the right, and royalties, as well marine as other, within the ſaid " lands or ſeas adjoining, with full power to diſpoſe thereof in fee ſimple, or otherwiſe, ac- " cording to the laws of *England*, at his and their will, to any perſon within the allegiance " of us or our heirs, reſerving always to us, for all ſervices, duties and demands, the " fifth part of all the oar of gold and ſilver there obtain'd after ſuch diſcovery. All which " lands, and countries, ſhall be for ever holden by the ſaid *W. Ralegh*, his heirs, *&c.* by " homage, the ſaid payment reſerv'd only for all ſervices. We likewiſe grant to the ſaid " *Ralegh* and his heirs licenſe for their defence, to repell by land or ſea all perſons that ſhall with- " out his or their liking attempt to inhabit the ſaid countries, or within two hundred leagues " of the places in them where he or they within ſix years to come ſhall make their dwellings, if " not before inhabited by the ſubjects of any Chriſtian prince in amity with us. Giving alſo " power to him or them to take thoſe perſons, with their ſhips and goods, and keep them as " lawful prize, who without his or their licenſe ſhall be found trafficking within the limits " aforeſaid (our ſubjects and others in amity with us only excepted.) And as well for uniting " in more perfect league ſuch countries with our realms of *England* and *Ireland*, as for the " encouragement of men to theſe enterpriſes, we declare that all ſuch countries ſo poſſeſſed " ſhall be of our allegiance. And we grant to the ſaid *W. Ralegh*, his heirs, and to all be- " ing of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall be enter'd in ſome court of record within our " realm of *England*, and to their heirs, who with the aſſent of the ſaid *W. Ralegh*, his heirs, *&c.* " ſhall in his journeys for diſcovery or conqueſt hereafter travel to ſuch lands, that they " and every of them, being either born within our ſaid *Realms* of *England* or *Ireland*, or " any other place within our allegiance, and who ſhall hereafter be inhabitants of any of the " lands aforeſaid; ſhall have all the privilege of free denizens and perſons native of *England*, " in ſuch ample manner as if they were born and perſonally reſident in our ſaid realm of *Eng-* " *land*, any law, *&c.* notwithſtanding. And further, for the ſafety of all that ſhall adven- " ture themſelves, we grant the ſaid *W. Ralegh*, and his heirs, full power and authority with- " in the ſaid lands, in the way thither, and from thence, to correct, puniſh, pardon, govern " by their good diſcretions and policies, as well in cauſes capital or criminal, as civil, both " marine and other, all our ſubjects who ſo adventure themſelves, and ſhall inhabit the territo- " ries aforeſaid, or ſhall abide within two hundred leagues of any ſuch places where he or " they ſhall inhabit within ſix years next enſuing, according to ſuch ſtatutes as ſhall be by him " or them eſtabliſh'd; ſo that the ſaid ſtatutes or laws conform as near as conveniently may be " with thoſe of *England*, and do not oppugn the Chriſtian faith, or any way withdraw the " people of thoſe lands from our allegiance. We alſo grant full power to our truſty and " well-beloved counſellor Sir *W. Cecile*, lord *Burghley*, our high-treaſurer of *England*, and " to the lord-treaſurer for us and our heirs, and to the privy-council of us and our heirs, or any " four or more of them, that he or they, under their hands or ſeals, authoriſe the ſaid Sir *Wal-* " *ter Ralegh* or his heirs, by themſelves or officers, to tranſport out of *England* and *Ireland* " any of their goods, with other commodities, as to the ſaid lord-treaſurer or the ſaid privy- " council ſhall be thought convenient, for the better relief and ſupport of the ſaid *Walter Ra-* " *legh* or his heirs, any act notwithſtanding. Provided always, that if the ſaid *Walter Ra-* " *legh*, his heirs, or any other, by his or their licence, ſhall rob or ſpoil by ſea or land, or do " any unlawful hoſtility to any of our ſubjects, or thoſe of kings or ſtates in perfect league

" and

" and unity with us, we ſhall, upon juſt complaint, make proclamation that the ſaid *W. Ra-*
" *legh* or his heirs ſhall, within the terms to be limited, make full ſatisfaction; ſo that we
" and thoſe who complain may be fully contented; and that if he or they make not ſuch ſa-
" tisfaction within ſuch time, it ſhall be lawful for us to put him or them out of our alle-
" giance, and from that time for all princes or others to purſue with hoſtility, as not to be
" avouch'd or defended by us: though any mention of the yearly value of the premiſſes, or any
" part thereof, or of any other grant by us or our predeceſſors to the ſaid *Walter Ralegh* be-
" fore this time made, be not expreſs'd; or any other proviſion or reſtraint to the contrary
" notwithſtanding. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents,
" at *Weſtminſter* the 25th of *March*, in the 26th year of our reign. [a]

IMMEDIATELY upon the grant of this patent, *Ralegh* gave his inſtructions for an *American* voyage [b] to captain *Philip Amadas* and captain *Arthur Barlow*, two experienced commanders, and had got a couple of barks well furniſh'd with men and proviſions at his own expence, in ſuch readineſs, that on the twenty-ſeventh day of *April* following they departed from the weſt of *England*. The tenth of *May* they arrived at the *Canaries*, and a month after fell upon the iſles of the *Weſt-Indies* " which, with the reſt adjoining (ſays my author, one of thoſe
" captains) are ſo well known to your ſelf (directing the account of this voyage to his pro-
" prietor) and to many others, that I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them."
In the beginning of *July* they were ſaluted with a moſt fragant gale from the land they were ſeeking, and ſoon after arrived upon the coaſt; but ſail'd along ſome ſix-ſcore miles before they could find an entrance by any river iſſuing into the ſea. At laſt, diſcovering one, they mann'd out their boats to view the land adjoining, where they ſaw vines laden with grapes in vaſt abundance, climbing up the tall cedars, and ſpreading ſo luxuriantly along the ſandy ſhore, that the ſea often over-flowed them. On the thirteenth of *July* they took poſſeſſion in right of the queen, and afterwards deliver'd the country over to *Ralegh*'s uſe. They thought this land had at firſt been the continent, but found it afterwards only an iſland twenty miles long, called *Wocoken*; plentifully ſtock'd with animals, groves of ſweet-ſmelling trees, pulſe, grain, and eſculent roots. They obſerv'd along the coaſt, a tract of iſlands two or three hundred miles long; and paſſing between them, ſaw another great ſea, twenty, forty, and in ſome places fifty miles over, before they could reach the continent; and in this incloſed ſea above a hundred iſlands of various ſize, whereof one is ſixteen miles long, called *Roanoak*, and about ſeven leagues diſtant, up the river *Occam*, from the harbour they firſt enter'd; at which they chiefly ſettled while they ſtay'd, finding it ſo pleaſant and fruitful as to yield three harveſts in five months. But they remain'd upon the borders of *Wocoken* two days before they beheld a human creature; on the third, they ſaw a boat rowing towards them with three of the natives; one of them landed, and walk'd up the ſhore near their ſhip, for they were then on board; then the two captains, with ſome others, took their boat and row'd to land, and by their courteous carriage, ſoon prevail'd on the native to return with them on board, where they cloathed him, and gave him victuals, wine, and ſeveral little toys or utenſils, which won the ſimple creature's heart. Soon after his departure, he return'd again with a boat full of fiſh, to be divided between the ſhip and the pinnace, and then he left them. The next day came the king's brother *Granganimeo*, with a great many attendants; for the king himſelf, who was named *Wingina*, and his large territories *Wingandacoa*, lay ill of the wounds he had lately receiv'd in war. His brother was highly pleas'd with his entertainment, and having received ſeveral preſents, ſoon after ſent the ſavages to traffick with the *Engliſh*; alſo came again himſelf, and exchang'd twenty ſkins, worth as many nobles, for a tin diſh, which he hung as a gorget about his neck, to defend him from the arrows of his enemies: then alſo he brought his wife and children, with her attendants, forty or fifty in number. She was well-favour'd, but baſhful, clad in a mantle of deer-ſkin, lin'd with fur, and a kind of apron of the ſame, her hair hung down long on each ſide, with a band of white coral about her forehead, and long bracelets of pearl down to her middle, as big as peaſe in her ears, *a bracelet whereof, we deliver'd to your worſhip*, ſays my author to *Ralegh*. Her huſband's apparel was much like hers, only about his head he wore a broad plate of gold or copper, and his hair was long but on one ſide. After this interview, familiar commerce paſs'd between the natives and the *Engliſh*, who, when they went to *Roanoak*, were much careſs'd and treated by the lady aforeſaid. And when ſhe could not prevail with them to ſtay,

The firſt voyage for the diſcovery of *Wingandacoa*.

[a] See theſe letters patents at large (penn'd with the ſame limitations that Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*'s had been) in *Hakluyt*'s voyages, vol. 3. fol. 243.

[b] But that he now ſail'd thither himſelf, or then made the diſcovery, whatever he might do before, of the country hereafter mention'd, in perſon, and return'd in the beginning of 1585, as the author of his life, in *Lives Engliſh and foreign*, tells us, vol. 1. p. 90, is all fancy and fiction.

being

being but few in company, tho' the natives had no edge-tools of iron or ſteel, and had proffer'd a great box of pearl for ſome armour and a ſword, ſhe ſent her women to watch them all night in their ſhips on the bank-ſide. And indeed all the people, who ſaw them, admir'd much at their ſhips, their fire-arms, their cloaths, and above all, their complexions; for, except a veſſel which was caſt away with ſome chriſtian adventurers about twenty-ſix years before near *Secotan*, the ſouthermoſt town in *Wingandacoa*, never any people in apparel, or of fair colour were ſeen or heard of among them; which made them wonder ſo much at the whiteneſs of their ſkins, and ſo fond of ſeeing and touching them. Under theſe favourable recommendations, and the diſtreſs which the natives were in for ſome powerful friends to defend them from the invaſions of their neighbours, the promiſes of viſiting them again, wherewith the *Engliſh* left them, after having learnt as much of the ſituation, ſtate, and product of the country, as was at this time convenient, were very acceptable. So bringing over a couple of the *Indians* with them, named *Manteo* and *Wancheſe*, to ſhew them our fine country, they arriv'd ſafely in the weſt of *England* about the middle of *September* following. Then captain *Barlow* addreſs'd the relation of this firſt voyage, and his ſucceſs in it, to his proprietor, whereof I have thus given an abſtract.[a]

When *Ralegh* had laid before her majeſty theſe and all other reports moſt worthy of notice, which were brought him of this rich, beautiful, and virgin country; and had acknowledg'd how much this hopeful progreſs towards the poſſeſſion of it was owing to the auſpices of a virgin queen; ſhe was ſo well pleas'd with the honour and advantage it promis'd, and gave him ſuch encouragement to compleat the diſcovery, which he forthwith prepar'd to do by another expedition, that ſhe call'd it her ſelf by the name of VIRGINIA.[b] What enemies this publick patronage might raiſe him at court, we hear not; but find he had ſuch friends in the country, that upon the approaching ſeſſions of parliament, about two months after, he was elected a knight of the ſhire for the county of *Devon*, Sir *William Courtenay* being the other repreſentative.[c] There was then a clerk of the parliament ſo very indolent, or otherwiſe indiſpos'd, that the tranſactions of the houſe of commons at this time were very imperfectly recorded.[d] Yet we find *Ralegh* mention'd to have been choſen of the committees upon ſome bills that were then read. On the fourteenth of *December* following, the bill, in confirmation of his patent aforeſaid for the diſcovery of foreign countries, was read the firſt time. In the afternoon it was read the ſecond time, and committed to the vice-chamberlain *Hatton*, ſecretary *Walſingham*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *Richard Greenfield* (or *Grenvill*) Sir *William Courtenay*, Sir *William Mohun*, and others. Three days after the ſaid bill was, without any alteration, order'd to be engroſs'd. The next day it was read the third time, when, after many arguments and a proviſo added, it paſs'd the houſe upon the queſtion.[e] Between this time in *December* and the twenty-fourth of *February* following he receiv'd the honour of knighthood; for being then in a committee for conſidering after what manner and meaſure they ſhould ſupply her majeſty by ſubſidy: this is the earlieſt time I meet with of his being ſtyl'd Sir *Walter Ralegh*;[f] a title which her majeſty beſtow'd, as all others of honour, with frugality and choice. Therefore was it a more certain cognizance of virtue or valour, than titles of more pompous denomination in the reign of her ſucceſſor, who ſuffer'd lucre to corrupt the noble fountain, to turn it into vulgar channels, and drain it even to the dregs;[g] ſo that the dignities which flowed or overflowed from it, proved diſtinctions oftener of their pride, riches, or proſtitutions, on whom they were conferr'd, than of any abilities or performances for the publick good that might deſerve them. Nay, that this honour was intended by that queen as the moſt ſignificant teſtimony of perſonal deſert, may be inſtanced, according to an ingenious obſerver of her reign, "in "Sir *Francis Vere*, a man nobly deſcended; and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, exactly qualify'd, ſays he,

Named *Virginia.*

He is choſen member of parliament.

Knighted.

[a] See the firſt voyage to the coaſts of *America* with two barks, by the captains *Amadas* and *Barlow*, at the charge of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 246.

[b] Moſt authors ſay, *Ralegh* firſt call'd it *Virginia* in compliment to the queen; but ſhe nam'd it ſo her ſelf, as further will appear.

[c] *Notitia Parliamentaria*, by *Brown Willis* Eſq, 8vo. vol. 2. 1716. p. 254.

[d] His name was *Fulk Onſlow*. See Sir *Simon D'Ewes*'s journal of both houſes in queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, fol. 1708, p. 356; and other parts of this ſeſſion.

[e] Ib. fol. 341. [f] Ib. fol. 356.

[g] Sir *Edward Walker*, garter, and ſecretary of war to king *Charles* I. obſerves, "That in all queen *Elizabeth*'s forty-"four years reign ſhe created but ſix earls, and eight or "nine barons. So that when ſhe died, the nobility con-"ſiſted but of one marquis, nineteen earls, two viſcounts, "and about thirty barons: but doubts whether in the "reign of king *James*, the diſpenſing of honours ſo li-"berally was not one of the beginnings of general diſ-"contents, eſpecially among perſons of great extraction. "So that when this king died, having reign'd but twenty-"two years, he left the nobility in his three kingdoms "above double the number to what he found them, tho' "his reign was peaceable, and not full of action, which "renders men in capacity highly to merit from their "prince; and ſo, without envy, receive advancement." And a little further, "When alliance to a favourite; "riches, though gotten in a ſhop; perſons of private "eſtates, and of families, that many of them, and their "fathers, would have thought themſelves highly honour'd "to have been but knights in queen *Elizabeth*'s time, were "advanc'd; then the fruits thereof began to appear, *&c.*" His *obſervations* on the inconveniencies of frequent promotions to *titles* of *honour*; in his *hiſtorical diſcourſes*, fol. 1705, p. 300 and 302, *&c.*

" with many others, ſet apart in her judgment for military ſervices; whoſe titles ſhe never " rais'd above knighthood: ſaying, when importun'd to make *Vere* a baron; *That in his proper* " *ſphere, and her eſtimation, he was* above *it already.*" [a]

His patent for wine-licences.

ABOUT the time that her majeſty granted *Ralegh* the patent above-cited for the diſcovery of remote countries, ſhe ſeems alſo to have given him another to licenſe the vending of wines throughout the kingdom, that by the advantages of this, he might be better able to ſuſtain the great charges which the other brought upon him. There were no reſtrictions belike in this patent from increaſing the number of vintners in any part of the realm. And hence aroſe his controverſy at this time with one of the univerſities. For *Ralegh* having by virtue of that general patent given licence to one *John Keymer* to ſell wine in *Cambridge*, ſome of the hotter heads, eſpecially the other vintners there, among whom was one *Baxter*, a 'ſquire beadle, licenſed to ſell wine by that univerſity, oppoſed this *Keymer* and his wife with ſuch violence, that ſhe was likely to have died. Complaint being made to *Ralegh*, he wrote a letter to *The worſhipful Dr.* Howland, *vice-chancellor, and the reſt of the maſters*, to tell them how much he took this riotous demeanor as a contempt of the queen's grant to him; preſuming, if he had given any unlawful privilege, the conference he had offer'd, by his deputies, for a quiet deciſion of the matter by learned council between them, would have been accepted. Further telling them, that if the abuſe was not regulated, and the ſaid *Keymer* permitted to enjoy the liberty granted him, he would take ſome other courſe for reformation therein; but reſting aſſured they would uſe ſuch means as might occaſion no further trouble, he not deſiring to execute his grant to its extent among their vintners, who were the only diſturbers herein, reſpecting more their own gain than quiet government; he only craves their anſwer, and that the riotous perſons might not reſt unpuniſhed: ſo bids them heartily farewel; from his lodgings at the court the 9th of *July* 1584; and ſubſcribes himſelf *Your very affectionate loving friend.* This producing no anſwer in ſeven months, and *Ralegh* having heard they continued to oppreſs *Keymer*; he wrote, by him, again; *To his loving friend the vice-chancellor, &c.* telling him, that being by information perſwaded, himſelf, with the grave and well-diſpoſed of the univerſity, were ſo grieved with the unſeemly outrages lately committed by the young and unbridled heads thereof, to the contempt of the queen's prerogative and his diſcredit, as ſufficient order had been taken for the bearer's quiet; which cauſed him to reſt from requiring reformation therein at his good lord-treaſurer's hands; who as yet underſtood nothing from him of theſe riots, through the good-will he bore to their univerſity: and that he meant ſo to deal with them for the other four taverns, as ſhould ſufficiently have contented them. But his too favourable dealing with them had given ſuch encouragement, as, this day, he is inform'd, that, intending further to diſturb the bearer, they had warned him to appear before them; with which he had perſuaded him to comply; for tho' he knew them not, their place ſhould tell him, their proceedings would be juſt and lawful; which only he deſired, and wherein they would pleaſure themſelves, and continue his readineſs to ſerve them. Thus hoping to find by their anſwer, theſe informations ſprung rather from jealouſy than juſt occaſion, he leaves them to God; from the court at *Somerſet-Houſe* the 10th of *February* in the year aforeſaid, and ſubſcribes himſelf *Your very willing friend.* Upon their ſending no anſwer to this, and *Ralegh* hearing they had ſuddenly clapp'd up the man in priſon, he ſent ten days after the laſt, his third letter from the court, directed *To the vice-chancellor, and the reſt of the maſters, &c.* And herein tells them, he cannot a little marvel at their peremptory and proud manner of dealing. That he was content to uſe all manner of courteſy towards them in reſpect of his honourable good lord the lord-treaſurer; but perceived his reaſonable, or rather too ſubmiſs dealing, had bred in them a proceeding unſufferable; having committed a poor man to priſon, for doing nothing but what was warranted by the great ſeal of *England*; which, ſuppoſing they had a charter, he knew not that any man or ſociety would ſo much take upon them to do, before a trial. *As I reverence the place*, ſays he, *of which you are the governors, ſo I will not willingly take any wrong or diſgrace from you.* But as he was aſſur'd the lord-treaſurer would be indifferent in the caſe, and as the matter ſo much concern'd the validity of his patent elſewhere, as well as in their univerſity, he would try the utmoſt of his right as well for this one, wherewith he was content to have been ſatisfy'd, as for all the other four. So having thought they would have vouchſafed him an anſwer to his laſt letters, he ends, ſubſcribing himſelf *Your friend, as you ſhall give cauſe.* [b] This rous'd them to ſome conſideration, and ſoon after, a

His controverſy with the univerſity of *Cambridge.*

[a] The miſcellaneous works of *Francis Oſborne* Eſq; in Traditional Memoirs on the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, vol. 2. p. 43.

[b] The three letters, whereof I have here given the ſubſtance in *Ralegh*'s own words, were communicated to me by the right honourable the earl of *Oxford*, from the collections of the reverend and learned Mr. *Baker* of St. *John's College, Cambridge*, who copied them out of the originals.

handſome

handſome apologetical letter was ſent from *the vice-chancellor to Sir* W. Ralegh, ſetting forth, that the hard opinion he had conceived of them for this matter, made them doubt what manner of anſwer they might addreſs to him without offence; and that their ſilence was ſo ill taken, they knew not how their endeavours to excuſe it might give him ſatisfaction. That they had not neglected any reaſonable means to procure his favour for the quiet enjoyment of that whereof they had the fruition for above two hundred years; nor omitted to become petitioners to him in a very humble manner. That his counſel had not made any juſt exception againſt their charters; and thoſe who had the hearing of the caſe, thought them to have the better warrant. Yet that he uſed ſuch hard terms, as they little look'd for at his hands; "being by birth a gentleman; "by education train'd up to the knowledge of good letters; inſtructed with the liberal diſpoſi- "tion of a univerſity, the fountain and nurſery of all humanity: and further, by God's good "bleſſing, advanc'd in court, from whence the very name of courteſy is drawn." That the prejudice he apprehended from their example againſt his patent, was unlikely to fall out; ſince other places were not privileg'd as the univerſities were. That her majeſty's grant, by her prerogative, gave him his title; and the like prerogative was the ground of their charters. And as he would think it hard to have his patent impeach'd by an after-grant, they hoped he would with like equity meaſure them, who were warranted to have the ſole dealing with all vintners in *Cambridge* town, and the precincts thereof. Touching the impriſonment of the party, whom he charged them with proceeding againſt before trial; and who, according to Mr. *Brown*'s promiſe to the lord-treaſurer, was to have given over at *Michaelmas* laſt; however the courſe thereof had been otherwiſe reported to him, it was only at this time to correct his contempt in not appearing, being lawfully warned, and refuſing to anſwer before the ordinary judge, or enter bond for appearance when cauſe ſhould require. That for their own part, it would be no diſadvantage whether he or other, one or many, were vintners there; but in regard of the youth committed to their charge, duty bound them to conſider who they admitted to keep taverns, the number whereof alſo was limited; which, if they exceeded, would endanger their privileges; for the preſervation whereof as they had all taken a ſpecial oath, ſo they right humbly *eftſoons* beſeech'd him to have regard of them for their duties therein. Concluding thus; "Whatever kindneſs you ſhall any ways ſhew to the univerſity; *As the body thereof doth ſtill "continue, ſo the memory thereof cannot decay.* There is not one of us, but you may readily "command wherein it may pleaſe you to employ us; only we pray you, and that in the heartieſt "manner, to vouchſafe us your favour in matter of our privileges; *That we may leave them in "no worſe eſtate to our poſterity, than we did receive them of our predeceſſors.* Thus deſiring "God ſo to direct you with his bleſſed ſpirit, as may be moſt to his glory, and your greateſt "comfort, we take our leave; from *Cambridge.*"[a] This might probably pacify *Ralegh* at preſent, both for their neglect in not anſwering his letters, and their forwardneſs in impriſoning the man; till the difference was a few months afterwards accommodated by the lord-treaſurer, who was chancellor of that univerſity.[b]

AND indeed at this juncture *Ralegh* ſeems to have had little leiſure for further debates of this kind: for the parliament being ſoon after, on the 29th of *March* 1585, prorogued, *Ralegh* appears ſeveral ways engag'd in the laudable improvements of navigation. For his brother *Adrian Gilbert* of *Sandridge*, afterwards knighted, in purſuance of the arguments laid down by his brother Sir *Humphrey*, having been at great charges in finding out the northern paſſage to *China* and the *Moluccas*; and in conſideration thereof been granted a patent by the queen two years before this time, to purſue the diſcovery by partners, under the title of *The colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage*; *Ralegh* was now one of the aſſociates in this enterprize; and after having duly conſulted about the likelieſt means to ſucceſs, and liberally contributed towards the expence, they choſe captain *John Davis*, an experienc'd navigator, to be undertaker of the exploit. He ſet firſt out upon it this ſummer from *Falmouth* in two barks. When he came to land in ſixty-ſix degrees forty minutes latitude, he anchor'd in a

Contributes to the diſcovery of the *north-weſt* paſſage.

[a] The old copy of this letter, whence I have given the extract above, is in the poſſeſſion of *Hugh Howard* Eſq;

[b] For the ſaid lord treaſurer *Burghley* ſent, in a letter to Dr. *Norgate*, his vice-chancellor, on the 26th of *July* 1585, the opinion of the two chief juſtices, Sir *Chriſtopher Wraye* and Sir *Edmond Anderſon*, upon this controverſy between that univerſity and Mr. *Rawlie*, as he is therein call'd, for the nomination of vintners, and ſetting the price of wine there; which opinion is as follows——— "Firſt, touching the *nomination* of vintners there, we "think it appertaineth to the univerſity, by uſage and "charters from her majeſty, confirmed by parliament: "and that Mr. *Rawlie* can nominate none there. For "the *price*; it ſeemeth they may ſet prices, ſo as it be "according to the ſtatute, and not otherwiſe. And if "the vintners ſet at higher prices, they are to be puniſhed "by law. Which penalty Mr. *Rawlie* may diſpenſe "withal; and yet cannot ſue for the penalty by his pa- "tent againſt the ſtatute laws: for therein all liberties "to the univerſity is excepted." After this, we hear no more of the diſpute. See the ſaid lord *Burghley*'s letter, and opinion of the judges, in Mr. *John Strype*'s annals of the church, tom. 3. 1728. fol. 343.

very

very fair road, under a brave mountain; which, for the ſplendid appearance it made, the cliffs thereof being as orient as gold, they named *Mount Ralegh*,[a] in honour of their proprietor; and ſoon after fell into the very paſſage they ſought, ſince, well known by the name of *Davis's Streights*. The farther ſearch whereof, through the ſame patronage and ſupport, captain *Davis* made in two voyages more, the two following years, and in a manner compleated the ſaid diſcovery.[b]

Mount Ralegh.

The ſecond voyage to *Virginia*.

But about two months before *Davis* begun his ſaid firſt voyage for this diſcovery, *Ralegh* ſent out his own fleet for *Virginia*, which conſiſted of ſeven ſail, whereof ſome were his own ſhips, and they departed from *Plymouth* on the 9th of *April*, the year above ſpecified. He deputed his gallant relation Sir *Richard Grenville* general of the expedition, and Mr. *Ralph Lane*, who was afterwards knighted, to be governor of the colony, which they now tranſported. There went beſides, Mr. *Thomas Candiſh*, *John Arundel*, *Raymond*, *Stucley*, *Bremige*, *Vincent*, Mr. *John Clark*, and ſeveral others, whereof ſome were captains, and others aſſiſtants for council and direction in the voyage. So they ſhaped their courſe to the *Canary* iſlands, from thence to *Dominica*, and to the iſland of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, where they were ſadly ſtung with the *Muſketoes*, and near which they took two *Spaniſh* frigats; one whereof was freighted with a rich cargo, and divers *Spaniards* of diſtinction, who afterwards were ranſom'd for good round ſums of money. Then they made away to *Hiſpaniola*, ſoon after which the general, and ſome of his company, were near being caſt away in catching of *Seals*. From thence they ſail'd to *Florida*,[c] and on the 26th of *June* anchor'd at *Wocoken*, whence they ſent word of their arrival to king *Wingina* at *Roanoak*. They carried the *Indians* with them from *England*; and *Manteo*, on the 6th of *July*, led Mr. *Arundel* to the main continent, where they found ſome of their men, who had been conducted thither twenty days before, by captain *Raymond*. On the eleventh following, the general, accompanied by *Arundel*, *Stucley*, *Lane*, *Candiſh*, *Hariot*, *Amadas*, *Clark*, and others, paſſed over the water to the main land, and victuall'd their ſhips; in which voyage they firſt diſcover'd the towns of *Pomeioc*, *Aquaſgococ*, and *Secotan*; alſo the great lake *Paquipe*, and many other places; then return'd to their fleet. They afterwards re-viſited thoſe parts, and were kindly entertained by the ſavages. Coming at laſt to anchor at *Hatoraſk*; prince *Grangino*, or *Granganimeo*, before mention'd, came attended by *Manteo* to viſit them on board the admiral, which was named the *Tyger*. The particulars which paſſed between them about the ſettlement are not mention'd in the ſhort journal of this voyage; but we may conclude it was agreed on to their mutual ſatisfaction; ſince one hundred and ſeven men, whoſe names are printed at the end of the ſaid journal, under the government of Mr. *Lane*, were left for a year in the country, without diſturbance, to begin the plantation. On the 25th of *Auguſt* the general weighed anchor, and ſet ſail for *England*: about ſix days after he took a *Spaniſh* ſhip of three hundred ton, richly laden; and on the 18th of *October* arrived with the prize at *Plymouth*, where he was courteouſly receiv'd by his worſhipful friend.[d]

A rich prize,

Of this prize, we have ſome further account, if it is to be credited; for it comes from a man, who, in the latter end of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s life, met with countenance to prove his greateſt enemy; but after his death, found himſelf neceſſitated to publiſh all the arguments he could deviſe, to juſtify his perfidy towards him, and aſſwage the reproach of mankind. This author, one of king *James*'s knights, was the ſon, it ſeems, of that *Stucley*[e] mention'd in the foregoing voyage; who is no where call'd a captain, nor ſeems to have had command in any of the ſhips; but to have been a private gentleman, who went over as an aſſiſtant for council,

[a] *John Jane*'s account of captain *Davis*'s firſt voyage in *June* 1585, for the diſcovery of the *north-weſt paſſage*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 101.

[b] Theſe two voyages follow the firſt in the ſame volume. *Joannes Baptiſta Ramuſius*, in the preface to his third volume of *Navigations*, writes with reſpect to this diſcovery of the *north-weſt paſſage* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the attempt firſt made by *Sebaſtian Cabota*, pilot-major of *England*, as follows: "It ſeems, that God does ſtill reſerve this great enterprize, for ſome great prince, to diſcover this voyage to *Cathay* by this way; which, for the bringing of the ſpiceries from *India* into *Europe*, were the moſt eaſy and ſhorteſt of all others; to make his name great, and fame immortal to all ages to come; far more than can be done by any of all thoſe great troubles and wars which daily are uſed in *Europe* among the miſerable *Chriſtian* people."

[c] One argument uſed by a late author to prove this was the firſt attempt made for the diſcovery of theſe parts of *America*, is, that theſe navigators "knew no other way to ſail from *England* to the coaſt of *Virginia*, than to go firſt to the *Canaries*, from thence to *Hiſpaniola*, and into the Gulph of *Mexico*; then out by *Cuba* and the Gulph of *Bahama*; and ſo coaſt along the ſhore from *Florida* to *Virginia*, from the latitude of 30 minutes to 42; which is in ſhort (ſays he) like going from *London* by *Portſmouth*, and from thence to *Exeter*, away to *Briſtol*, and ſo up by the banks of the *Severn* to come at *Weſt-Cheſter*." Captain *Philip Ralegh*'s hiſtorical account of the voyages and adventures of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, 8vo. p. 19.

[d] See the voyage made by Sir *Richard Grenvill* for Sir *Walter Ralegh* to *Virginia*, *Anno* 1585, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 251; and the abridgment of it in the *Latin* life of Sir *Richard Grenvill*, by *H. Holland. Herwolog. Angl.* fol. 1620. p. 85.

[e] A late author, in his life of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, calls him *John Stucley*, from what authority I know not. *Lives Engliſh and Foreign*, vol. 1. p. 91.

or

or ſome directions relating to the plantation. But his ſaid ſon, after *Ralegh*'s death, hence takes occaſion to tell us, that one day himſelf upbraiding *Ralegh* with the injury he had done his father, in deceiving him of a great adventure, "which my ſaid father (ſays he) had in the *Tyger*, "when he went to the *Weſt-Indies* with my uncle Sir *Richard Grenvill*; which was, by his "(*Ralegh*'s) own confeſſion, worth fifty thouſand pounds, and came all to his hands, my father's "portion being at leaſt ten thouſand pounds, which he might lawfully claim: he anſwer'd; "that the queen, however ſhe ſeem'd a great and good miſtreſs to him in the eyes of the "world, yet was ſo unjuſt and tyrannous to him, that ſhe laid the envy as well of this, as of "many other her oppreſſions, upon him: and that ſhe took all the pearl in a cabinet unto "her ſelf, without ſo much as ever giving him one pearl."[a] This is publiſh'd viſibly to reflect injuſtice upon *Ralegh* towards that author's father, and ingratitude towards the queen: but how probable it will ſeem (had it proceeded even from an indifferent hand) that ſo great a ſhare in this prize ſhould be due to his father, and no diſſatisfaction appear in his uncle; he who got it all, to be allowed alſo no ſhare; or that his father ſhould never claim ſo great a ſum by law, which, as the ſon ſays, he might lawfully claim; and laſtly, how ſo great a profit to *Ralegh* will correſpond with ſome ſubſequent obſervations on the royal aſſiſtance he ſoon needed, through the ſlender returns theſe *Virginian* voyages made for all the charge and care he beſtow'd upon them, muſt be ſubmitted to the reader's judgment, when he ſhall arrive at thoſe paſſages; and more eſpecially at the tragical cataſtrophe of the whole ſtory.

If ſo much good fortune did now befall *Ralegh*, a pretty enlargement was ſoon after made to it by the queen her ſelf; ſomewhat unuſual with the leiſurely courſe of her bounty: but that it was a favour in conjunction, or of a comprehenſive nature; from a principal ſhare whereof, he, neither for his former eminent ſervices, could be juſtly excluded; nor for the ſupport of that chargeable diſcovery, by which he had ſo newly deſerved. For an end having been put to the *Munſter* rebellion by force of arms, and the country further laid deſolate by a raging famine, which devour'd what the ſword had left, except a few who remain'd in cities, fled to *England*, or could feed upon weeds and carrion, ſo as even to rob the graves and the gibbets of their dead, to keep the dying alive;[b] the queen ſoon became deſirous of repeopling the country, and to have ways conſider'd on, how the late earl of *Deſmond*'s large territories in *Ireland* might be diſpos'd of to the advantage of her and her ſubjects. After commiſſioners were ſent over for this purpoſe, and proper methods taken to prevent fraudulent conveyances by the rebels, there was now at laſt a ſcheme reſolv'd on for the plantation of *Munſter*; and ſecretary *Fenton* carried over the inſtructions towards the latter end of this year.[c] The whole forfeiture was above five hundred ſeventy-four thouſand acres of land;[d] and after ſome reſtitutions had been made, the remainder was divided into *Seigniories* among certain *gentlemen-undertakers*, as they were call'd;[e] but chiefly ſuch as had been inſtrumental in appeaſing the *Iriſh* rebellion. One of the largeſt diviſions, which was twelve thouſand acres, ſituate in the counties of *Cork* and *Waterford*, was given by her majeſty to Sir *Walter Ralegh* and his heirs, with certain privileges and immunities, upon thoſe conditions of planting and improving the ſame, to which the reſt were alſo oblig'd.[f] And tho' many of the *undertakers* did not people their *Seigniories* with well-affected *Engliſh*, but ſold them to *Engliſh* papiſts, or otherwiſe to their profit; nor fortified according to their covenants; nor forbore encroaching upon the lands of the loyal and protected *Iriſh* (as the crown on the other ſide fail'd of maintaining certain forces promis'd for their ſecurity from freſh invaſions;) yet I meet with none of thoſe irregularities objected to *Ralegh*: on the contrary, that he peopled his plantation unexceptionably; that he kept the ſaid eſtate to the latter end of the queen's reign, and then ſold it to *Richard Boyle*, afterwards the famous earl of *Cork*, as, in a *memorial* of his own life, the ſaid

His Seigniory in *Ireland*.

[a] Sir *Lewis Stucley*'s petition and information to king *James*, &c. 4to. p. 8. a pamphlet hereafter more particularly mention'd.

[b] *Hooker's Supply* to the chronicles of *Ireland*, *ad fin.* and *Spenſer*'s *View* of *Ireland*.

[c] *Cox*'s hiſtory of *Ireland*, fol. 389—391. See alſo *Howes* abridgment of *Stow*'s chronicles, *Anno* 1585, p. 353.

[d] *Fynes Moryſon* in his *Itinerary*, fol. 1617. part 2. cap. 1. pag. 4. agrees with *Cox*, fol. 392, that the number of acres *Engliſh* meaſure, forfeited by the earl of *Deſmond* and his confederates, were 574628. But *Cox* makes three variations from *Moryſon* in the diviſion of that land, with reſpect to Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ſhare. For *Moryſon* makes *Ralegh*'s dividend to lie in *Waterford* and *Tipperary*; *Cox*, in *Cork* and *Waterford*; *Moryſon*, parcelling four ſhares together, allots by patent to the earl of *Ormond*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Sir *Edward Fitton*, and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, 22910 acres. But their four ſhares joined, out of *Cox*, amount to 37425 acres. Yet in *Cox* thisgreater tract yields but 242 *l.* 13 *s.* 7 *d.* yearly rents; and that ſmaller tract in *Moryſon*, 303 *l.* 3 *d.* So that *Moryſon*'s account falls ſhort of the other in 14515 *acres of land*; And *Cox*'s account falls ſhort of his in 60 *l.* 6. *s.* 8 *d.* *yearly rent*. But as no other author I have met with expreſly diſtinguiſhes Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ſhare to have been 12000 acres, with rents 66 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* beſides *Cox*; and he ſeems to have had good authority for that diſtinction; I find my ſelf obliged, not only by neceſſity, but reaſon, to accept of his account. See MS. collection in *Lamb. libr.* mark'd M. fol. 166.

[e] Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s table-book, MS. 8vo. p. 131.

[f] *Cox*, fol. 391. & MS. in *Bibl. Lambeth.* lib. C.

earl has related.[a] But as capacious as this benefit ſeemed, it was rather expenſive perhaps at firſt, than profitable to him.

For Sir *Richard Grenvill*, who, at his departure from *Virginia*, had promis'd the colony he left behind to return punctually with ſupplies by the following *Eaſter* at furtheſt, was not altogether ſo expeditious as they expected; probably through ſome difficulties attending the charge thereof, which *Ralegh*'s new undertaking of planting alſo that Seigniory might probably render more burdenſom. *Grenvill* brought over letters from governor *Lane* to a very worthy encourager of all naval adventures;[b] deſcribing the commodities and fertility of the country they were about to cultivate and civilize: the ſaid governor alſo drew up notes while he was there, which he afterwards methodiz'd into a *Diſcourſe* of two parts, diſplaying the *particularities of the country of* Virginia, *and the reaſons which moved their departure from thence into* England.[c] In this diſcourſe we learn, that their diſcovery for Sir *Walter Ralegh* had extended from *Roanoak* ſouthward, as far as *Secotan*, about eighty miles; northward as far as the *Cheſepians*, being a hundred and thirty miles more; and to the north-weſt, as far as *Chawanook*, a hundred and thirty miles: and further mentions many towns about the water-ſide, diſcovered by the way. It alſo informs us of his enquiries after a fiſhery and traffick for pearl in thoſe parts; beſides a mine of ſtrange metal like copper, but paler and ſofter: moreover, of the taking prince *Skyco* priſoner; and after the death of *Granganimeo* aforeſaid, how his brother king *Wingina* changed his name, and plotted an inſurrection againſt the *Engliſh*; for which he loſt his life: while another king called *Okiſco*, ſent to pay homage and acknowledge ſubjection to the grand *Weroanza*, or queen of *England*; and after her, to Sir *Walter Ralegh*. Laſtly, the arrival of Sir *Francis Drake* about the 10th of *June* 1586; who, returning from his proſperous conqueſt of *St. Domingo*, *Cartagena*, and *St. Auguſtine*, determin'd, in his way homeward, to viſit his friend's colony in *Virginia*. They had deſpaired of Sir *Richard Grenvill*'s promiſe; and the rather, becauſe of the preparations then making for *Flanders*, and other parts of *America*. Their corn was indeed within a fortnight of inviting the ſickle; but they were in need of many other proviſions. Hereupon *Drake* readily proffer'd them all manner of ſupplies, by victuals, men, ammunition, and ſhips, to carry on and compleat their worthy undertaking. The governor deſir'd only a ſhip, and ſo much proviſion as about *Auguſt* would carry him and his company to *England*, which *Drake* granted in full ſufficiency; beſides pinnaces, boats, and two experienc'd maſters or pilots, to abide with them, and apply themſelves earneſtly in the action. All this was perform'd in two days. On the next day, while ſome were writing letters into *England*, and others relating their adventures to each other, ſome at ſea, ſome on ſhore, there aroſe a moſt violent tempeſt, which laſted three days; drove moſt of the fleet from their anchors away to ſea, and in them the proviſions and maſters aforeſaid, with the chief of the *Engliſh* colony; whom they ſaw no more till they met in *England*. Then *Drake* proffer'd them another ſhip; but the reſt of the colony, who were left behind, all begg'd to go for *England*; to which *Drake* conſenting, took them aboard on the 19th of *June*, and ſet ſail.[d] Sir *Walter Ralegh* had in the mean time provided a ſhip of a hundred ton, freighted with all kind of proviſions in a moſt plentiful manner, for the relief of this colony; but not ſailing till after *Eaſter*, the ſaid colony was newly departed before this freſh ſupply arriv'd at *Virginia*. After ſome time ſpent up the country, in ſeeking the colony and not finding it, they return'd with all the proviſion aforeſaid into *England*.[e] About a fortnight after, Sir *Richard Grenvill* arrived at *Virginia* with three ſhips more, well ſtored for the ſame company of planters; but he, after much ſearch, miſſing alſo of them and of the aforeſaid ſhip, left fifteen men at *Roanoak* with plenty of ſupplies, and made for *England*; not without ſome conqueſts over the *Spaniards* at the *Azores* in his return.[f] And indeed *Ralegh* was alſo about this very time victorious at the ſame place: for, when he ſent the aforeſaid ſhip to relieve his colony, or ſoon after, he diſpatched two more, named the *Serpent* and *Mary-Spark*, both of them his own, to the *Azores* againſt the *Spaniards*, under the conduct of captain *Jacob Whiddon*, *John Eveſham*, and others. They departed from *Plymouth* on the 10th of *June* afore-

The third voyage to *Virginia*.

[a] 'Tis a manuſcript, entitled, *True Remembrances, for the benefit and information of his poſterity*, written *Anno* 1632, remaining in the family of his noble deſcendants. See the life of the late earl of *Orrery*, by *Euſtace Budgell* Eſq; 8vo. 1732. p. 3. and 18. Mr. *Thoreſby* alſo mentions this MS. in his account of the family of the *Boyles*, towards the end of his *Topography of Leeds*, printed in fol. 1715.

[b] *Richard Hakluyt* of the *Middle Temple* Eſq; kinſman to the induſtrious *Richard Hakluyt*, preacher of *Chriſt-Church Oxford*, who publiſhed the voyages, as may be diſtinguiſh'd in the preface to his firſt edition of them, as well as in other places, and not the ſame perſon with the ſaid *Oxonian*, as *Anthony Wood* has confounded them. The governor's letter to the ſaid templar, is in his kinſman's third volume, fol. 254.

[c] This diſcourſe of Mr. *Lane*'s immediately follows, in the ſame volume, fol. 255.

[d] See *Lane*'s ſaid account of the particularities of the employment of the *Engliſhmen* left in *Virginia* by Sir *Richard Grenvill*, *&c.* directed to Sir *Walter Ralegh*; in *Hakluyt* aforeſaid. fol. 264. Alſo *Tho. Cates*'s ſummary and true diſcourſe of Sir *Francis Drake*'s *Weſt-Indian* voyage, began 1585, in the ſame volume, fol. 547.

[e] Account of the *third* voyage for the relief of the colony in *Virginia*, at the ſole charges of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, the ſame volume, fol. 265. [f] Ib.

ſaid

ſaid, and took more *Spaniſh* prizes than they could bring home. In one of them was the governor of St. *Michael*'s iſland; in another, which they took near the iſle of *Gracioſa*, was the famous *Pedro de Sermiento*, governor of the ſtreights of *Magellan*; who was the furtheſt and moſt experienced navigator in all *Spain*. [a] They took alſo three other veſſels, but turned two adrift, after having taken out of them what they wanted, becauſe they could not ſpare hands to man them; and after a fight for thirty-two hours with two great carracks, and the other guard-ſhips of twenty ſail more, richly laden, they gave over for want of powder, and returned ſafe to *Plymouth*, where they were received with triumphant joy; then proceeding to *Southampton*, they were met by their owner Sir *Walter Ralegh*; rewarded them with their ſhares, out of the merchandize, and other commodities of value, which in thoſe three prizes were thus taken from the enemy. [b] Not long after this, there was another voyage ſet out, the ſame year, by the earl of *Cumberland* to the *South-Sea*, but performed no further than the latitude of forty-four degrees to the ſouth of the equinoctial, in which as Sir *Walter Ralegh* was alſo an adventurer, his fine pinnace, named *Dorothy*, being engaged therein, and ſome ſmall prizes alſo being taken, he had, no doubt, his proportion in the profits that aroſe from them. [c]

His ſucceſs at the *Azores*.

And in a voyage to the *South Sea*.

BUT to return to the *Virginian* colony: it arrived at *Plymouth* on the 27th of *July* following. *Camden* has remember'd, that by this colony of *Ralegh*'s, and in thoſe ſhips of *Drake*'s, the famous *American* plant called TOBACCO was firſt brought into *England*, by or under governor *Lane*, [d] doubtleſs according to the inſtructions they had received of their proprietor; for the introduction among us of that commodity, is generally aſcrib'd to *Ralegh* himſelf. There are ſome pleaſant ſtories of this plant, with relation to him, which have been as carefully preſerved as the box he kept it in. [e] But the tradition of "*Ralegh*'s ſmoking tobacco at firſt "privately in his ſtudy, and of the ſervant, who uſed to wait on him there, ſurpriſing him "one time with his tankard of ale and nutmeg as he was intent upon his book, before he had "done his pipe; and ſeeing the ſmoke reeking out of his mouth, threw all the ale in his face, "then running down ſtairs alarm'd the family with repeated exclamations, that *his maſter* "*was on fire, and before they could get up would be burnt to aſhes:*" [f] This I ſay, if true, has nothing in it of more ſurpriſing or unparallel'd ſimplicity, than there was in that poor *Norwegian*, who upon the firſt ſight of *Roſes* could not be induced to *touch*, tho' he ſaw them *grow*, being ſo amazed to behold *trees budding with fire:* [g] or, to come cloſer by way of retaliation, than there was in thoſe *Virginians* themſelves, who, the firſt time they ſeized upon a quantity of *Gun-powder* which belong'd to the *Engliſh* colony, *ſow'd it for grain*, or the ſeed of ſome ſtrange vegetable in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combuſtion by the next harveſt to ſcatter their enemies. [h] But paſſing over theſe tales; as *Ralegh* was the firſt, who brought this herb in requeſt among us, and laid the foundation for that great traffick therewith, which has been of ſuch conſiderable benefit to his country; there is no leſs honour due to him than has been conferr'd on that ambaſſador, who had before brought it out of *Portugal* into *France*; where, in mentioning the herb, they pay grateful acknowledgments to the importer, by calling it *Nicotiana* after his own name: nay, his politick ſoveraign *Catherine de Medicis*, did ſo zealouſly encourage the uſe of it, that it was alſo afterwards in honour of her called the *Queen's Herb*. [i] Nor was the queen of *England* back-

Introduces the uſe of tobacco in *England*.

a While this *Sarmiento* was *Ralegh*'s priſoner in *England*, they were one day ſurveying a map together, concerning which, *Sarmiento* told him a pleaſant ſtory of *the Painter's Wives Iſland*; which *Ralegh*, afterwards, ingeniouſly apply'd; where he compares the liberties of *local* and *hiſtorical* fiction, or ſuch as *geographers* make, in filling up the blank ſpaces of their *maps* with lands of *pigmeys*, and rocks of load-ſtone; to thoſe of *hiſtorians*, in repairing the broken accounts of *paſt ages:* yet concludes, with an encouraging difference, againſt the ignorant deſcribers of *remote places*, in favour of liberal conjecture, to enlighten the obſcurities of *antient times*. See the *hiſtory* of the *World*, lib. 2. cap. 23. ſec. 4.

b See *John Eveſham*'s account of the voyage to the *Azores* with two pinnaces belonging to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, *&c.* in 1586. in *Hakluyt*, vol. 2. part 2. fol. 120.

c Relation of the earl of *Cumberland*'s voyage to the *South-Sea*, by Mr. *John Jarracoll* in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 769.

d *Annal. Reg. Eliz. Anno* 1585.

e Being at *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*, ſoon after Mr. *Ralph Thoreſby* the antiquary died, *Anno* 1725. I ſaw his *Muſæum*; and in it, among his other rarities, what himſelf has publickly call'd (in the *catalogue* thereof, annex'd to his *antiquities* of that town) Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s tobacco box. From the beſt of my memory, I can reſemble its outward appearance to nothing more nearly than one of our modern *Muff-caſes*; about the ſame height and width, cover'd with red leather, and open'd at top (but with a hinge, I think) like one of thoſe. In the inſide, there was a cavity for a receiver of glaſs or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco; and from the edge of the receiver at top, to the edge of the box, a circular ſtay or collar, with holes in it, to plant the tobacco about, with ſix or eight pipes to ſmoke it in. This travelling box, with the MSS. Medals and other rarities in its company, deſcending to a young clergyman, the ſon of the deceaſed, was ſoon after reported to have been tranſlated to *London*.

f The *Britiſh Apollo*, 3d edition, 1726. vol. 2. p. 376.

g *Tho. Forde's Feneſtra in Pectore:* a collection of familiar letters, 8vo. 1660. p. 81.

h *Winſtanley*'s hiſtorical rarities. 8vo. 1668.

i Jean Nicot *Maître des Requêtes, ambaſſadeur de* France *en* Portugal; *d'où il apporta le premier à la reine* Catharine de Medicis, *la fameuſe plante de* TABAC; *laquelle fut nommée d'abord* NICOTIANE, *de ſon nom*; *enſuite*, Herbe à la Reine, *à cauſe que* Catherine de Medicis *la mit en réputation dans le royaume*, &c. *Il eſt mort vers l'année* 1559. Deſcrip. de la ville *de* Paris, *par* Germain Brice. Sept. Edit. Amſt. 1718. Tom. 2. p. 120.

ward

ward in liſtening to, and promoting the advantages it was promis'd to produce. We may gather from ſome authors, that ſhe was very curious to know its virtues and properties; and that once converſing with *Ralegh* upon this ſubject, "he aſſured her majeſty he had ſo well experienced the "nature of it, that he could tell her of what weight even the ſmoke would be in any quanti- "ty propos'd to be conſum'd. Her majeſty fixing her thoughts upon the moſt impracticable part "of the experiment, that of bounding the *ſmoke* in a *ballance*, ſuſpected that he put the traveller "upon her, and would needs lay him a wager he could not ſolve the doubt: ſo he procured a "quantity agreed upon to be thoroughly ſmok'd; then went to weighing; but it was of the "aſhes; and in the concluſion, what was wanting in the prime weight of the tobacco, "her majeſty did not deny to have been evaporated in ſmoke; and further ſaid, that *many* "*labourers in the fire ſhe had heard of who turned their gold into ſmoke, but* Ralegh *was the* "*firſt who had turned ſmoke into gold.*" [a] Whether thoſe two queens did ever recommend the uſe of this herb by their own example, we are not certain; but it is evident, it ſoon became of ſuch vogue in queen *Elizabeth*'s court, that ſome of the great ladies, as well as noblemen therein, would not ſcruple to take a pipe ſometimes very ſociably; however, it was ſuch an abomination to the refined palate of her *Scotch* ſucceſſor, that he not only refuſed the uſe of it himſelf, but endeavoured to rob his crown of what has ſince proved one of its greateſt revenues, [b] by reſtraining his ſubjects alſo from it. Indeed it is not to be wonder'd that ſuch a *philoſopher*, as could magnify the power of witches, after the manner he has done in one of his learned pamphlets, [c] ſhould be ſuch a *politician* as to diſcourage the taking of tobacco in another. [d] But thoſe who have not admir'd at his prejudice in this attempt to diſpel the fumes of that herb with greater of his own, if I may allude to the witty title of his performance without imputation of irreverence to his memory, may yet applaud his policy, in ſo far conducing to its ſuppreſſion, as to exclude it from the body of his works, when this *Royal Pamphleteer* reſolved to become an author in folio. As for the uſes and virtues of this plant; ſince ſo many learned writers have given us whole books upon them, I ſhall only

[a] Apophthegms of the *Engliſh* nation MS. quarto, *inter Collec. Rodnei Fane Armig.* and *James Howel* in his epiſtles, vol. 3. has a whole letter upon tobacco, where he mentions alſo in effect this ſtory of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s wager with the queen.

[b] An author of experience has lately informed us; "That the benefit of this vegetable to *Great Britain* is "prodigious, if we conſider the ſhort time ſince it was "firſt introduced into *England* by Sir *Walter Ralegh*. 'Tis "now become, ſays he, the ſtaple of two of his majeſ- "ty's colonies, inhabited by half a million of people; "many of whom could hardly ſupport themſelves at "home; yet there they live in great ſplendor and eaſe; "having ſumptuous buildings, rich equipages, ſlaves and "other attendance. According to the exacteſt compu- "tation that has been made on this branch of our trade, "about 430 ſail of ſhips, with above 5000 ſeamen, have "been employ'd in one year to bring over about 75,000 "hogſheads of tobacco from *Virginia* and *Maryland*; "the freight of which, at 8 *l. per* ton (a medium in "times of peace) amounts to 150,000 *l.* ſterling; moſt "of which ſum centers among our ſelves, in the pay- "ment of ſailors and tradeſmen, who live by ſhipping; "beſides about 15 *s. per* hogſhead cuſtom-houſe fees, "cooperage, lighterage, wharfage, porterage, cartage, "ware-houſe rent, brokerage, and other incident charges. "'Tis further calculated, that out of the ſaid 75,000 "hogſheads imported, there are exported 46,000 hogs- "heads, containing 720 *lb. per* hogſhead, at four pence "*per* pound on board; which amounts to 552,000 *l.* "towards ſupporting the ballance of trade with foreign "nations." The ſame author a little further obſerves, "as another great benefit ariſing from this vegetable, "that the produce is laid out in our *Britiſh* manufactures, "and exported to the *Britiſh* colonies; which in one "year has amounted to 500,000 *l.* (and would be much "more, if proper encouragement were given to manu- "facture it before exportation) therefore it may be juſtly "ſaid, that tobacco is become in few years one of the "the moſt valuable branches of trade belonging to *Great* "*Britain*." Thus far Mr. *John Lacy*, tobacco-merchant, in his *obſervations on the nature, uſe and trade of tobacco.* Folio, one ſheet, printed *Mar.* 1. 1733. Beſides the advantage this vegetable is of to *trade*, a large revenue ariſes to the crown by *cuſtom-duties* on tobacco.—— I have ſeen ſeveral accounts of its *groſs* and *net* produce, and alſo ſeveral eſtimates of what it might further produce, if put under a new regulation; but there being ſo much difference in the ſeveral calculations, that no certain judgment can, without much ſcrutiny and diſtinction, be formed from them; it may be thought ſufficient here to obſerve, that I have ſeen an account, upon the veracity whereof I can depend, by which it appears, the money paid on this article of tobacco into his majeſty's exchequer in the year 1731, was 175,277 *l.* 8 *s.* 10 *d.* and that a *medium* for ſeven years paſt to that time was 169,079 *l.* 0 *s.* 10 *d.*

[c] *Dæmonologie:* a diſcourſe in three books, *Edinb. cum privil. Reg.* 4to. 1597. In the preface whereof, king *James* proteſts he did not publiſh this pamphlet for a "ſhew of his learning and ingine, but to preaſſe thereby, "as far as he can, to reſolve the doubting harts of ma- "ny, both that ſuch aſſaults of *Sathan* are moſt certain- "ly practis'd, and that the inſtrumentes thereof merits "moſt ſeverely to be puniſhed; againſt the damnable "opinions of two principally in our age; whereof the "one, called *Scot* an *Engliſhman*, is not aſhamed in pub- "lick print to deny, that there can be ſuch a thing as "*witchcraft*; ſo mainteines the old error of the *Saddu- "cees*, in denying of ſpirits: the other call'd *Wierus* a "*German* phyſician, ſets out a publick apology for all "theſe *Craftes-folkes*; whereby procuring for their im- "punity, he plainly bewrayes himſelf to have been one "of that profeſſion." Then his majeſty lays down the method he intends to follow, in ſpeaking firſt, of magie and negromancy; ſecondly, of ſorcery and witchcraft; laſtly, of all kinds of ſpirits and ſpectres, that appears and troubles perſons. His further affirmation of magicians raiſing ſuddenly all dainty diſhes; bringing wine out of a wall; and making men unable for women; contains not yet the moſt remarkable paſſages in this crowned author; for if you would have a maſterpiece of his royal ſcholarſhip in the myſteries of nature, turn to his chapter of the *Incubi* and *Succubi*; there you have *Rex Platonicus* in perfection. But as many old womens notions as there are in this tract, Sir *Walter Ralegh* was at the pains of finding ſomething he could approve in it, and generouſly honours its author before all others for the ſame, as may be ſeen by the very firſt quotation he makes, in the introduction to his *Hiſtory* of the *World*.

[d] Entitled the *Counter-blaſt to Tobacco*, 4to. without date. There is alſo extant K. *James*'s warrant to the lord-treaſurer *Dorſet*, *Anno* 1604, for laying a good heavy impoſition upon tobacco, that leſs quantity may be brought into the realm, and only ſufficient for the better ſort, who will uſe it with moderation for their health: wherefore he authoriſes the ſaid treaſurer to order, that from the 26th of *October* enſuing, the proper officers ſhould take, of all who import tobacco, the ſum of ſix ſhillings and eight pence upon every pound weight, over and above the cuſtom of two pence *per* pound, uſually paid heretofore. *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, Tom. XVI. fol. 601.

here

here obſerve from the firſt author among us, who wrote thereof out of his own experience; immediately upon his return with the colony aforeſaid from *Virginia*, where he had been employ'd by *Ralegh* to ſurvey the country and deſcribe its products; that the ſavages diſtinguiſhed it by ſowing it apart from all other vegetables, and held it of higheſt eſtimation in all their ſacrifices by fire, water and air, either for thankſgiving to, or pacification of their gods. And as by ſucking it through pipes of clay, they purged all groſs humours from the head and ſtomach, opened all the pores and paſſages of the body, preſerving it from obſtructions, or breaking them, whereby they notably preſerved health and knew not many grievous diſeaſes wherewith we in *England* are often afflicted: So "we ourſelves, ſays he, during the time we were "there, uſed to ſuck it after their manner, as alſo ſince our return, and have found many "rare and wonderful experiments of its virtues, whereof the relation would require a volume "by it ſelf, the uſe of which by ſo many men and women of great calling, as well as others, "and ſome learned phyſicians alſo, is ſufficient witneſs." [a]

THE learned author of this account, Mr. *Thomas Hariot*, a famous mathematician, of whom ſomething more will be ſpoken hereafter, having further in the ſaid diſcourſe confuted the calumnies, which had been raiſed of this new diſcover'd country, by the idle, ignorant and avaritious part of the colony lately returned from it, and given a faithful relation of the merchantable commodities, with thoſe fit for food or building, and an account of the natures of the people, in three parts, expreſſes himſelf towards the concluſion of the whole in this manner. "Seeing the air there is ſo temperate and wholſome; the ſoil ſo fertile, and yielding "ſuch commodities, as I have before-mentioned; the voyage alſo to and fro ſufficiently ex-"perienced to be performed twice a year with eaſe, and at any ſeaſon; and the dealings of "Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſo liberal in large giving and granting lands there, as is already known, "with many helps and furtherances elſe; the leaſt that he hath granted, having been five hun-"dred acres to a man only for the adventure of his perſon: I hope there remains no cauſe "whereby the action ſhould be miſliked." [b] His encouragement to planters.

THERE are many other publick teſtimonies in recommendation of this enterpriſe, eſpecially of *Ralegh*'s diſcreet orders or inſtructions to theſe firſt undertakers, as well as ſome complaints that his ſaid directions were not always punctually followed; and I remember to have met with a ſcarce old tract in the *Lambeth* library, written by a learned and ingenious author of thoſe times, wherein, according to his brief and volatile way, ſkimming over the characters of many eminent contemporaries, he mentions Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *political* government of *Virginia*. [c] But where to come at thoſe particular laws or inſtructions now, I know not, tho' they ſeem to have been in the poſſeſſion of Sir *Francis Walſingham* (a great encourager of theſe plantations.) For I find a bundle entitled, matters relating to Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s voyages, mentioned in the inventory of that ſecretary's *ſtate-papers* relating to the navy, about this time. [d] But the author, who this year dedicates his *Iriſh* hiſtory to *Ralegh*, has in general terms, both largely commended his proceedings in that diſcovery, and inform'd us of others, who have done the like. For having mentioned the ill ſucceſs wherewith his firſt maritime adventures were attended, as a matter ſufficient to have diſmay'd a man of common reſolution from the like attempts for the future; he adds: "Yet you, more reſpecting the good ends whereunto "you levelled your line for the good of your country, did not give over till you had re-"covered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your own *Engliſh* nation in "*Virginia*, the firſt *Engliſh* colony that was ever planted there; not a little to the deroga-"tion of the *Spaniards* glory and impeachment to their vaunts, who, becauſe, with all cruel "immanity, they ſubdued a naked and yielding people, whom they ſought for gain, and not "for religion or the plantation of a common-wealth, over whom, to ſatisfy their inſatiable "covetouſneſs, they did moſt cruelly tyrannize, and againſt the courſe of all human nature ſcorch "and roaſt them to death, as by their own hiſtories doth appear. Theſe, I ſay, do brag and "vaunt, that they only have drawn ſtrange nations and unknown people to the obedience of "their kings, to the knowledge of Chriſtianity, and to the inriching of their country; and "thereby claim the honour to themſelves alone. But if theſe your actions were well looked "into and with due conſideration, it ſhall be found much more honourable in ſundry reſpects "for the advancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the "common-wealth. For what can be more pleaſant to God, than to gain and reduce, in all "chriſtian-like manner, a loſt people to the knowledge of the goſpel and a true chriſtian

[a] A brief and true report of the new-found land of *Virginia*, &c. written by *Thomas Hariot* ſervant to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, a member of the colony, and there employ'd in diſcovering a full twelve-month. *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol 271.

[b] Mr. *Hariot*'s report of the new-found land in *Virginia*, as before. p. 280.

[c] Dr. *Gabriel Harvey*'s *Pierce*'s Supererogation, &c. 4to. 1593.

[d] Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s Table-book, MS. 8vo. p. 44.

" religion, than which cannot be a more pleaſant and ſweet ſacrifice, and a more acceptable ſer-
" vice before God? And what can be more honourable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds
" of their kingdoms, without injury, wrong and bloodſhed, and to frame them from a ſa-
" vage life to a civil government, neither of which the *Spaniards* in their conqueſts have per-
" formed? And what can be more beneficial to a common-wealth, than to have a nation
" and a kingdom to transfer unto, the ſuperfluous multitude of fruitleſs and idle people (here,
" at home, daily increaſing) to travel, conquer, and manure another land, which, by the
" due intercourſes to be deviſed, may and will yield infinite commodities? And how well
" you do deſerve every way, in following ſo honourable a courſe, not we our ſelves only can
" witneſs, but ſtrange nations alſo do honour you for the ſame; as doth appear by the epiſtle
" of *Baſſimerus* of *France* to the hiſtory of *Florida*, and by *Julius Cæſar* a citizen of *Rome*,
" in his epiſtle to his book, intitled *Columbeados.*" [a] To this we may here add the teſti-
mony of *Camden*; who, ſpeaking of this undertaking of *Virginia*, at the return of the laſt
colony ſent thither by Sir *W. Ralegh*, ſays, *He was a man never to be ſufficiently commended for the great pains he took in diſcovering remote countries, and advancing the glory of the* Engliſh *navigation.* [b]

THAT *Baſſimerus*, as *Hooker* calls him, was the learned *Martine Baſſaniere* of *Paris*, as I find elſewhere, with whom *Richard Hakluyt*, the worthy collector of our naval adventures, being acquainted, and having procured a very valuable hiſtory in manuſcript of the firſt diſcovery of *Florida* about twenty years before this time, by *Rene Laudonniere* and three other *French* captains, he ſent it over to that *Monſieur Baſſaniere*, who publiſhed it from the ſaid *French* copy, this year [c] at *Paris*, and dedicated it as aforeſaid to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who, as appears above, is therein celebrated, for I have not yet ſeen, tho' I have been promiſed, that original *French* edition. But it was tranſlated into *Engliſh* the year following by *Richard Hakluyt* himſelf, who alſo dedicates it anew to the ſame patron: and indeed we find *Ralegh* from this time a very conſiderable patron of learned and ingenious authors, not only in *hiſtory* and *geography*, but *antiquities*, *chymiſtry*, *poetry*, and other polite branches of art and ſcience; ſome further inſtances whereof will occaſionally ariſe as we proceed. And even here we may mention ſomething of his encouragement in *painting*; for admiral *Coligny* having ſent over with the aforeſaid diſcoverers of *Florida*, a very skilful artiſt from *France*, to take draughts of whatever he found obſervable and worthy of repreſentation in the ſaid country; which he did, not only among the animal and vegetable rarities thereof, but alſo, it ſeems, from the cuſtoms of the natives and hiſtorical events among the diſcoverers themſelves: this painter living afterwards in *London*, at, or before the publication of thoſe dicoveries; was ſupported by *Ralegh* in the great expence of publiſhing alſo his draughts and deſcriptions. For *Hakluyt*, among other reaſons for not particularizing the commodities of thoſe parts; the accidents of the *Frenchmen*'s government therein; the cauſes of their good and bad ſucceſs; with the ſurpriſes made by their enemies, tells *Ralegh* he does not reckon them up again; " the rather, becauſe the ſame,
" with divers other things of chiefeſt importance, are lively drawn in colours at your no ſmall
" charges, by the skilful painter *James Morgues* ſometime living in *Black-Fryars*, *London*,
" whom *Monſieur Chaſtillion*, then admiral of *France*, ſent thither (to *Florida*) with *Laudo-*
" *niere* for that purpoſe, which (painter) was an eye-witneſs of the goodneſs and fertility of
" thoſe regions, and hath put down in writing many ſingularities, which are not mentioned in
" this treatiſe; and which he hath ſince publiſhed together with the portraitures." [d] Hereunto we may further add, that there was about this time alſo another book dedicated to *Ralegh*, *in praiſe of muſick*, wherein, beſides the antiquity and dignity thereof, is declared the ſober and lawful uſe of the ſame in the congregation and church of God. [e] It was written by an *Oxonian* then lately deceaſed, who is not named, and publiſhed by the univerſity printer, who ſubſcribing his own name *Joſeph Barnes* to the ſaid dedication, has made it paſs among our auctioneers, and other ſuperficial inſpectors, for a treatiſe of the ſaid printer's writing. I apprehend, there was a greater propriety in the publiſher's choice of this patron to that work, than is now commonly known; for I have ſomewhere met with hints, that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was a great proficient in muſick, either vocal, inſtrumental, or both; whence we might be

A patron of learned and ingenious men.

[a] *Hooker*'s Epiſt. dedic. to Sir *W. Ralegh*.

[b] *Nunquam ſatis laudato ſtudio remotas regiones detegendi, & navalem Angliæ gloriam promovendi. Ann. Reg. Eliz. Anno* 1585.

[c] So *Hakluyt* himſelf in the firſt edition of his voyages, 1589. fol. 543. Yet in the preface to his ſecond volume printed fol. 1599, he ſays 'twas in the year 1587, that he cauſed that hiſtory of *Florida* to be publiſhed in *France*; which muſt be a miſtake, becauſe *Hooker* mentions its being publiſhed in his dedication dated the year before.

[d] *Hakluyt*'s dedication to Sir *Walter Ralegh* of the ſaid hiſtory of *Florida*, by him tranſlated and inſerted among his collection of voyages. vol. 3. fol. 301.

[e] The praiſe of muſick, *&c.* printed in the old *Engliſh* character, 8vo. 1586.

ſomewhat

ſomewhat induced to conſtrue ſome lines of *Spenſer*'s concerning him, hereafter quoted, in the literal ſenſe.

Nor among learned and ingenious men only was *Ralegh* now in great eſteem; but he flouriſhed at this time alſo highly in the queen's favour, as *Camden*, where he ſpeaks of the foregoing colony, has informed us. And about this time it was, her majeſty conferred upon him ſome preferments; but of honour more than profit perhaps to him: for *Hooker* in the dedication aforeſaid of his *Iriſh* hiſtory, dated the 12th of *October* this year, ſuperſcribes it to the right worthy and honourable gentleman, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Knt. *Seneſchal*[a] of the dutchies of *Cornwall* and *Exeter*, and lord-warden of the *ſtannaries*[b] in *Devon* and *Cornwall*. To theſe dignities I preſume he was then but newly advanced, becauſe the ſaid hiſtorian in the body of the dedication begs leave to remember "how it hath pleaſed God to bring you, ſays he, into "the favour of your prince and ſoveraign; who, beſides her great favour towards you many "ways, hath alſo laid upon you the charge of a government in your own country; where "you are to command many people by your honourable office of the ſtannary, and where "you are both a judge and a chancellor to rule in juſtice and to judge in equity. — Be "therefore careful to be reported well of for your upright dealings both herein and in all your "other actions. Be a patron of virtue and an example of true nobility, which hath her "foundation upon virtue; for, as the poet ſaith, *Ex virtute nobilitas naſcitur, non ex nobilitate "virtus:* virtus *ſola nobilitat, non* caro *nec* ſanguis. — Your anceſtors were men of great no- "bility; beneficial to their princes and country many ways: and, as in nature you are deſ- "cended from them; ſo it hath pleaſed God to bleſs you with *knowledge in learning*, with "*ſkill of warlike ſervice*, and *experience in maritimal cauſes*; and beſides hath placed you "among the nobles, and in the good grace and favour of your prince."

Made *Seneſchal* of *Cornwall* and *Exeter*, and *Lord-warden* of the *ſtannaries*.

How *Ralegh* uſed this favour, and what uſage it alſo procured him, the ſame dedication does ſomewhat further reveal in theſe words. "It is well known, that it had been no leſs "eaſy for you, than for ſuch as have been advanced by kings, to have builded great houſes, "purchaſed large circuits, and to have uſed the fruits of princes favours, as moſt men in all "former and preſent ages have done; had you not preferred the general honour and com- "modity of your prince and country before all that is private: whereby *you have been rather "a* ſervant *than a* commander *to your own fortune*. And no doubt, the cauſe being ſo good, "and the attempt ſo honourable, but that God will increaſe your talent and bleſs your do- "ings, and every good man will commend and further the ſame. And albeit the more no- "ble enterpriſes a man ſhall take in hand, the more adverſaries he ſhall have to deprave and "hinder the ſame; yet I am perſuaded, as no good man ſhall have juſt cauſe, ſo there is none "ſo much carried with a corrupt mind, nor ſo envious of his country's honour, nor ſo bent "againſt you, that he will derogate the praiſe and honour due to ſo worthy an enterpriſe. "And that ſo much the ſooner, becauſe you have endured ſo many croſſes, and have, through "ſo many *envyings* and misfortunes, perſevered in your attempts; which no doubt ſhall, at "laſt, by you be performed, when it ſhall pleaſe him, who hath made you an inſtrument of "ſo worthy a work."[c]

Envy'd.

Thus *Hooker* hints at the cauſe of theſe envyings; but from whom they ſhould proceed it does not manifeſtly appear. The earl of *Eſſex* had now been near a twelve-month abroad, under his father-in-law, *Leiceſter*, governor of the *Netherlands*; was but nineteen years of age when he went over, being his firſt engagement in any publick action, yet no leſs than a general of the horſe; and before that, as himſelf ſays, "he had ſmall grace, and few friends "at court."[d] So that it muſt be now after their return,[e] that *Leiceſter* ſet him up a competitor

[a] Of the antient office of *Seneſchal*, ſee *le grand couſtumier du pays & duché de Normandie, fol. Paris* 1523, and an extract thereof concerning this office in a ſcarce tract reviv'd in Mr. *Morgan*'s *Phœnix Britannicus*, vol. 1. 4to. 1731. p. 408.

[b] Of the inſtitution of the *Lord-warden*, and his juriſdiction, ſee *Camden* and *Carew* in their accounts of *Cornwall*; alſo *Plowden*'s commentaries, fol. 327. And *Pearce*'s laws and cuſtoms of the ſtannaries, folio 1725. There is in being an old manuſcript liſt of the officers in queen *Elizabeth*'s time and their *fees*; in which I find that, as officer of the coynage of tin, and ſteward of the ſtannaries in the dutchy of *Cornwall*, Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s fee was 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *Cotton.* Libr. *Titus* B. III.

[c] *Hooker*'s dedication to Sir *Walter Ralegh* aforeſaid.

[d] See an *Apologie* of the earle of *Eſſex* againſt thoſe, which falſelie and maliciouſlie take him to be the only hindrance of the peace and quiet of his countrie: penn'd by himſelf, *Anno* 1598. To Mr. *Anthony Bacon*. And printed in 4to, 1603. Alſo (from the original MS. as pretended) by the title of the earl of *Eſſex*'s vindication of the war with *Spain*, *&c.* in 8vo. 1729. p. 6.

[e] On the 8th of *December* 1585, the earl of *Leiceſter* and his train, with an army of about 5000 men, ſet out from *Harwich* in 50 ſail of ſhips to his government of the *Netherlands*, and it was committed as abſolutely to him, as it had been to the emperor *Charles* V. But at laſt the *Hollanders* growing jealous of his authority, and complaining of certain innovations, factions and treacherous commanders under him, he was recalled, and returned to *London* the 23d of *November* this following year (ſoon after the corpſe of his much lamented nephew Sir *Philip Sidney*) not without leaving behind a printed vindication of himſelf in *Dutch*, now ſcarce to be found; and ſtrik-

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petitor againſt *Ralegh*, as we are before informed out of Sir *Henry Wotton*. But *Leiceſter*, as great as his power was, could no more bridle the licentious reflections of the populace than *Ralegh*; an inſtance whereof we have from ſome antient authority it ſeems, tho' in a modern author, who ſpeaking of "*Tarleton*, the beſt comedian of theſe times in *England*, tells us, "that when a pleaſant play he had made was acting before her majeſty, he pointed at Sir
Slander'd. "*Walter Ralegh*, and ſaid, *See the* knave *commands the* queen; for which ſhe corrected him "with a frown: yet he had the confidence to add, that he was of too much and too intolerable "a power; and going on with the ſame liberty, he reflected on the over-great power and "riches of the earl of *Leiceſter*; which was ſo univerſally applauded by all who were pre-"ſent, that ſhe thought fit at that time to bear theſe reflections with a ſeeming unconcerned-"neſs; but yet was ſo offended, that ſhe forbad *Tarleton* and all her jeſters from coming "near her table, being inwardly diſpleaſed with this impudent and unreaſonable liberty." [a] *Ralegh* ſeems to have little regarded theſe aſperſions, but conſtantly attended his publick charge and employments, whether in town or country as occaſion called him. Accordingly we find
In parliament. him the latter end of this year in parliament, where, among other weighty concerns, the fate of *Mary* queen of *Scots* was determined. There is nothing particular upon record in the journals of the houſe of commons of *Ralegh*'s opinion in this matter, nor indeed any debates upon the ſentence that had been pronounced againſt that queen. For on the 12th of *November*, a petition agreed upon in both houſes was preſented to queen *Elizabeth*, by the ſpeaker *Puckering*, the privy-council, and a body of the commons, joyned with the lord-chancellor *Bromley* and twenty other temporal lords, for the ſpeedy execution of the ſaid queen of *Scots*, in conſideration of the treaſonable and rebellious practices wherewith ſhe had been proved to endanger this realm and its ruler. The ſaid petition was immediately printed, [b] and that queen in leſs than three months after executed. [c] The clerk of the parliament's place being ſupplied at this time by a kinſman, inexpert in the rules and methods of the houſe; we find nothing more recorded of *Ralegh* this ſeſſions, which was diſſolved on the 23d of
In a committee for the regulation of the clergy. *March*, than that he was appointed one of the committee to confer upon the amendment of ſome things, whereunto the clergy were required to be ſworn, and that ſome good courſe might be taken to have a learned miniſtry; for the queen had in her ſpeech at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſions told the biſhops of ſome faults and negligences, "which if you, my lords of the clergy, ſaid ſhe, do not amend, I mean to depoſe you." [d]

Now *Ralegh*, reſolving to perſevere in planting his country of *Virginia*, prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men to be ſent thither, under the charge of Mr. *John White*, whom he appointed governor, and with him twelve aſſiſtants, to whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of the governor and aſſiſtants of the city of *Ralegh* in *Virginia*.
The fourth voyage to *Virginia*. Their fleet, conſiſting of three ſail, departed from *Portſmouth* on the 26th of *April*, 1587, and in leſs than three months following arrived ſafe at *Hatorask*, from whence they went to the iſle of *Roanoak* to look for the fifteen men left there by Sir *Richard Grenvill* the year before, meaning from thence to paſs to the bay of *Cheſepiock*, where they intended to make their ſeat and fort, according to the charge given them, among other directions, under the hand of Sir *Walter Ralegh*. But they ſought their companions in vain, and when they came to the north-part of the iſland where governor *Lane* had built his fort, they found it razed, and the ground-rooms of the dwelling-houſes, which had been alſo erected about it, inhabited by deer, and over-grown with melons, or ſuch like ſort of fruit, which thoſe animals brooz'd upon. At *Croatoan* they were very well received and entertained by the natives, thro' the means of *Manteo* their country-man. Of theſe they learnt, that the *Engliſhmen* they were ſeeking, had been treacherouſly ſet upon by a party of the ſavages, who wounded ſome of

ing a medal, repreſenting his own head on one ſide, and ſeven unguarded ſtraggling ſheep on the other. The author of a brief diſcourſe of Dr. *Allen*'s ſeditious drifts, &c. 4to. 1588. p. 46. endeavours to clear the earl's conduct in that government againſt the ſaid doctor; as *E. Cliffe*, in his breviate of *Holland*'s deliverance and ingratitude to to the crown of *England* and the houſe of *Naſſau*, 4to. 1665. p. 55. does againſt *Vander Sande* and *Hugo Grotius*; eſpecially the latter, who inſinuates, as if the earl, who died within two years following, was poiſoned by his wife, becauſe ſhe ſoon after married again. I have read, this earl's effects were then ſeized upon by the crown for debt, and heard that an inventory of them is in the poſſeſſion of Sir *John Evelyn*, Bart.

[a] The character of queen *Elizabeth* by *Edmund Bohun*, Eſq; *Oct.* 1693. p. 353.

[b] See the copy of a letter to the earl of *Leiceſter*, and the parliament's petitions to queen *Elizabeth* to put *Mary* queen of *Scots* to death. *London*, imprinted by *Chriſtopher Barker*, the queen's printer, 4to. 1586.

[c] The imperfections wherewith *Camden* was obliged in king *James*'s reign to publiſh that part of queen *Elizabeth*'s annals, relating to the queen of *Scots*, have occaſioned ſome voluminous publications of the memorials to be found on both ſides of her character; on one ſide, about ſixteen tracts in *Latin*, *French*, &c. chiefly by *Roman* catholicks, were collected by a late bookſeller, and publiſhed by Dr. *Samuel Jebb*, 2 vols. folio, 1725. And on the other, a collection of original papers and ſcarce printed pieces; by *James Anderſon*, Eſq; in 4 vols. 4to. 1728.

[d] Sir *Simon D'Ewes*'s Journal of parliaments, fol. 1708. p. 413 and 328.

them,

them, and drove the reſt to ſome remote and obſcure parts of the country. On the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, their friend *Manteo* was, according to the commands they had received of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, chriſtned in *Roanoak*, and called lord thereof, and of *Daſamonguepeuk*, in reward of his faithful ſervices. Three days after, the governor's daughter *Eleanor*, wife of *Ananias Dare*, one of the aſſiſtants, was delivered of a daughter in *Roanoak*, and the infant was chriſtned there the *Sunday* following, who, becauſe ſhe was the firſt *Creolian* or Chriſtian born in that country, was baptized by the name of *Virginia*. Now having re-eſtabliſhed their intereſt and alliance with the natives, as far as this ſhort interview would permit, and delivered their ſhips of the proviſions for the colony, the planters began to conſider, they ſhould be in want of freſh ſupplies; therefore upon ſome difference about chooſing a factor to return for that purpoſe into *England*, they unanimouſly petitioned the governor to return himſelf, to which he at laſt conſented, and the ſhips with ſome few of the company arrived in *England*, not without ſtorms, ſickneſs, and the death of ſeveral of them by other like caſualties, about the latter end of the ſame year. [a]

Captain of the queen's guard and lieutenant-general of *Cornwall*.

It was but five days after the going forth of this ſecond colony, that Mr. *Richard Hakluyt* dedicated his tranſlation of the voyages to *Florida*, before-mentioned, to the right honourable Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as he ſtiles him, captain of her majeſty's guard, lord-warden of the ſtannaries, and her highneſs's lieutenant-general of the county of *Cornwall*. In this dedication it will ſomewhat appear, that neither the returns, which might have been made by any merchantable products in *Virginia*, nor the profits ariſing to him from any *Spaniſh* prizes, which had been taken at ſea, were equivalent to the great expences he had been at, in ſettling this plantation; and further, that he had received no particular or private aſſiſtance in this enterpriſe from the queen, becauſe his hopes therein, and her majeſty's regard thereof, are ſo handſomely excited by the ſaid author: but take his own words. "Theſe four voyages "(ſays he) I knew not to whom I might better offer than to your ſelf, for divers juſt conſi- "derations: firſt, for that they were dedicated to you in *French*: ſecondly, becauſe now "four times alſo you have attempted the like upon the ſelf-ſame coaſt near adjoining: "thirdly, in that you have pierced as far up into the main, and diſcovered no leſs ſecrets "in the parts of your abode, than the *French* did in the places of their inhabiting: laſtly, "conſidering you are now alſo ready (upon the late return of captain *Stafford*, and good "news which he brought you of the ſafe arrival of your laſt colony in their wiſhed haven) "to proſecute this action more throughly than ever. And here to ſpeak ſomewhat of this "your enterprize, I affirm, that if the ſame may ſpeedily and effectually be purſued, it will "prove far more beneficial in divers reſpects to this our realm, than the world, yea many "of the wiſer ſort have, hitherto imagined. The particular commodities thereof are well "known to your ſelf and ſome few others, and are faithfully and with great judgment com- "mitted to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, who remained there "about a twelve-month with your worſhipful lieutenant Mr. *Ralph Lane*, in the diligent "ſearch of the ſecrets of thoſe countries. Touching the ſpeedy and effectual purſuing of "your action, tho' I wote well it would demand a prince's purſe to have it throughly fol- "lowed without lingering: yet I am of opinion, that you ſhall draw the ſame, before it be "long, to be profitable and gainful, as well to thoſe of our nation there remaining, as to the "merchants of *England*, that ſhall trade hereafter thither; partly by certain ſecret commodi- "ties already diſcovered by your ſervants, and partly by breeding of divers ſorts of beaſts in "thoſe large and ample regions, and planting ſuch things in that warm climate as will beſt "proſper there, and our realm ſtandeth moſt in need of: and this I find to have been the "courſe which both the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* took, in the beginnings of their diſcoveries "and conqueſts. [b] And, if our men will follow their ſteps by your wiſe directions, I doubt "not, but in due time they ſhall reap no leſs benefit. Moreover, there is no other likeli-

[a] See the fourth voyage to *Virginia* in 1587. which tranſported the ſecond colony; in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 208, and, at the end of the ſaid voyage, fol. 287, a liſt of the men, women and children in the ſaid colony, who remain'd in *Virginia* this year. Among whom governor *White*, and the pilot *Simon Ferdinando* are mentioned, but erroniouſly; for it appears in the narrative of that voyage, they both returned.

[b] Here this author illuſtrates his addreſs by theſe examples; "The *Spaniards* at their firſt entrance (ſays he) "into *Hiſpaniola*, found neither ſugar-canes nor ginger "growing there, nor any kind of our cattle; but finding "the place fit for paſture, they ſent kine and bulls, and "ſundry other profitable beaſts thither, and tranſported "the plants of ſugar-canes, and ſet the roots of ginger; "the hides of which oxen, with the ſugar and ginger, "are now the chief merchandize of that iſland. The "*Portugals* alſo at their firſt footing in *Madera*, as *John* "*Barras* writes in his firſt *Decade*, found nothing there "but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called "the iſland by that name: howbeit, the clime being fa- "vourable, they inriched it by their own induſtry, with "the beſt wines and ſugars in the world. The like "manner of proceeding they uſed in the iſles of the "*Azores*, by ſowing therein great quantity of woad. "So they dealt in *St. Thomas* under the *Equinoctial*; and "in *Braſile*, and in ſundry other places.

" hood, but that her majeſty, who hath chriſtned and given the name to your *Virginia*, if " need require, will deal after the manner of honourable god-mothers, which ſeeing their " goſſips not fully able to bring up their children themſelves, are wont to contribute to their " honeſt education, the rather if they find any towardlineſs or reaſonable hopes of goodneſs in " them.

" AND if *Elizabeth*, queen of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*, after her husband *Ferdinando* and " ſhe had emptied their coffers in ſubduing the kingdom of *Granada*, was nevertheleſs ſo " zealous of God's honour, that ſhe laid part of her own jewels, which ſhe had in great ac- " count, to gage, to furniſh *Columbus* forth upon his firſt voyage, before a foot of land in all " the *Weſt-Indies* was diſcovered; what may we expect of our moſt magnificent and gra- " cious prince *Elizabeth* of *England*, into whoſe lap the Lord has ſo plentifully thrown his " treaſures? What may we, I ſay, hope of her forwardneſs and bounty, in advancing this " your moſt honourable enterpriſe, being far more certain than that of *Columbus*, at that time " eſpecially, and tending no leſs to the glory of God than that of the *Spaniards*?" Then a little further: " Sundry men entering into theſe diſcoveries, propoſe unto themſelves " ſeveral ends; ſome ſeek authority and places of command; others experience by ſeeing of " the world; the moſt part, worldly and tranſitory gain, and that oftentimes by diſhoneſt " and unlawful means; the feweſt number, the glory of God, and the ſaving of the ſouls of " the poor and blinded infidels: yet becauſe divers honeſt and well-diſpoſed perſons are en- " tered already into this your buſineſs, and that I know you mean hereafter to ſend ſome " ſuch good church-men thither, as may truly ſay, with the apoſtle, to the ſavages, *we ſeek* " *not yours, but you*, I conceive great comfort of the ſucceſs of this your action; hoping, " that the Lord, whoſe power is wont to be perfected in weakneſs, will bleſs the feeble foun- " dations of your building: only be you of a valiant courage, and faint not, as the Lord " ſaid to *Joſhua*, exhorting him to proceed in the conqueſt of the land of promiſe; and re- " member, that private men have happily weilded and waded through as great enterpriſes as " this, with leſſer means than thoſe, which God in his mercy hath bountifully beſtowed up- " on you, to the ſingular good, as I aſſure my ſelf, of this our common-wealth, wherein " you live: hereof there are examples domeſtical and foreign. [a] — But if the greatneſs of " the main of *Virginia*, eſpecially to the weſt, ſhould make you think the ſubduing of it a " matter of more difficulty than the conqueſt of *Ireland* (by *Strongbow*;) firſt, I anſwer, that " as the late experience of that skilful pilot, captain *John Davis*, to the north-weſt, towards " which his diſcovery your ſelf has thrice contributed with the forwardeſt, hath ſhewed a " great part to be main-ſea, where before it was thought main-land. So for my part, I am " fully perſuaded by *Ortelius* his late reformation of *Calvacan* and the gulph of *California*, " that the land on the back-part of *Virginia*, extends nothing ſo far weſt-ward as is put down " in the maps of thoſe parts. Moreover, it is not to be deny'd, that one hundred men will " do more now among the naked and unarmed people in *Virginia* than one thouſand were " able then to do in *Ireland*, againſt that armed and warlike nation in thoſe days. I ſay fur- " ther, that theſe two laſt years experience hath plainly ſhewed, that we may ſpare ten thou- " ſand able men, without any miſs. — Seeing therefore we are ſo far from want of people, " that retiring daily home out of the *Low-countries*, they go idle up and down in ſwarms " for lack of honeſt entertainments; I ſee no fitter place to employ ſome part of the better " ſort, than in the inward parts of *Virginia*, againſt ſuch ſtubborn ſavages as ſhall re- " fuſe obedience to her majeſty. And doubtleſs many of our men will be glad and fain to " accept this condition, when by reading this preſent treatiſe, they ſhall underſtand the fertili- " ty and riches of the regions confining ſo near upon yours, the great commodities and " goodneſs whereof you have been contented to ſuffer to come to light. In the mean ſeaſon, " I humbly commend my ſelf and this my tranſlation to you; and your ſelf, with all thoſe " who have undertaken this enterpriſe in hand, to the grace and good bleſſing of the Al- " mighty; which is able to build further, and finiſh the good work, which in theſe our days " he hath begun by your moſt chriſtian and charitable endeavour." Such were the praiſes of this diſcovery, and exhortations to proceed in it, that were publickly paid to Sir *Walter Ralegh*

[a] As the ſame author had before incited queen *Elizabeth*, to ſupport this chargeable enterpriſe, by example; ſo here he encourages Sir *Walter Ralegh* to proceed in it by the like means, in theſe words, " Remember, I pray " you, what you find in the beginning of the chronicle " of *Ireland*, newly dedicated unto your ſelf. Read " you not, that *Richard Strongbow*, the decayed earl of " *Chepſtow*, paſſed over thither in the year 1171; and, " accompanied only with certain private friends, had in " ſhort ſpace ſuch proſperous ſucceſs, that he opened the " way for king *Henry* II. to the ſpeedy ſubjection of all " that warlike nation to this crown of *England*? The " like conqueſt of *Braſilia*, and the annexing thereof to " the kingdom of *Portugal*, was firſt begun by mean " and private men; as *Don Antonio de Caſtillio*, ambaſſa- " dor here for that realm, and by office, keeper of all " the records and monuments of their diſcoveries, aſ- " ſured me in this city, *Anno* 1581." Theſe examples, as not directly neceſſary to the hiſtory of my ſubject, are thus ſubjoin'd, becauſe they illuſtrate the arguments of my author.

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at this his ſetting out the fourth voyage to *Virginia*, by thoſe who wiſh'd it might contribute no leſs to the improvement of his fortune, than it did to the advancement of his glory.

But the ſhips, in which this ſecond colony was tranſported, had not been many days returned into *England*, before we find *Ralegh*'s thoughts diverted, for a while, from planting in a foreign country, and engaged upon ſchemes of diſplanting rather thoſe powerful enemies who were preparing to root themſelves in his own. For the rumour grew ſtronger every day of ſuch a mighty fleet threatning us, as if all *Spain* and *Rome* were to land upon our little iſland, and over-run the whole kingdom. The queen and her privy-council therefore no longer delay'd all proper means for the defence of the realm; but out of all her commanders by land and ſea appointed thoſe of moſt approved abilities in naval and military affairs, as well as of the greateſt authority in their reſpective counties, to hold conſultations for the ſecurity of her perſon, her people, and their poſſeſſions. And as there were ſuch conſultations diſtinctly held by the moſt ancient and experienc'd commanders at ſea; ſo we find by the like appointment a council of war alſo held on the 27th of *November* this year by others of higheſt repute for their knowledge how to put the forces of the realm in the beſt order, to withſtand any invaſion by land. For this purpoſe were choſen the lord *Grey*[a], Sir *Francis Knolles*[b], Sir *Thomas Leighton*[c], Sir *Walter Ralegh*,[d] for I recite, as I find them written, Sir *John Norris*[e], Sir *Richard Grenvill*[f], Sir *Richard Bingham*[g], Sir *Roger Williams*[h], and *Ralph Lane* Eſq;[i] Of their determinations in this important council I ſhall here preſent an abſtract, from a manuſcript drawn up perhaps by Sir *Walter Ralegh* himſelf; the ſaid draught being annex'd to another manuſcript now before me, which was apparently of his compoſing.[k] In the national Council of war.

They firſt number'd up *the places moſt ſuſpected for the army from* Spain, *and alſo thoſe moſt convenient for that in* Flanders, *to land at*: then concluded *how many of thoſe places were to be put in defence to hinder their landing*. And firſt they took notice of *Milford*; which tho' they did not ſuſpect would be preferr'd for the barrenneſs of the country, yet in regard to the goodneſs of the *haven*, they thought it convenient there ſhould be a trained number of two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe in readineſs; and that in want of horſe-men, the gentlemen and their ſervants were to ſupply the deficiency. But *Plymouth* they thought the moſt likely place; becauſe it was improbable the king of *Spain* would venture his fleet too far within the ſleeve, before he had maſter'd ſome good harbour; of which *Plymouth* is neareſt to *Spain*, ſooneſt fortified, and moſt convenient to be ſuccour'd either from *Spain* or *France*. *Portland* they alſo thought a tempting place, having a large harbour and good landing. The *Iſle of Wight* they conſider'd as a ſtrong retreat, if won, and the country adjoining champion; where the enemy might march his whole army. And why they thought the *Downs*, *Margate*, and the *Thames*, fit landing-places, was in regard to the eaſineſs of landing; and being neareſt the prince of *Parma*, in whoſe forces the king of *Spain* repoſed ſpecial truſt. Then they conſulted *whether theſe places were to be ſtrengthned by* fortification, *or* aſſembly *of the people, or both*; and concluded, that for *Plymouth*, there ſhould be both; and that the five thouſand trained men in *Devon* and *Cornwal*, beſides the *Stannaries*, were to be aſſembled for *Plymouth*, ſtanding equal to both counties: of this number, inſtead of muſter-days, chargeable and of little effect, two thouſand ſhould be aſſembled in *Plymouth*, under the general to be appointed over the weſtern army, that they might know their leaders, be acquainted with watch and ward, and ſo inſtructed, that on a ſudden there might be no confuſion; and this to be half at the charge of her majeſty, and half on the country, if the country charge ſurmounted not the ordinary trainings. *Portland* alſo was to be arm'd both by fortification and aſſembly; for the

[a] Late deputy of *Ireland*, and now lord-lieutenant of the county of *Bucks*, knight of the garter, and an excellent ſoldier, ſays *Camden*; at leaſt cool in council, tho' hot in action.

[b] Knight of the garter, treaſurer of the queen's houſehold, and privy-counſellor, a prudent and learned man, trained in military affairs; and perhaps now governor of the *Iſle of Wight*, whereof he writ a *General Survey*, tho' it was never printed.

[c] Governor of the *Iſle of Guernſey*, well vers'd in matters of ſtate, as well as the army; ſent into *France* afterwards in 1591, of ſpecial truſt, to adviſe the earl of *Eſſex* in his actions there; and author of *Les Loix, couſtumes, & uſages de l'Iſle de Guernſey, differentes du couſtumier de Normandie, d'antienneté obſervées en ladite Iſle*. A fair written copy whereof, in eight ſheets *Folio*, is in the *Harleyan* library.

[d] Lieutenant-general of *Cornwal*, *&c.* as before.

[e] Train'd in the wars of *France*, general in *Friſland*, and the *Low-countries*, now preſident of *Munſter* in *Ireland*, and the year following lord-marſhal of the field in *England*.

[f] Vice-admiral, I think, in the weſt, before-mention'd; and of whoſe valour we ſhall hear more hereafter.

[g] A *Dorſetſhire* man, famous in the wars of *France*, *Scotland*, and the *Iſle of Candie*; late preſident of *Connaugh*, and a brave commander in the wars of *Ireland*, where he afterwards died governor of *Leinſter*.

[h] A valiant and experienc'd commander in the *French* and *Belgick* wars, of whom further mention will be made in the courſe of this hiſtory.

[i] Late governor of *Virginia*, as before obſerv'd; afterwards knighted, and preferr'd to ſome conſiderable poſt in the navy or the treaſury; a man able either to give counſel in warlike affairs, or put it in execution; was author, beſides his diſcourſes on *Virginia*, of ſeveral military memorials in letters to the lord-treaſurer and others; particularly one, on the uſe to be made of *Don Antonio* againſt *Spain*; another, about encamping of ſoldiers, and inconvenience of quartering them in towns, *&c.*

[k] Entitled, A Diſcourſe on the preſent *Conſultation, touching the peace with* Spain, *and retaining of the* Netherlands *in ſociety and protection*. Which manuſcript will be further ſpoken of in a more convenient part of this work.

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two thouſand ſeven hundred trained men in *Dorſetſhire* and *Wiltſhire* were to be aſſembled for that place; and two thouſand of them to be exerciſed as before, in ſome part of *Wiltſhire*, appointed for the *Iſle of Wight*, to take *Somerſetſhire* in, which are two thouſand foot. At *Sandwich* and the *Downs* by aſſembly. In *Kent* and *Suſſex*, the four thouſand five hundred trained men to be aſſembled for defence there; and two thouſand of them to be exerciſed at *Sandwich*, as before. The like order to be taken for *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. Their further meaning was, that theſe garriſons ſhould remain but for twenty days, to be throughly train'd, and acquainted with encamping. Then every ſuch two thouſand men in garriſon thus diſciplin'd, ſhould give example to a great army of raw men, ſo prevent confuſion on a ſudden. Further, that twenty captains ſhould be appointed to every ſuch two thouſand men; which captains having each of them a hundred trained men, ſhould receive under them when the army aſſembled a hundred more; ſo as in effect there would be four thouſand men in order, and under martial diſcipline. Half theſe captains were to be choſen by the general of the army, the reſt to be from the principal gentry of the country; under whom were ſoldiers to be appointed for their lieutenants. And the ſame order to be obſerv'd in all other places of garriſon. Then they conſider'd on *the courſe to be taken for fighting the enemy, if by force he ſhould land*; and this they agreed muſt be left to the diſcretion of the general; only adviſed, if they could not prevent his landing and marching forward, that the country be driven, ſo as no victuals remain to the invaders, and that they be kept waking with perpetual alarms; but in no wiſe to venture battle, till divers lieutenants were aſſembled to make a ſtrong army, as before ſpecified; except upon ſpecial advantages. Further, that in thoſe provinces where there are many lieutenants, ſome one to be appointed chief leader, that there be no ſtraining of courteſy among one another, and giving thereby advantage to the enemy; but that every lieutenant's authority ſhall only extend to the command of his own company, as colonel of that regiment, and be commanded by the lieutenants-general: as in *Devon* and *Cornwal*, there being ten lieutenants; whereby it ſhall be known who ſhall command in either, as need ſhall require. Next they conſider'd *what proportion of men muſt be prepared for this end.* Here ſuppoſing the enemy landed at *Plymouth*, they computed that the ſix thouſand armed and furniſhed in *Devon* and *Cornwal*, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe in *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſet* and *Somerſetſhire*, would make a ſufficient army, ſtrengthened with the gentlemen, their retinue, and others of the neighbouring counties, to be incorporated, tho' not ſo compleatly armed: and if by reſiſtance, or contrary weather, the enemy paſs over *Plymouth*, and land at *Portland*; then the army of the weſt ſhall repair to them. If the invaſion happen upon *Kent*, or other part to the weſt of the *Thames*, then the midland-ſhires directed to aſſiſt the weſt, may turn to the eaſt along the coaſt. If the army in *Flanders* land to the eaſt of the *Thames*, the ſame order to be taken with *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Suſſex*, and the city of *London*. And becauſe ſpecial regard was to be had to her majeſty's perſon, an army ſhould be provided, and commanded under counties reſerved for that end, to join the forces of *London* and others, to be armed out of her majeſty's ſtores. Further, for the increaſe of footmen wanting armour, among one fourth of the able unarmed men, eighty ſhould be pikes, and twenty bill-men, and thoſe weapons ſpeedily to be provided, they being furniſhed by the realm. And for the increaſe of pike-men in this ſcarcity of armour, that the bill-men be converted into pike-men, and that able bill-men unarm'd ſhould be levied in their places; becauſe the ranks of bill-men in order to battle are always environ'd with pike-men; for the bill-men ſerve ſpecially for execution, if the enemy be overthrown: only a few armed bill-men or halberdiers reſerved to guard the ranks wherein the enſigns, drums, *&c.* are plac'd. And becauſe, on a ſudden invaſion, 'twill be too late to provide neceſſaries; ſtore of ordinance, munition, and all other furniture, to be forthwith provided and ſent to the foreſaid garriſons. Alſo that horſe as well as foot be exerciſed in thoſe general aſſemblies; and that at *Plymouth*, *Portſmouth*, *Sandwich*, or other places thought fit to have the like training, the horſe-men of the next counties be alſo brought together; as at *Plymouth*, thoſe of *Devon*, *Cornwal*, and *Somerſetſhire*; at *Portland*, thoſe of *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*; and at *Sandwich*, thoſe of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Surrey*. And becauſe in theſe places for training the infantry, there may want forage and conveniences for horſe-men, the lieutenants may chuſe the fitteſt for the cavalry as near the foot as they can. But as they cannot reſiſt the landing in *Scotland*, they propos'd ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, whereof one thouſand to be lances, for that ſide. And if theſe ſhall be thought too weak for the army in *Flanders* when it lands there, a good part of the army appointed to guard her majeſty may be detach'd to join the army in the north, and the army of the weſt march up to ſupply their charge. They alſo conſider'd the king of *Spain*'s hopes in the papiſts and malecontents; and that if thoſe ſmall regiments were not in readineſs, 'twould be too late to aſſemble, both for reſiſting a foreign enemy and withſtanding theſe at home in one day; for every man would reſt in fear of having

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his own houſe fir'd, and his family deſtroy'd; therefore, if they made any ſtir, ſevere execution upon ſuch offenders ſhould be uſed by martial law. Further, that it ſhould be bruited in *Spain*, a vaſt army of double or treble the number was ready in the weſt, and other coaſts of *England*, to embark for *Portugal* or the *Indies*; the ſame opinion being fortify'd by the preparation of ſo many ſhips making ready in thoſe parts by Sir *Francis Drake*. They alſo thought, that throughout all the counties of *England* the proportion among the armed and trained as well as unarmed pikes and bills, ſhould be eighty pikes and twenty bills in every hundred. And laſtly, caution'd the lords of the council to be wary of her majeſty's ſhips lying at *Rocheſter*.

BESIDES this grand ſcheme for the ſafeguard of the kingdom in general, *Ralegh* ſeems to have had ſome ſpecial regard to ſeveral particular places. For there has been found among the lord *Burghley*'s papers, *a remembrance for the lord-treaſurer, touching the requeſt of* Sir *W. R.* dated it ſeems this year: which makes requeſt for five pieces of braſs cannon lying at *Woolwich*; alſo for letters to the marquis of *Wincheſter*, lieutenant of *Dorſetſhire*, for a hundred men and arms to defend the caſtle and iſland of *Portland*, with a ſupply of powder, there being but one *laſt*. Further, for removal of the unſerviceable ordnance there to *London*; and that the lord marquis would give order for his ſaid hundred men, by his commiſſion directed to the lieutenant of *Portland*; and he will undertake to collect men of ſufficiency, not of the trained number. Laſtly, for his lordſhip's good remembrance for the towns of *Weymouth* and *Melcomb-Regis*. From whence my author is not only inclin'd to believe this paper was ſent by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, but that he was now governor of *Portland* caſtle, and had thoſe towns under his care.[a] We may indeed hence believe this paper was written by him; and that he not only took thoſe places, but ſeveral others, under his conſideration, that they might be put in the beſt ſtate of defence: but that he was now governor of *Portland* caſtle, or limited to the defence of that place at the time of the invaſion, as might be imply'd from my author, ſeems not very conſiſtent with his lieutenancy in the weſt.

BUT as much engaged as *Ralegh* ſeems at this time to have been for the ſafety of the kingdom, he found ſome interval to conſider alſo upon means for the relief of his colony: for after governor *White* return'd, and had deliver'd him his letters, with other advertiſements concerning his late voyage, and the ſtate of the planters in *Virginia*, *Ralegh* immediately appointed a pinnace to be ſent thither, with all ſuch proviſions as he apprehended they might want; and alſo wrote letters to them, promiſing that he would prepare a good ſupply of ſhipping and men, with all other neceſſaries, to be with them the ſummer following. This pinnace and fleet he accordingly prepared at *Biddeford* in the weſt of *England*, under the command of Sir *Richard Grenvill*; and all things being now ready, they waited only for a fair wind. In the mean time, the alarm ſo increas'd throughout all *England*, of that vaſt and formidable armament made by the king of *Spain*, under the ſanction of the pope's *Cruſado*, for the invaſion and conqueſt of the whole iſland; that moſt of the ſhips of war then in any readineſs, receiv'd orders from the ſtate to attend in their harbours for the defence of their own country: and Sir *Richard Grenvill* was perſonally commanded not to depart out of *Cornwal*. Governor *White* nevertheleſs labour'd ſo earneſtly for the relief of the colony, that he obtain'd two ſmall pinnaces, call'd the *Brave* and the *Roe*, wherein fifteen planters, and all convenient proviſions for thoſe who winter'd in the country, were tranſported; but the names of the captains who commanded thoſe veſſels are not remember'd. On the 22d of *April* 1588, they put over the bar at *Biddeford*, and the ſame night came to anchor at the iſle of *Lundy*; but the company, minding more to make a gainful voyage than a ſafe one, run in chaſe of prizes; till at laſt one of them was met with by a couple of ſtrong men of war of *Rochelle*, about fifty leagues to the north-eaſt of *Madera*; where, after a bloody fight, the *Engliſh* were beaten, boarded and rifled. But it is obſervable, the *French* men were ſo immoderate in poſſeſſing themſelves of their ſpoil, that, by over-loading the boats with the freight of the *Engliſh* ſhips, they ſunk what they were too eager to ſhare; ſo the vice, which led them to conqueſt, being it ſelf unconquer'd, they loſt by their greedineſs what they had won by their ſtrength. In this maimed, ranſack'd and ragged condition, the ſaid ſhip return'd to *England* in a month's time; and about three weeks after returned the other, having perhaps taſted of the ſame fare; at leaſt without performing the intended voyage; to the diſtreſs of the planters abroad, and diſpleaſure of their patron at home.[b]

The fifth voyage to *Virginia*.

IN the mean time the king of *France* ſent queen *Elizabeth* a meſſage, aſſuring her, that the tempeſt, which had been gathering in *Spain* for three years, would certainly break very ſpeedily upon her kingdom; therefore adviſed her to make the beſt preparation ſhe could for

[a] See *Stype*'s annals of the church, tom. 3. fol. 452.

[b] *Hakluyt*'s voyages, 1ſt edit. fol. 1589. p. 771.

its defence. Nor did the king of *Spain* keep it now any longer a ſecret, having about the ſame time, that is, in the month of *May* this year, publiſh'd at *Lisbon* an ample and oſtentatious account[a] of this *Invincible Armada*, as the *Spaniards* themſelves had call'd it; wherein the ſquadrons are diſtinguiſh'd according to the ſeveral provinces; the names of the ſhips, their burden, and their commanders; with the number of their ſoldiers, mariners, and other aſſociates and adventurers; their ſtores, and all other neceſſaries, likewiſe ſpecified: whence it appears the whole fleet conſiſted of a hundred and thirty, or, according to Sir *Walter Ralegh*[b] and *Hugo Grotius*,[c] a hundred and forty ſail; ſome few tenders, or others, joining them by the way, not being perhaps in the *Spaniſh* liſt reckon'd: carrying, by the generality of accounts, above twenty-ſix hundred pieces of braſs and iron ordnance;[d] near nineteen thouſand ſoldiers; between eight and nine thouſand ſailors; beſides officers, prieſts, galley-ſlaves, ſervants, and other attendants; amounting in all to about thirty thouſand perſons; or, according to the confeſſion of *Don Diego Piementelli*, one of their own commanders, who was driven into *Zealand*, the whole fleet, army, *&c.* were no leſs than thirty-two thouſand men; and coſt the king of *Spain* 30000 ducats every day.[e] The general of this mighty navy was the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, knight of the golden fleece; and *John Martines de Ricalde* was chief admiral. In *Flanders* the prince of *Parma* was alſo making great preparations to join this *Armada*; had gather'd up an army conſiſting of more than a hundred, ſome ſay two hundred companies of foot, and four thouſand horſe; and was very buſy in making rafts, ferry-boats, floating bridges, portcullices, gabions, and what not? Nor were they idle in *England*; for how well the directions of the council of war aforeſaid were put in execution, and how far *Ralegh* may be preſum'd to have been engag'd among the moſt indefatigable in this ſervice, is to be infer'd from the words of that author, who ſays, "In a very ſhort time the whole king-"dom and every corner were ſpeedily furniſh'd with armed people on horſeback and on foot; "and thoſe continually trained, exerciſed, and put into bands in ſuch warlike manner, as in "no age ever was before in this realm." And a little further, "That all concur'd in one "mind, to be in readineſs to ſerve for the realm; and ſome one country was able to make "a ſufficient army of twenty thouſand men fit to fight, and fifteen thouſand of them well "arm'd and weapon'd: and in ſome countries the number of forty thouſand able men: that "the maritime countries from *Cornwal* all along ſouthward to *Kent*, and from thence eaſtward "to *Lincolnſhire*, were ſo furniſh'd with ſoldiers, both of themſelves, and with reſort from "their next ſhires, as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any foreign forces, but "there were within forty-eight hours to come to the place above twenty thouſand fighting men "on horſeback and on foot, with all manner of ammunition, proviſion, and carriages, un-"der the principal nobles of the countries, and captains of the greateſt knowledge."[f] We further learn from the ſame author and others, that beſides theſe armies for the maritime countries, the city of *London* exerciſed before the queen ten thouſand men, and had ſeveral thouſands more in readineſs; that there were alſo two great armies raiſed, whereof one was encamp'd at *Tilbury* in *Eſſex*, between the city and the mouth of the *Thames*, conſiſting of twenty-two thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, under the command of the earl of *Leiceſter*. The queen review'd this camp ſeveral times, din'd, made orations in it, and lodged in the borders of it.[g] The other army, conſiſting of thirty-four thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe,

[a] It is entitled, *La Feliciſſima* Armada *que el Rey* Felipe *nueſtro ſenior mando juntar en el Puerto de la ciudad de* Liſboa *en el Reyno de* Portugal; *en el Anno de Mil e quinientos y ochenta y ocho. Hecha par Pedro de Pos Salas.* It was tranſlated into *Engliſh* the ſame year by *Daniel Archdeacon*, under the title of *A Diſcourſe of that* Armada *which the king of* Spain *cauſed to be aſſembled in the haven of* Liſbon *in the kingdom of* Portugal, *in the year* 88, *againſt* England; *the which began to go out of the haven the* 29*th and* 30*th of* May. See an abſtract of this pamphlet in *Hakluyt* (out of *Van Meteran*) vol. 1. fol. 592. Alſo in the *Triumphs of Naſſau*, tranſlated from a *French* book hereafter mention'd, fol. 1613, from page 50 to 63. Alſo in *Speed*'s *Chronicles*, fol. 1198. And Mr. *Strype*'s *Annals of the church.* tom. 3. fol. 1728. Appen. nº. 51, *&c.*

[b] In his brief account of the *Spaniſh* invaſion hereafter following.

[c] *Annal. & Hiſt. de Rebus Belgicis. Amſt.* 12mo. 1648. p. 171. But one of Mr. *Lediard*'s liſts in his *Naval Expeditions*, now publiſhing, folio 252. raiſes them to 145. the author of a letter ſent out of *England* to Don *Bernardin Mendoza*, ambaſſador in *France* for the king of *Spain*, 4to. 1588, ſays, p. 17, their number was 150. Alſo *Van Meteran*, the *Dutch* hiſtorian's relation of this invaſion, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 1. fol. 593, agrees in that number; but a little further reckons them at 134. And *Stow* or *Howe*'s *Abridgment* of him advances the *Spaniſh* fleet to 158 ſhips. But the accounts above, eſpecially of the *Spaniards* themſelves at the very time, ſeem moſt credible: for in the examination of one of the *Spaniſh* priſoners, named *Emanuel Fremoſa*, on the 12th of *September* this year, I find he confeſs'd, that they were, at their coming forth from *Spain*, 135 ſail. Thus in a ſcarce tract, entitled, *Certain Advertiſements out of* Ireland, concerning the loſſes and diſtreſſes happen'd to the *Spaniſh* navy, 4to. 1588, in the *Harleyan* library, *B. H.*

[d] Sir *Walter Ralegh* has made ſome good obſervations upon this plenty of *Spaniſh* guns, which there will be occaſion hereafter more particularly to recite.

[e] So *Emanuel Van Meteran*, in *Hakluyt*, as before, probably out of the depoſition of *Don Diego Piementelli*, before the chief lords of the counſaile of the *Haghe* in *Holland*, printed in *Engliſh* at *London*, 4to. 1588.

[f] The copy of a letter ſent out of *England* to *Don Bernardin Mendoza*, *&c.* 4to. 1588. p. 6.

[g] The moſt particular deſcription perhaps of theſe preparations againſt the *Spaniſh* invaſion, eſpecially of the queen's entertainment at the royal camp of *Tilbury*, is to be found in a poem of blank verſe, entitled, *Elizabetha Triumphans*: containing the damned practices which the deviliſh popes of *Rome* have uſed ever ſince her firſt coming to the crown. Dedicated to Dr. *Julius Cæſar*, *&c.* by *James Aſke*, 4to. 1588.

commanded

commanded by the lord *Hunſdon*, was planted about the queen's own perſon.[a] And it increas'd daily by the ſeveral bands and troops, which were led from the inland countries by ſuch noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, as had no ſpecial charge or government in their reſpective counties; while the young earl of *Eſſex*, and others among them, entertain'd her majeſty with tiltings and tourneys, barriers, mock-fights, and ſuch-like arts, as in publick are wont to render men popular.[b] But the lieutenants of the maritime counties were otherwiſe employ'd. And as the earl of *Pembroke* had been aſſiduous in levying the forces of *Wilts* and *Somerſetſhire*, and the earl of *Bath* thoſe of *Devonſhire*; ſo *Ralegh* ſeems to have been no leſs forward and induſtrious in raiſing and reducing thoſe of *Cornwal* to the beſt order and diſcipline for the ſervice of his country, againſt the common enemy; notwithſtanding what he might have done, as has been ſaid before, at *Portland*: and, like the reſt of the lords-lieutenant, to have ſent up conſtantly his certificates to the queen of the numbers that were aſſembled; the poſture they were in; the proviſions they were ſupply'd with; or thoſe whereof they ſtood in need.

Aſſembles the *weſtern* forces againſt the *Spaniſh Invaſion.*

But notwithſtanding all theſe land-preparations, which moved ſome ſpeculative warriors at court to think a ſea-force unneceſſary, as if the *Engliſh* were ſufficient to cut the *Spaniards* to pieces in landing, or when they were aſhore, and run away with their ſhips at the ſame time; Sir *Walter Ralegh* knew better what another kingdom might do, even againſt *England*, by the advantage of a fleet, if we have none: no man having ſo ſolidly reſolv'd as himſelf that weighty queſtion, whether *England, without the help of a fleet, is able to debar an enemy from landing?* He knew that ſhips, without putting themſelves out of breath, will eaſily out-run the ſoldiers that coaſt them: he knew that a fleet after ſun-ſet may be ſeen at the *Lizard*, and by the next morning at *Portland*, which an army ſhould be ſix days in marching; and conſequently, that the ſailor may chuſe his landing-place, where there are no ſoldiers that can oppoſe him: and even ſuppoſing an invader ſhould offer to land near where our greateſt army was ready to receive him, *Ralegh* doubted, when the choice of all our train'd-bands and of officers were drawn together, as at *Tilbury*, to attend the perſon of the queen, and to defend the city of *London*, whether thoſe that ſhould remain to guard the coaſt could be of any ſuch force as to encounter an army like that which the prince of *Parma* ſhould have landed in *England*.[c]

By ſea therefore all poſſible defence was likewiſe made, and the chief command was very properly confer'd on the lord-admiral *Howard*, who, hearing the *Invincible Armada* was upon the point of hoiſting ſail, ſent Sir *Francis Drake*, who was conſtituted his vice-admiral, with fifty-ſix ſhips well appointed, to the weſtern parts, and himſelf arrived there on the 23d of *May* with others, which made up the fleet about a hundred ſail; while the lord *Henry Seymer* was ſent to lie with forty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips (according to *Camden*) between *Dover* and *Calais* to intercept the prince of *Parma*.[d] The *Invincible Armada* looſed anchor from *Liſbon* four days before; but met with ſuch ſtorms, ſickneſs, and other diſaſters, that the lord-admiral put forth towards *Spain*, in hopes of ſurpriſing them in their diſtreſs; till more maturely conſidering they might paſs by undiſcover'd, he return'd to *Plymouth*, and ſuffer'd his men to relieve

[a] But ſix years before this occaſion of raiſing the military ſtrength of *England*, according to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, there were, upon a general view and muſter, found in the kingdom, of all men fit to bear arms, eleven hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand. See his *Select eſſays and obſervations* 8vo. 1650, in his diſcourſe of the invention of ſhipping, p. 27.

[b] The earl of *Eſſex* was now maſter of the queen's horſe. See the letter to *Mendoza* aforeſaid, p. 25. In which Sir *Henry Wotton* agrees, who makes this further obſervation: "This ſervice at *Tilbury* camp was, in my "judgment (ſays he) the very poiſon of all that followed; "for there, while the queen ſtood in ſome doubt of the "*Spaniſh* invaſion, ſhe made him in field, commander of "the cavalry, as he was before in court, and much graced "him openly in view of the ſoldiers and people, even "above my lord of *Leiceſter*: the truth is, from thence-"forth *he fed too faſt*." Parallel between *Robert Devereux* earl of *Eſſex*, and *George Villiers* duke of *Buckingham*.

[c] Vid. *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. ſect. 9.

[d] As for the naval force in theſe times, *William Harriſon*, in his *Hiſtorical deſcription of England* (with whom Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in his *Eſſays*, aforeſaid agrees) tells us, the queen had then in the 24th year of her reign (ſix years before this invaſion) already built and furniſhed four or five and twenty great ſhips (whoſe names they both recite) and three notable gallies; with the ſight whereof, and the reſt of the navy royal, ſays *Harriſon*, it is incredible to ſee how greatly her grace is delighted. They further ſay, there were then 135 ſhips more, whoſe burden exceeded 500 ton; beſides many more of leſſer burden, hoys, *&c.* *Harriſon* alſo obſerves, her grace doth yearly build one ſhip or other to the better defence of her frontiers from the enemy. See him in the 2d vol. of *Holingſhed*, fol. 201.

Michael Caſtelnau, who was ambaſſador here many years in thoſe times, and who has given the moſt noble and ingenuous character of the ſaid queen, in his *memoirs*, of any foreigner I have met with that knew her, comes ſo near that author, where he obſerves ſhe built a noble fleet, the bulwark of her kingdom, as to affirm, ſhe launches a large man of war every ſecond year. But by that long *liſt* of the *Engliſh navy* (which this year oppoſed the *Spaniſh* Armada) among the MSS. in the *Royal library* 14. B. XIII. lately printed by Mr. *Lediard*, in his *Naval Expeditions*, fol. 238. it appears there were very few ſhips of that burden before-mention'd among them. For tho' that *liſt* raiſes their number beyond all other accounts, to 197 ſail (manifeſtly omitting ſome which were there, and probably admitting ſeveral which were not;) yet there are not above ſix ſhips among them mention'd to be of 500 ton, and not above ſeven of greater burden. Therefore, as Mr *Lediard* well obſerves, tho' our ſeveral ſquadrons might exceed thoſe of the *Spaniards* in number of ſhips; yet by comparing the tonnage of the ſeveral ſhips in both fleets, and the number of men employ'd in them, the ſuperiority of the enemy's fleet will appear very conſiderable; more than double in men, and very near double in burden.

them,

themſelves on ſhore. The queen had received ſuch aſſurance they were ſo diſabled from coming this year by that ſtorm, that ſhe made ſecretary *Walſingham* ſend for four of her firſt-rate ſhips to be brought home to *Chatham*. But their return was prevented by the intelligence which captain *Thomas Fleming* brought into the harbour on the 19th of *July*, that he had diſcover'd the enemy approaching from the *Lizard-Point* in *Cornwal*. The captains and commanders were then it ſeems at bowls upon the *Hoe* at *Plymouth*;[a] and the tradition goes, that *Drake* would needs ſee the game up; but was ſoon prevail'd on to go and play out the rubbers with the *Spaniards*. All hands were now at work to warp out the ſhips, which, with the admirable induſtry of the ſeamen, was very ſpeedily, for the difficulty thereof, perform'd, the wind blowing ſtiffly into the haven from the ſouth-weſt. The lord-admiral, with the few he could then get ready, lay all night in the road. Next day about fifty or threeſcore more join'd him, and at noon they ken'd the *Spaniſh* fleet; ſome with lofty turrets and decks rear'd one above another; and others rowed along with two or three hundred oars apiece; all advancing with their *Spaniſh* gravity, the wind being abated, in a ſemicircular order; and extended, as *Camden* obſerves, ſeven miles from end to end. The *Engliſh* ſuffered them all to paſs by, ſo got the advantage of the wind, when they began to chaſe them in the rear: nor did the *Spaniards* offer to land at *Plymouth*, their commiſſion being to join the prince of *Parma*, and ſail directly to *London*. The next day, which was the 21ſt of *July*, the lord-admiral ſent out a pinnace call'd the *Defiance*, and begun the fight. This, I take it, was near the *Eddiſtone*; for there we have account of the firſt conflict, and of the firſt *Spaniſh* ſhip that was taken or ſunk.[b] Then the lord-admiral in the *Ark-Royal*, *Drake* in the *Revenge*, with *Hawkins*, *Frobiſher*, and others, having thunder'd thick upon the enemy for two hours together, withdrew, forty of their ſhips not being (ſays *Camden*) yet come up. In this engagement the *Spaniards*, by endeavouring to circle in and ſhelter one of their diſabled galleons, ſhe had her foremaſt broken, and was left behind, which *Drake* took the next day, with *Don Pedro de Valdez* and other nobles in her, beſides fifty-five thouſand ducats, which were ſhar'd among his ſailors. Immediately after, another of their greateſt ſhips was ſet on fire, with all the people in her, and yet the powder eſcaped. But how the lord-admiral, all the firſt night, follow'd the *Spaniſh* lantern, inſtead of *Drake*'s, into their fleet, while *Drake* at the ſame time was making another miſtaken purſuit; and how the *Ark Royal* followed the *Spaniſh* fleet alſo the ſecond night, ſo far, almoſt alone, that it was the afternoon following before the *Engliſh* fleet overtook her, with other particulars; I leave to the more ample accounts of this engagement, that I may attend the motions of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; who, from being at firſt the neareſt, now growing impatient at being the moſt remote from the enemy, appears to have committed his charge by land to proper officers, or detach'd part thereof to march up nearer the *Spaniards*, and with a gallant company of nobles and gentlemen, in ſeveral ſhips, to have join'd the *Engliſh* fleet; that is to ſay, on the 23d of *July*, when the *Spaniſh* fleet was advanced over-againſt *Portland*; where, this whole day being one continued engagement from morning till night, it proved the moſt general and bloody fight of any between them in the *Britiſh* channel: and here, after the taking of a great *Venetian* ſhip, and others of leſſer bulk, the *Spaniards* were driven from all intention of aſſaulting the *Engliſh*, till they had join'd the prince of *Parma*; for during this fight, or, "in "the mean while" (according to the words of my author, from *Van Meteran*, one of the earlieſt, moſt copious and accurate journaliſts of this expedition) "the *Engliſh* navy increas'd; where-"unto, out of all havens of the realm, reſorted ſhips and men; for they all with one accord "came flocking thither (to *Portland*) as unto a ſet field where immortal fame and glory was "to be attain'd, and faithful ſervice to be perform'd unto their prince and country."[c] In which number having mention'd the earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*, he alſo names Sir *Walter Ralegh* among the foremoſt of near twenty other knights and gentlemen, whereby the *Engliſh* ſhips were augmented to a hundred ſail; and doubtleſs by ſome of thoſe *Camden* mention'd to have been left behind in *Plymouth-Sound*, with which *Ralegh* very probably advanced.[d] Theſe, ever aſunder, and always in motion, were on every ſide uſeful to annoy the enemy; now preſenting a broad-ſide, and ſheering off; then tacking about and diſcharging the other; in ſuch ſort, that Sir *Henry Wotton* call'd it a *Morrice-dance* upon the waters,[e] while

Joins the *Engliſh* fleet with a ſquadron of volunteers.

a *Phœnix Britannicus*, 4to. 1731. p. 346.

b See the liſt of the *Spaniſh* ſhips loſt in the *Narrow Seas* in *July* and *Auguſt* 1588, at the end of *Certain Advertiſements* out of *Ireland*, concerning the loſſes and diſtreſs of the *Spaniſh* navy, 4to. 1588. before-mention'd.

c See the miraculous victory of the *Engliſh* fleet over the *Spaniſh Armada*; in *Hakluyt*, vol. 1. fol. 1599. p. 599, from the 15th book of *Emanuel Van Meteran*'s hiſtory of the *Low-countries*.

d What further perſuades me to believe *Ralegh* enter'd the fleet at this place and time is, my having met with a certain foreign hiſtory, hereafter mention'd, which had been his own book, and wherein he has with his own hand corrected other paſſages relating to himſelf; but has let this of his joining the fleet, as above, paſs uncontradicted.

e His parallel between *Robert* earl of *Eſſex* and *George* duke of *Buckingham*, before-mention'd.

the

the ſluggiſh and unweildy caſtles of the enemy cluſter'd and hamper'd together, could only offer offence from one diſabled ſide; and that, when they had done, flew over the *Engliſh* mens heads. *Camden* tells us, that in this day's engagement, the lord-admiral was adviſed by ſome of his officers, with more heat than diſcretion, to grapple with and board the enemy. Now *Ralegh*, having made ſome excellent animadverſions upon this very circumſtance, goes nigh to prove out of his own words, that he was not only in this day's engagement; but that the counſel he might thence appear to have given, did greatly contibute to the ſucceſs of it. He has ſhewn how well he knew, that in ſuch caſe the advantage of weapons would be likelieſt to carry it, whereof the enemy was provided with far the greateſt number; alſo, that in ſuch cloſe fight, how liable the leſſer ſhips were to be cruſh'd by the greater; that theſe by their very height muſt have further advantage over thoſe that endeavour'd to board them from below; and laſtly, in theſe of more bulk and breadth being alſo more firm and more ſteady, thoſe who could beſt keep their feet would probably be beſt able to uſe their hands. But that I may not impede too much the courſe of action, his further arguments upon this head are ſubjoyn'd more cloſely in his own words.[a] Next day the *Spaniards* were glad to lie by, and the *Engliſh* no leſs pleaſed with the ceſſation, that they might take the opportunity of ſending to ſhore for a recruit of ammunition; and this, being a circumſtance taken notice of alſo by *Ralegh* himſelf, further confirms his having been now among them.[b] The 25th of *July*, the *Engliſh* had another ſharp battel with the *Spaniſh* admiral, and three great galleaſſes at the iſle of *Wight*, in which *Camden* mentions the taking of a *Portugueſe* galleon, and that from this time the galleaſſes durſt not venture upon any new engagement, but cloſing themſelves up again in a rundel as they call'd it, made the beſt of their way to tell the prince of *Parma* how they had been ſerved. The *Engliſh* fleet followed and kept playing upon their rear all the next day, having determined to forbear any cloſer engagement till they came to the *Britiſh Frith*, or ſtreights of *Calais*, where the lord *Seymer* expected their arrival. "But ſo far was this *Invincible Armada* from "alarming the ſea-coaſts, ſays *Camden*, that the *Engliſh* gentry of the younger ſort enter'd "themſelves volunteers, and, leaving their friends and families, did with incredible cheerfulneſs "hire ſhips at their own charge, and in pure love to their country joyn'd the grand fleet in vaſt "numbers." And here *Camden* names thoſe nobles and ſome of thoſe gentlemen, with *Ralegh* among them, which compoſed the ſquadron before-mentioned, as if it enter'd but now from *Dover*, or ſome of thoſe ports; not that he confines their entrance to this day, otherwiſe than naming them under it, or any other way ſuggeſts, they did not joyn the grand fleet three days before; but ſeems, by remembering them in this place, to have believed, they were moſt conſpicuous or in greateſt number at this time, unleſs he poſtpon'd the mention of them to a day, that was leaſt throng'd with circumſtances of action. Indeed, that this noble ſquadron of vo-

a "Certainly he, that will happily perform a fight at "ſea, muſt be skilful in making choice of veſſels to "fight in: he muſt believe, that there is more belonging "to a good man of war upon the waters than great da-"ring; and muſt know, that there is a great deal of "difference between fighting looſe or at large, and grap-"pling. The guns of a ſlow ſhip pierce as well, and "make as great holes, as thoſe in a ſwift. To clap "ſhips together without conſideration, belongs rather to "a mad-man than to a man of war; for by ſuch igno-"rant bravery was *Peter Stroſſie* loſt at the *Azores*, when "he fought againſt the marquis of *Sancta Cruz*. In "like ſort had the lord *Charles Howard*, admiral of "*England*, been loſt in 1588, if he had not been better "adviſed, than a great many malignant fools were, "that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* "had an army aboard them, and he had none; they "had more ſhips than he had, and of higher building and "charging; ſo that, had he entangled himſelf with thoſe "great and powerful veſſels, he had greatly endangered "this kingdom of *England*. For twenty men upon the "defence are equal to a hundred that board and enter; "whereas then, contrariwiſe, the *Spaniards* had a hun-"dred for twenty of ours to defend themſelves withal. "But our admiral knew his advantage, and held it; "which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have "held his head. Here to ſpeak in general of ſea-fights (contiuues he, tho' I think his obſervation may have re-ſpect to ſome further events in this particular fight, where-fore 'tis here alſo added) "I ſay, that a fleet of twenty "ſhips, all good ſailors and good ſhips, have the ad-"vantage on the open ſea of a hundred as good ſhips, "but of ſlower ſailing. For if the fleet of a hundred "ſail keep themſelves together in a groſs ſquadron, the "twenty ſhips upon any angle ſhall force them to "give ground and to fall back upon their own next "fellows; of which ſo many as entangle are made "unſerviceable or loſt. Force them they may eaſily; "becauſe twenty ſhips, which give themſelves ſcope, "after they have given one broad-ſide of artillery by "clapping into the wind and ſtaying, may give "them the other, and ſo the twenty ſhips batter "them in pieces with a perpetual volley, whereas thoſe "that fight in a troop have no room to turn, and can "always uſe but one and the ſame beaten ſide. If the "fleet of a hundred ſail give themſelves any diſtance, "then ſhall the leſſer fleet prevail, either againſt thoſe "that are arrear and hindermoſt, or againſt thoſe that, "by advantage of over-ſailing their fellows, keep the "wind: and, if upon a lee-ſhore, the ſhips next the "wind will be conſtrained to fall back into their own ſqua-"dron; then it is all to nothing, that the whole fleet "muſt ſuffer ſhip-wreck, or render it ſelf. That ſuch "advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequal ſpeed, "it hath been well enough conceived in old time, as by "that oration of *Hermocrates* in *Thucydides*, which he "made to the *Syracuſians* when the *Athenians* invaded "them, it may be eaſily obſerved. *Hiſtory of the World*, Book 5. chap. 1. ſect. 6.

b Speaking of the ſuperfluity of great ordnance in the royal navy; he obſerves, that "many times there is no "proportion of ſhot and powder allowed, rateably to that "quantity of great ordnance, as was ſeen in the ſea-bat-"tel, ſays he, with the *Spaniards* in the year 1588, when "it ſo nearly concerned the defence and preſervation of "the kingdom. So as then many of thoſe great guns, "wanting powder and ſhot, ſtood but as cyphers and "ſcare-crows, not unlike to the *Eaſterling* hulks, who "were wont to plant great red port-holes in their broad-"ſides where they carried no ordnance at all." See Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *obſervations* on the *royal navy* and *ſea-ſervice*, inſcribed to *Henry*, prince of *Wales*, 8vo. 1650. p. 26.

lunteers was united to the queen's navy, when ſuch valiant ſervices were perform'd againſt the *Spaniards* in the great fight before *Calais*, another writer alſo, greatly to their commendation, agrees; but neither is he ſo expreſſive as to ſatisfy us it was the firſt appearance they made, and that they were not before at *Portland*. For, having mentioned the earls of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and other gentlemen of diſtinction, who without any charge or knowlege of the queen, joyn'd the fleet before *Calais*, and ventur'd their lives in the ſaid engagement; he goes on to obſerve, how earneſt all ranks and degrees were; by inſtancing alſo, "that the earl of "*Oxford*, one of the moſt ancient nobles in this land, went to ſea and ſerved the queen among "them, as did *Robert Cecil*, lord *Dudley* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a gentleman of the queen's "privy-chamber, ſays he, and in his company a great number of young gentlemen, among "whom were *William Cecil*, *Edward Darcie*, and *Arthur Gorge*," [a] the ſame perſons mentioned with others by *Camden*, and alſo in larger number by the *Dutch* hiſtorian above quoted, three days before. "With the recital of whom, I only ſhew you (continues my laſt author, "the letter-writer) how far we have been deceived to think, that we ſhould have had a party "here for us, when, as you behold, both by land and ſea, all ſorts of men were ſo ready, at their "own charges, without either commandment or entertainment, to adventure alſo their lives in de-"fence of the queen and the realm." [b] From hence it appears, this ſquadron muſt have alſo been at the final overthrow of the *Spaniſh Armada*, which on the 27th of *July* in the evening anchor'd before *Calais*, intending to hold on for *Dunkirk*, in expectation of the prince of *Parma*, who was always preparing but never ready, and, the *Engliſh* following, anchor'd alſo within culvering ſhot of them. Here the lord *Seymer* joyn'd the *Engliſh*; and then the lord-admiral's fleet was increaſed to a hundred and forty ſail, ſays *Camden*; wherein he both exactly agrees with the augmentation thereof at *Portland* by theſe volunteers, as we have it from the *Dutch* hiſtorian there quoted; and alſo excludes all intermediate addition, of ſhips at leaſt, by the number himſelf has before given us of the lord *Seymer*'s ſquadron. Next day the *Engliſh* reſolv'd, according to the queen's directions, upon the ſtratagem of the fire-ſhips to burn or diſperſe the *Spaniſh* navy; and the ſame was put in practice at or ſoon after midnight, ſo ſucceſsfully, that the enemy, cutting their cables with the utmoſt horror and precipitancy, were, ſome ſcatter'd by the wind, ſome fell foul of each other, and others ſtruck upon the ſands; the *Engliſh* chaſing and thundering upon them from all quarters: then was a great galleaſs taken by captain *Preſton*, its commander *Moncada* ſlain, and a booty of near as much gold fell to the conquerors as was taken in another before-mentioned. [c] On the 29th of *July* the *Spaniards* ranged themſelves into the beſt order they could within ſight of *Graveling*; hither the *Engliſh* fleet alſo purſued them, and here the *Spaniards* received their laſt fatal adieu, by inceſſant and numberleſs damages from the *Engliſh* cannon the greateſt part of the day, till their *Galleons*, *Galleaſſes*, *Gallies*, *Urcas* and *Zabras* were ſo miſerably ſhatter'd, having their hulls pierced through and through, their oars and rudders cut away, their tackling all rent, and their maſts broken, that ſome were deſerted as unſerviceable, ſome ſunk with the crew that was in them, and others retiring upon the neighbouring coaſts were ſeized and plundered by the inhabitants: while thoſe, that had the ability left them, moſt prudently employ'd it in running away. The *Engliſh* ſtill followed them into the *northern* ſeas, even beyond the latitude of fifty-ſeven degrees, and, leaving them paſt all thoughts of the prince of *Parma*, return'd on the 4th of *Auguſt*; when the violent ſtorms that aroſe reſumed their cauſe, and compleated their victory: for, by the tempeſts, ſhipwrecks, ſickneſs and famine in their dangerous paſſage homewards, they ſuſtained greater loſſes than even all they had met with throughout the narrow ſeas. For the particulars of thoſe loſſes we ſhall refer to the diſtinct and more copious narratives of this invaſion, [d] and cloſe this account with the ſummary thereof, which was ſoon after publiſhed to the world

Gentleman of the queen's privy-chamber.

At the final overthrow of the *Invincible Armada*.

[a] Copy of a letter ſent out of *England* to *Don Bern. Mendoza*, p. 28.

[b] *Ibidem*.

[c] "It was affirmed by men of great judgment in *Ca-*"*lais*, that never was ſeen by any man living ſuch a "battery; ſo great for number, ſo furious, and of ſo long "continuance, as the *Engliſh* made againſt the *Spaniſh*: "*Calais* ſaw the *Spaniſh* navy firſt driven from their an-"chors with fire; they ſaw the greateſt galleaſs of the *Spa-*"*niſh*, whereof was commander that worthy nobleman "*Moncada*, ſpoil'd, and himſelf ſlain in it by the *Engliſh*: "*Calais* ſaw the next day, that the *Engliſh* fought and "beat the *Armada* from eight a clock in the morning "till four in the afternoon without ceaſing: *Calais* ſaw "the *Spaniſh* hoiſt up all their ſails and fly as faſt as the "wind could drive, and the *Engliſh* purſue them: Yet "*Calais* ſaw a ſufficient navy of *England* left before "*Dunkirk*, able to maſter all the ſhipping that the duke "of *Parma* had provided." Thus in a ſcarce old tract in the *Harleyan* library, B. H. called, *A Pack of Spaniſh lyes*, firſt printed in *Spain*, tranſlated, and now ripped up, unfolded and condemn'd, 4to. 1588. p. 6.

[d] At the end of an old pamphet before quoted, called, *Certain Advertiſements out of Ireland*, concerning the loſſes and diſtreſſes of the *Spaniſh* navy, there is one liſt of fifteen *Spaniſh* ſhips, which periſhed, or were taken by the *Engliſh* in *July* and *Auguſt* in the narrow ſeas; and another liſt of ſeventeen more, ſunk, burnt and taken on the coaſts of *Ireland* in *September*; ſo that both loſſes were thirty-two ſhips, in which were alſo deſtroy'd and taken 10185 men, whereof one thouſand were detain'd priſoners in *England* and *Zealand*; further adding, there were multitudes beſides ſlain, ſunk, or ſtarved, who were not accounted for. Inſomuch, as *Van Meteran* in *Hakluyt* more diſtinctly computes, with whom, I obſerve, moſt of our hiſtorians agree, there returned not home above fifty-three

world by Sir *Walter Ralegh* himſelf, where giving the honour of the victory to the courage and conduct of the lord-admiral *Howard*, he ſays, that "notwithſtanding the victories they "pretended to have obtained, it was ſoon manifeſted to all nations, how the navy, which "they had termed *invincible*, conſiſting of a hundred and forty ſail, was by thirty of the "queen's ſhips of war, and a few merchant-men, beaten and ſhuffled together, even from the "*Lizard* point in *Cornwall* to *Portland*, where they ſhamefully left *Don Pedro de Valdez* "with his mighty ſhip; from *Portland* to *Calais*, where they loſt *Hugo de Moncada*, "with the gallies of which he was captain; and from *Calais*, driven with *ſquibs* from their "anchors, were chaſed out of the ſight of *England* round about *Scotland* and *Ireland*; where, "for the ſympathy of their barbarous religion, hoping to find ſuccour and aſſiſtance, a great "part of them were cruſh'd againſt the rocks; and thoſe other who landed (being very "many in number) were notwithſtanding broken, ſlain, and taken; and ſo ſent from vil- "lage to village, coupled in halters, to be ſhipped into *England*; where her majeſty, of her "princely and *invincible* diſpoſition, diſdaining to put them to death, and ſcorning either to "retain or entertain them, they were all ſent back again to their own country, to witneſs "and recount the worthy atchievements of their *invincible* navy."

THE ſervices of Sir *Walter Ralegh* againſt this invaſion, his diligence in regulating the forces of the land, and his intereſt in ſtrengthning thoſe of the ſea; the charges he was at, and the dangers he voluntarily incurr'd, however undiſtinguiſh'd more than is above expreſs'd by our common hiſtorians, and thoſe few inaccurate accounts thereof, which are deſcended to us; were yet received with ſuch approbation by the queen, that ſhe ſeems, as ſome recompence for them, to have this year made a conſiderable augmentation to his patent of wines; as if he had, beſides the grant before-mentioned, another now alſo beſtowed upon him for tonnage and poundage upon thoſe liquors,[b] except it is the ſame patent with the former, only renewed this year, or wrong dated in the author who mentions it. Be it as it ſhould, this patent ſeems to have been one of the moſt beneficial favours which *Ralegh* ever received of the queen, and might perhaps exceed in profit the penſion which ſhe ſettled on the lord-admiral himſelf for his conduct and courage in the ſaid overthrow. This benefit *Ralegh* enjoy'd as long as ſhe liv'd; tho', towards the cloſe of her reign, the number of ſuch-like grants to others being very much increaſed, they were inveighed againſt in parliament as grievous and burdenſome monopolies, by thoſe eſpecially, who had not the merit or intereſt to procure any for themſelves. Sir *Robert Naunton* tells us, in his concluſion of *Ralegh*'s character, with relation to the grants he thus obtain'd; "That tho' he gained much at the court, yet he took it not out of the exche- "quer, or merely out of the queen's purſe, but by his wit, and the help of the prerogative: "for the queen was never profuſe in delivering out her treaſures; but paid many, and moſt "of her ſervants, part in money and the reſt with grace."[c] We meet with another office, which *Ralegh* himſelf erected, no leſs praiſe-worthy than this was profitable to him. For one writer, in the ſhort account he gives of him, having ſpoken of the diviſion he made of his time, in allowing five hours to ſleep, four to reading, two for diſcourſe, and the reſt to buſineſs and other neceſſaries, and having hinted at the diverſity of his correſpondencies, intelligence and the like, ſays, that "in the capacity of an agency for all ſorts of perſons, he ſet up "a kind of *office of addreſs.*" And further, "that conſidering the diſpatch of ſuch variety of "engagements in the former part of his life, one muſt be much to ſeek how a man of ſo

Augmentation of his wine-office.

His office of addreſs.

three ſail, leaving alſo behind the greater and better part of their men; and, as they all conclude, *There was not a famous or worthy family in all Spain, which in this expedition loſt not a ſon, a brother, or a kinſman.*

Among the *Engliſh*, there were not in the whole eight or nine days engagement above one hundred loſt, and among them only one captain, named *Cock* by *Camden*; *Fuller*, in his worthies of *Devon*, laments mightily, that he cannot recover his chriſtian name; but perhaps *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 771, might have helped him to it; however, the *Cottonian* MS. quoted by Mr. *Lediard*, fol. 256. puts the matter further in doubt, by calling him *William Cope*, and his pinnace the *Delight*; which *William Cope* is more likely to be *William Cox*, who did command ſuch a veſſel of fifty tun, called the *Delight*, in the ſaid fleet, according to the liſt, which this ingenious gentleman himſelf has exhibited; unleſs *Camden*'s *Cock* is this *Cox*, and ſo his name may be *William*; tho' it will then differ from the perſon offer'd out of *Hakluyt*, who is named *Abraham*. But, as the perſon of this chriſtian name is there only mentioned in a former expedition, tho' his ſirname agrees beſt with the perſon who was loſt in this, it is left to the reader's judgment, whether he will prefer this *Abraham Cock*, or that *William Cox*, to the honourable memory that captain *Cock* in *Camden* deſerves for dying in defence of his country.

[a] In his *Report* of the truth of the fight about the iſles of the *Azores*, *&c.* hereafter more particularly mentioned, reprinted in *Hakluyt*, Tom. 2. fol. 169. Here I cannot but wonder, how the induſtrious Mr. *Strype* was led to ſay in his *Annals*, vol. 3. fol. 530. that this brief *relation* above-quoted of the *Spaniſh* invaſion was penn'd by Sir *Francis Drake*, of whoſe writing I never ſaw any thing in print or MS. but ſome letters; tho' he quotes even the very page in *Hakluyt*, whence he takes it, as I do; and where the ſaid *Report*, in which that *relation* is included, is expreſly ſaid to be penn'd by the honourable Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

[b] In Sir *Robert Cecil*'s liſt of the patentees and their patents, which he produced in the houſe of commons, *Anno* 1601, Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s for the tonnage and poundage of wines is mentioned to bear date, 30^mo *Reginæ*. See *Heywood Townſhend*'s hiſtorical collections of the four laſt parliaments of queen *Elizabeth*, fol. 168c. p. 244.

[c] *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 29.

"many

" many actions ſhould write any thing, and one of ſo many writings ſhould do any thing."[a] By another little hint, that has been elſewhere preſerved, we may conceive this office did chiefly reſpect a more liberal intercourſe, a nobler mutuality of advertiſement, than would perhaps admit of all ſorts of perſons; and ſuch as advanced rather to the improvement of men themſelves, than their means. But this ſuggeſtion is drawn only from comparing it with the general tendency of thoſe other ſchemes, among which I once ſaw it mentioned, in a letter written by an ingenious perſon of great note for his writings to a nobleman, who had the greateſt correſpondence with ſuch perſons of any in his time; recommending " that long dried fountain of communication, " which *Montaigne* firſt propos'd, Sir *Walter Ralegh* put in practice, and Mr. *Hartlib* endea- " voured to revive."[b] This is all that occurs to me of this *office of addreſs*: but whatever uſeful means of this nature, for advancing the knowledge or intereſt of mankind, was inſtituted by *Ralegh*, 'twas probably in ſome leſs active part of his life, than at this preſent juncture.

For *Don Antonio*, king of *Portugal*, who had been expell'd from his dominions by king *Philip*, and was now in *London*, ſoon after the ſignal overthrow of the *Armada* aforeſaid, took this opportunity to renew his motion to queen *Elizabeth* for her aſſiſtance towards his reſtoration, which he propounded to the lord-treaſurer in a letter full of liberal offers, written in the *Portugueſe* language, all with his own hand.[c] The queen not only conſented to the enterpriſe, as thinking it more convenient to return the late viſit of the *Spaniards* in their own country, than ſuffer them to repeat it here, but lent ſix of her men of war, and diſburſed threeſcore thouſand pounds towards defraying the charges thereof. This encouragement, and the late provocation, ſo ſpirited up the warlike men of the kingdom, and *Ralegh* among the reſt to become volunteers therein, that they augmented the number of the ſaid ſhips with a hundred and twenty ſail more, and mann'd them with fourteen or fifteen thouſand ſoldiers and ſailors at their own further expence, committing the charge by ſea to Sir *Francis Drake*, and that by land to Sir *John Norris*, who were probably the moſt conſiderable contributors thereto.

But firſt *Ralegh* took care for the relief of his plantation in *Virginia*, which that he might more effectually ſecure than could be expected from his own ſingle aſſiſtance, eſpecially after the many heavy diſburſments he had made, and the great diſappointment the colony muſt doubtleſs have received by miſſing of the laſt ſupplies he ſent them, through the loſſes, which his agents too raſhly brought thereon; he made an aſſignment to divers gentlemen and merchants of *London*, for continuing the plantation of this new diſcover'd country with *Engliſh* men. And this was now no leſs adviſedly done with regard to himſelf, than affectionately with reſpect to the people employ'd therein: whom, tho' he generouſly aſſiſted with his advice and intereſt

[a] See *Obſervations on the ſtateſmen and favourites of England ſince the reformation.* By *David Lloyd*, M. A. *October* 1665. p. 489.

[b] This letter, written by *John Evelyn*, Eſq; about forty years paſt, in a little black hand as I remember, to *Henry* earl of *Clarendon*, I ſaw among the remains of that earl's moſt numerous and expenſive collections, about eleven years ſince, at which time I made the extract above out of it. And, as I have met with the *projects* of thoſe other perſons mentioned in that letter with Sir *Walter Ralegh*, *for this commodious interchange and accompliſhment of human reſearches*; the recital of theirs may probably reflect a further light into the nature of his; and poſſibly quicken the publick ſpirit of ſome times or other for bringing to perfection the important and extenſive benefits, which are ſo many ways to be apprehended from ſuch a commodious and deſirable intercourſe. *Montaigne*'s project (or his father's) was for having an *office of enquiry* in ſeveral towns, for every body to regiſter what they were in ſearch or want of, with their terms, 'tis ſuppos'd, for obtaining it. " *Car à tous coups*, ſays he, *il y a des conditions qui s'entrecherchent; & pour ne s'entr'entendre, laiſſent les hommes en extreme neceſſité.*" There are, ſays he, ever- " more conditions, which are hunting after one another; " and for want of hearing one another's occaſions, leave " men in very great neceſſity." Then giving an inſtance of " thoſe two excellent ſcholars, *Lilius Giraldus* in " *Italy*, and *Sebaſtian Caſtalio* in *Germany*, who died ſo " poor they had ſcarce bread to eat, he believes thou- " ſands would have retained or relieved them, had they " known their wants. For the world is not ſo general- " ly corrupted, but that I knew a man (continues he) " who would heartily wiſh the eſtate his anceſtors had " left him, might be employ'd in ſecuring rare and re- " markable perſons of any kind, from thoſe misfor- " tunes, which ſometimes perſecute them to the laſt ex- " tremity." See his *Eſſays*, lib. 1. cap. 34. The other notice of this moſt uſeful ſcheme (ſince I have not at preſent Mr. *Hartlib*'s own account) I ſhall here offer in Sir *William Petty*'s ingenious repreſentation of it, directed many years ſince to the ſaid laſt projector himſelf. " We muſt recommend, ſays he, an *office of addreſs*, " according to the projection of Mr. *Hartlib*, that pain- " ful and great inſtrument of this deſign; *whereby the* " *wants and deſires of all may be made known to all.* " Where men may know what is *already done*, in the " buſineſs of *learning*; what is at preſent *in doing*, and " what is intended *to be done*; to the end, that by ſuch a " general communication of deſigns and mutual aſſiſtance " the wits and endeavours of the world may no longer " be as ſo many *ſcattered* coals, which, for want of *union*, " are ſoon *quenched*; whereas being but laid *together*, " they would have yielded a comfortable *light* and *heat*. " For, methinks, the preſent condition of men is like a " field, where, a battel having been lately fought, we ſee " many legs, arms and organs of ſenſe, lying here and " there, which, for want of conjunction, and a ſoul to quic- " ken and enliven them, are fit for nothing but to feed " the ravens and infect the air: ſo we ſee many wits " and ingenuities diſperſed up and down the world, where- " of ſome are now labouring to *do* what is already *done*; " and puzzling themſelves to *re-invent* what is already " *invented*: others we ſee quite ſtuck faſt in difficulties " for want of a few directions, which ſome other man, " might he be met withal, both could and would moſt " eaſily give him. Again, one man wants a ſmall ſum " of money to carry on ſome deſign that requires it; and " there is perhaps another, who has twice as much ready " to beſtow upon the ſame deſign; but theſe two, having " no means ever to hear the one of the other, the good " work, intended and deſired by *both* parties, does ut- " terly periſh and come to nothing. But this we paſs " over ſlightly, tho' very fundamental to our buſineſs; " becauſe the *maſter-builder* thereof himſelf has done it " ſo *ſolidly*." This in a Pamphlet, entitled, *The advice of* W. P. *to Mr.* Hartlib, *for the advancement of ſome particular parts of learning*, 4to. 1648. p. 1, 2.

[c] See a tranſlation of *Don Antonio*'s letter to the lord-treaſurer, dated *October* 23. 1588. in *Stryp*e's Annals, Tom. 3. fol. 536.

in

in ſome future proſecutions of this undertaking; yet theſe proving improſperous, through the oblique courſes they took at firſt ſetting out upon this new foundation, like that in which they lately fail'd, it was twenty years from this time [a], before even a whole company could make a more ſucceſsful and advanced progreſs in this ſettlement, than Sir *Walter Ralegh* of himſelf alone had done; it having coſt him, as we are aſſur'd by one who ſhould beſt know, no leſs than 40000 *l.* [b] The particulars of that aſſignment we may gather from an "indenture made the 7th of *March*, 31 *Eliz.* between Sir *Walter Ralegh* of *Coliton* in *Devonſhire*, as he is therein diſtinguiſhed, chief governor of *Virginia*, and *Thomas Smith* with other merchants of *London*, and adventurers to *Virginia*, and *John White* and other gentlemen; reciting, that Sir *Walter Ralegh* (by her majeſty's letters patents before-mentioned) had granted, on the ſeventh of *January* 1587, to *John White* and the reſt, free liberty to carry into *Virginia*, and inhabit there, ſuch of her majeſty's ſubjects as ſhould willingly accompany them. And that the ſaid *Thomas Smith* and others the ſaid adventurers, purpoſing to be made free of the corporation and company, late conſtituted by Sir *Walter* in the *city* of *Ralegh*, intended to be built in *Virginia*, had adventured divers ſums of money, merchandizes, ſhipping, victual, and other commodities, to *Virginia*: wherefore Sir *Walter Ralegh*, by this indenture, grants to the ſaid *Thomas Smith* and others, and to the ſaid *John White* and the reſt, their ſeveral heirs and aſſigns, free trade and traffick for all manner of merchandize to and from *Virginia*, or any other part of *America*, where the ſaid Sir *Walter*, his heirs or aſſigns, did, or might claim any intereſt, title or privilege; free from all rents, cuſtoms and other charges, except the fifth part of the oare of gold and ſilver, which he reſerves to himſelf and his heirs. And farther, the ſaid Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as well for and in eſpecial regard and zeal of planting the chriſtian religion, in and among the ſaid barbarous and heathen countries, and for the advancement and preferment of the ſame, and the common utility and profit of the inhabitants therein, as alſo for the encouragement of the ſaid adventurers and other aſſiſtants in *Virginia*, does freely and liberally give them the ſum of one hundred pounds." [c]

His aſſignment to continue the plantation of *Virginia*.

City of *Ralegh*

His bounty for the propagation of the goſpel.

As for the expedition before-mentioned, which was ſet out under *Drake* and *Norris*, about five weeks after the ſaid aſſignment, that is on the 14th of *April* 1589, in which *Don Antonio* was by *Ralegh*, among the reſt, accompanied to *Portugal*, we need not here be circumſtantial thereon; eſpecially as to the action at the *Groine*, the overthrow of the *Spaniards* at *Puente de Burgos*, the taking of *Peniche*, with the caſtle of *Caſcais*, the aſſault of *Lisbon*, and the burning of *Vigo*; ſeeing our hiſtorians have not diſtinguiſhed what part *Ralegh* had therein: in which perhaps they ſeem not ſo grateful to him as he was to his aſſociates; [d] but particularly in not mentioning him at the taking of that great number of eaſterling hulks and other ſhips laden with *Spaniſh* goods, proviſions and ammunition, for a new invaſion of *England*, which from the 2d of *June* ſome or other of the adventurers (none are named) continued to bring into the *Engliſh* fleet, then lying in the road of *Caſcais*, for ſix days together. [e] This fleet of ours was but thinly mann'd at firſt, and having loſt ſome thouſands by ſickneſs and intemperance with the new wines of thoſe countries; hands could not be ſpared to bring home much above a quarter of thoſe veſſels and their lading, that were thus taken: for Sir *Roger Williams*, who was a colonel in the land-ſervice of this expedition, has ſaid in a letter of his, ſtill extant, "It is well known, we had above two hundred ſail of all ſorts, of which we could not carry with us above threeſcore for the want of men." Hence aroſe at their return into *England*, a little contention between *Williams* and *Ralegh*; for *Ralegh* having taken ſome of theſe prizes, *Williams* placed in one of them his lieutenant with ſome of his ſoldiers, "without which, ſays *Williams*, it could not have been carried into *England*:" wherefore he would have laid claim, it ſeems, both to the ſhip and its cargo; "this voyage, as he goes on, having coſt him a thou-

Accompanies *Don Antonio* in the *Portugal* expedition.

His conteſt with Sir *Roger Williams*.

[a] See a pamphlet, call'd, *Nova Britannia:* or the fruits of planting in *Virginia*, 4to. 1609. and further of this country in *Hakluyt*'s *Virginia* richly valued, *&c.* printed the ſame year. Alſo a true declaration of the ſtate of the colony in *Virginia*, by the council of *Virginia*, 4to. 1610. *Smith*'s deſcription of *Virginia*, *Oxford*, 4to. 1612. And the new life of *Virginia*, declaring the former ſucceſs and preſent eſtate of that plantation, 4to. the ſame year. Laws for the colony of *Virginia*, 4to. the ſame year. Account of the maſſacre in *Virginia*, about 1622. *Bullock*'s deſcription of *Virginia*, 4to. 1649. *Edward Williams*'s tracts, called, *Virgo Triumphans*, *&c.* with the benefit of ſilk-works there, between the years 1650 and 1658. *Nath. Shrigley*'s relation of *Virginia*, *&c.* 1669. The *Dutch* uſurpations in *Virginia* in *Edward Cliffe*'s *Brev.* of *Holland*'s deliverance by, and ingratitude to the crown of *England*, *&c.* 4to. 1665. p. 40, *&c.* And ſome of theſe, or their extracts in *Purchas*, Dr. *Harris*, and Dr. *Heylin*'s Coſmography.

[b] See a brief relation of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s troubles, *&c.* p. 10. a ſcarce pamphlet, of further uſe in this work.

[c] See this aſſignment from Sir *Walter Ralegh* to divers gentlemen and merchants of *London*, for continuing the action of inhabiting and planting our people in *Virginia*, more at large in the firſt edition of *Hakluyt*'s voyages, fol. 1589. p. 815.

[d] See *Ralegh*'s Obſervations on the *Portugal Voyage*. *Hiſtory of the World*, Book 5. chap. 1. ſec. 9.

[e] Sir *Anthony Wingfield*'s true diſcourſe of the *Portugal Voyage*, *&c.* in *Hakluyt*, vol. 2. fol. 149. Alſo the *Latin* tract, entitled, *Ephemeris expeditionis* Norreſii & Draki *in* Luſitaniam, 4to. 1589.

"ſand pounds," as it did ſeveral other of the adventurers no doubt. But his claim not being thought reaſonable, the earl of *Bath*, lieutenant of *Devonſhire*, diſcharged his men from that veſſel at *Dartmouth*. *Williams*, at this, growing very turbulent, and his clamours reaching the queen's ear, procured her diſpleaſure againſt him, which occaſion'd his ſaid letter to three of the privy-council; whence this intelligence is extracted. From this letter we farther collect, the atchievements of the *Engliſh* in this voyage ſo well ſatisfy'd the queen, in the diſablement of the enemy, eſpecially as to their naval powers, that ſhe honour'd the commanders or chief adventurers therein, and Sir *Walter Ralegh* among the reſt, with a golden chain; for Sir *Roger* preſum'd, the earl of *Eſſex* (his great friend, as appears in the hiſtories of this expedition) with the reſt who were in the action, would teſtify, "That I deſerve a chain as "well as my fellows," ſays he.[a] As for the coarſe expreſſion which follows, of "*Ralegh*'s be- "lying his hulk, as he had done the ark of *Noah*, the beſt ſhip that ever was," tho' it may betray ſome impoliteneſs of manners and impetuoſity of diſpoſition in Sir *Roger*'s civil capacity; yet in the field, and againſt an enemy, thoſe rougher qualities might invigorate his courage and experience, and illuſtrate the military character of the man.

Honour'd with a gold chain.

In the latter end of *June* this year, and ſome weeks before this diſpute, the *Engliſh* fleet return'd home; but *Ralegh* appears firſt to have touch'd upon the coaſt of *Ireland*, probably to make a ſhort viſit to his ſeigniory there, and ſee ſome of his acquaintance among the new ſettlements in the province of *Munſter*. We may be pretty well convinc'd that *Ralegh* was in *Ireland* this year, from his own writings;[b] and that it was upon his return from a long voyage, out of ſome verſes hereafter following in *Spenſer* the poet. For here we may obſerve, that while *Ralegh* was a commander in the *Iriſh* wars, under the lord *Grey*, as we have before related, this *Edmund Spenſer*, then famous for thoſe *Paſtorals* he had newly publiſhed, going over ſecretary to that nobleman, had frequent opportunities, by his ingenuous converſation, ſo to make his learning and other accompliſhments known, as engag'd the friendſhip of our WORTHY ſo ſubſtantially towards him, that none of the great men in queen *Elizabeth*'s court, after the death of Sir *Philip Sidney*, was ſo great a patron to that extraordinary genius as Sir *Walter Ralegh*. Indeed the queen her ſelf, in regard that *Spenſer* employ'd his time ſo commendably in *Ireland*, as afterwards more publickly appear'd, in the excellent *Political View* he made of that kingdom, gave him a conſiderable tract of land out of earl *Deſmond*'s capacious forfeitures, amounting, at the loweſt computation that has been made, to three thouſand acres of ground, lying in the county of *Cork*; the preſervation and improvement whereof engaged *Spenſer* to ſettle there; and a pleaſant ſeat he had, at *Kilcolman* near the river *Mulla*, which ran through his grounds, and which he has ſo beautifully deſcrib'd in ſome of his poems. Here it was in this retirement that *Ralegh* now paid him a viſit, the circumſtances whereof *Spenſer* himſelf has moſt agreeably celebrated in that poem, which, about two years after this time, he dedicated *To the right worthy and noble knight Sir* Walter Ralegh, *&c.* In this dedication he has theſe

Viſits *Spenſer* the poet.

[a] Copy of Sir *Roger Williams*'s letter to the lord-treaſurer, the lord-admiral, and Mr. ſecretary *Walſingham*, dated *July* 24. 1589. a MS. in the *Harleyan* library. This copy is made on the outſide leaf of the original letter which preſerves the direction, probably in Sir *Roger*'s own hand, a moſt wretched one, which might occaſion the tranſcript; and, probably, his own ſeal; no coat of arms, but a motto; alſo the ancient manner of ſealing, by a paper band. Under the letter there is a note, in the ſame hand that tranſcrib'd it, confirming this expedition, ſet forth at the charges of *Norris*, *Drake*, *Ralegh*, *Williams*, with other gentlemen, and the ſucceſs of it, according to the particulars above-mention'd, and the publick hiſtories of this time: concluding, "They return'd with great "victory and honour to their country; but not without "heart-burnings and jealouſies among themſelves; with "the queen's diſpleaſure againſt ſome, and Sir *Roger* "among the reſt, occaſion'd by ſome complaint made "againſt him, in relation to one of thoſe hulks, which "it is probable he plunder'd of more than fell to his "ſhare." There is alſo another note, containing a character of Sir *Roger Williams*, out of *Camden*; from whom, and Sir *Roger*'s own writings, I ſhall only obſerve, he was born in *Wales*; but whether bred at *Oxford*, doubtful; being taken by the young earl of *Pembroke* for his page, and then went to ſerve under the prince of *Conde* in *Germany*; but, having ſpent all his crowns before that prince march'd to *France*, was forced to return homeward. At *Brabant* he was engaged by *Julian Romero* to ſerve in the *Spaniſh* army, before there was any diſpute to his knowledge between the crowns of *Spain* and *England*. Afterwards he did good ſervice under *Norris* in *Frieſland*, *Anno* 1581, where he fought a *Spaniſh* captain in ſingle duel; which ended in a ſociable drinking-bout. In 1586, he boldly forced the enemy's camp as far as the prince of *Parma*'s own tent before *Venlo*, and was that year knighted. He behav'd himſelf alſo bravely at *Diepe* in *France* 1591; but at *Noyon* loſt many *Engliſh* lives through his raſhneſs. He died 1595, and, as *Camden* obſerves, having obtained great knowledge in the arts of war, he might perhaps be allowed not inferior to the beſt ſoldiers in that age, could he have put bounds to his courage, which ran quite away with his conduct and diſcretion. However, as he goes on, for a man of no learning or education, and merely by dint of experience to write ſuch a clear and judicious hiſtory of the *Low-country* wars as he has done, is admir'd at; as alſo his having ſo well maintain'd the *Modern Diſcipline*, or manner of war, againſt the antiquated admirers of archery, whereof Sir *John Smythe* wrote in praiſe, 4to. 1590. Sir *Walter Ralegh* has alſo touch'd upon this military argument in the beginning of his fifth book, and elſewhere, in his *Hiſtory of the world*.

[b] Where, ſpeaking of the long lives of the patriarchs, and ſome of late memory, he ſays, "I my ſelf knew the "old counteſs of *Deſmond* of *Inchequin* in *Munſter*, who "lived in the year 1589, and many years ſince; who was "married in *Edward* the fourth's time, and held her join- "ture from all the earls of *Deſmond* ſince then; and that "this is true, all the nobility and gentlemen of *Munſter* "could witneſs." *Hiſtory of the world*, lib. 1. cap. 5. ſect. 5. Of this old lady, ſee more in lord *Bacon*'s *hiſtory of life and death*, and Sir *William Temple*'s *Eſſay on health and long life*, in his miſcellanies, part 3. (publiſh'd by *Jonathan Swift*, M. A. prebendary of *St. Patricks*) 8vo. 1701. p. 125, where, telling us ſhe lived *far in king* James's *reign*, it appears ſhe muſt have been alive at the time Sir *Walter Ralegh* was writing that he knew her in *Ireland* the year aforeſaid.

words;

words; "I make you preſent of this ſimple *Paſtoral*, unworthy of your higher conceipt for "the meanneſs of the ſtyle, but agreeable with the *truth, in circumſtance and matter*: the "which I humbly beſeech you to accept in part of payment of the infinite debt in which I "acknowledge my ſelf bounden unto you for your ſingular favours and ſundry good turns "ſhewed me at my laſt being in *England*; and with your good countenance, protect againſt "the malice of evil mouths, which are always wide open to carp at, and miſconſtrue my ſim- "ple meaning." In the paſtoral it ſelf,[a] the poet gives us this deſcription of *Ralegh*'s firſt ac- coſting him in the ſaid rural retirement.

One day, quoth he, I ſat, as was my trade,
Under the foot of Mole, *that mountain hore,*
Keeping my ſheep amongſt the cooly ſhade
Of the green alders by the Mulla's *ſhore;*
There a ſtrange ſhepherd chanc'd to find me out,
Whether allured with my pipe's delight,
Whoſe pleaſing ſound yſhrilled far about,
Or thither led by chance, I knew not right,
Whom when I aſked from what place he came,
And how he hight? himſelf he did ycleep
The ſhepherd of the ocean *by name,*
And ſaid, he came far from the main-ſea *deep.*
He ſitting me beſide in that ſame ſhade,
Provoked me to play ſome pleaſant fit;
And when he heard the muſick which I made,
He found himſelf full greatly pleas'd at it:
Yet æmuling my pipe, he took in hond
My pipe, before that æmuled of many,
And play'd thereon, for well that ſkill he con'd;
Himſelf as ſkilful in that art as any.

It further appears, they now entertain'd each other with ſome of their poetical compoſi- tions; *Spenſer* rehearſed a pretty tale he had made of the amours between ſome of his neigh- bouring rivers; but *Ralegh*'s muſe ran upon a more melancholy ſtrain, which, by the tranſient view it gives of ſome little cloud he had lately, but undeſervedly, been under at court, lets us into a piece of his ſecret hiſtory; where the poet tell us,

His ſong was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindneſs and of uſage hard,
Of Cynthia *the lady of the ſea,*
Which from her preſence, faultleſs, him debarr'd:
And ever and anon with ſingults *rife,*
He cried out to make his underſong,
Ah my love's queen, and goddeſs of my life!
Who ſhall me pity, when thou doſt me wrong?

But it immediately appears to have been ſoon blown over by ſome pathetical addreſs of *Ralegh*'s to the queen, whereby he was, at this time, reſtored to her favour, as we may fully conclude from theſe words:

——— *Right well he ſure did 'plain,*
That could great Cynthia's *ſore diſpleaſure break,*
And move to take him to her grace again.

And this is confirm'd a little further, where, through *Ralegh*'s affection for his welfare, and his regret to behold ſo rare a genius baniſh'd to a deſart, and buried in ſuch a ſtate of ob- ſcurity, he perſuades *Spenſer* to go along with him into *England*, and proffers to introduce him to the queen. The poet, knowing his intereſt, embraced his offer. Then having given a de- ſcription of the ſea, with *Ralegh*'s great ſhip, ſuitable to the ſimplicity of the character he aſ-

[a] Entitled, *Colin Clout's come home again* (in the laſt edition of *Spenſer*) vol. 4. p. 1121.

ſumes;

ſumes; and having repreſented *Ralegh*'s deſcription of the flocks and herds of that *Royal Shepherdeſs*, which were kept upon thoſe watry hills, under the charge of *Triton* and *Proteus*, he makes him further ſay:

And I among the reſt, of many leaſt,
Have in the ocean charge to me aſſign'd;
Where I will live or die at her beheaſt,
And ſerve and honour her with faithful mind.

Brings him into *England*.

He then proceeds to the progreſs of their voyage, how they paſſed by the *Iſle of Lundy*, and landed at *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*; ſo took their journey to the court, where the poet having expatiated on the dazling preſence of the queen, agreeable to the admiration of a ſpectator, in his paſtoral character, we have this further acknowledgment.

Introduces him to the queen's favour.

The ſhepherd of the ocean, *quoth he,*
Unto the goddeſs' grace me firſt enhanc'd:
And to my oaten pipe inclin'd her ear,
That ſhe thenceforth therein 'gan take delight,
And it deſir'd, at timely hours to hear;
All were my notes but rude and roughly dight.

This honour the poet further magnifies, as the more wond'rous condeſcenſion in her majeſty, in that ſhe had ſo many more learned ſhepherds about her to glorify her name. Here he takes an opportunity to give a character of the ſeveral poets and wits then ſhining in her court: among the reſt,

And there that ſhepherd of the ocean *is,*
That ſpends his wit in love's conſuming ſmart:
Full ſweetly temper'd is that muſe of his,
That can impierce a prince's mighty heart.

As to *Ralegh*'s poetical talents, we ſhall hear more of them very ſpeedily. In this place, we muſt purſue his farther deſign of bringing *Spenſer* over into *England*, which was to make him oblige the publick with what he had hitherto finiſh'd of his capital work, call'd the *Fairy Queen*. For, tho' *Spenſer* had begun this grand poem through the encouragement of Sir *Philip Sidney*, before he went over into *Ireland*; yet it was there he ſeems to have writ moſt of what we have in print; and now, by the encouragement of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that he was brought to publiſh the three firſt books which he had compleated thereof: 'tis certain he took his advice in the publication of them, and particularly in drawing up a plan to explain or diſcover the general intention and meaning of that allegorical poem. This he directed to his ſaid patron, *The right noble and valorous Sir* Walter Ralegh, *&c.* in a letter dated the 23d of *January* this year 1589; concluding with "An humble requeſt for the con-"tinuance of his honourable favours, and wiſhes for the eternal eſtabliſhment of his happineſs." This letter is printed at the end of the ſaid firſt three books of that poem, which were publiſhed at *London* the enſuing year. Among the commendatory verſes thereto alſo ſubjoined, the firſt two copies are both ſaid to be written by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and not without great probability, being ſubſcribed with the initial letters of his name. The firſt of theſe copies, written in alternate verſe, is highly poetical; for our author, correſpondent with the viſionary manner of his author, fancying himſelf in the temple of the veſtal virgins, where his curioſity led him to the tomb of *Laura*, which was guarded by *Love* and *Virtue*, he was ſuddenly attracted from thence, by the appearance of the *Fairy Queen*, at whoſe approach the *Soul of Petrarch wept*; ſeeing thoſe *graces* deſert that miſtreſs of his, to attend upon this royal lady, and *oblivion* ſupply their place. The compliment is ſurely fine, and perhaps the more judiciouſly expreſs'd, in not being bounded more periodically than it is, according to the doctrine of our modern criticks in the ſtructure of verſification; for being the recital of one ſolemn and ſurpriſing thought, it may engage our attention more cloſely to the end of the two or three *quadrains* it is compris'd in, than if the author had affected to divide or bound the ſenſe with a full period at the end of every four lines. But every reader may eaſily judge for himſelf, the poem being *in moſt* editions of *Spenſer*, and therefore needs not here be recited. His other verſes upon this poet are compos'd in a meaſure more obſolete to the manner of our age; but what

Encourages the publication of the *Fairy Queen*.

what the queen her ſelf imitated, in ſome poetry ſtill to be ſeen of her writing, being in lines of ſix and ſeven feet long; and it is no more to be objected, that an author did not in this particular apparel his mind to the mode of all ages, than his body. It may be ſufficient therefore to obſerve, there is a diſtinguiſh'd conduct alſo in this performance; for the induction is writ with great modeſty, in regard to himſelf.

The praiſe of meaner wits, this work like profit brings;
As doth the cuckow's ſong, delight, when Philomela *ſings.*

And, having advertiſed the poet that his portraits are to be judg'd of or improv'd by the originals of thoſe virtues whereof he has compos'd his fictitious queen, he very dexterouſly transfers or appropriates them to the real one then reigning: ſo concludes with a compliment to him; which tho' of a very tranſcendent and abſolute nature, yet in regard to the little good *Engliſh* poetry then in being, and the great fame of that poet ſtill ſurviving among us, is ſtill thought not more expreſſive of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s affection, than his judgment:

Of me no lines are lov'd, nor letters are of price,
Of all that ſpeak the Engliſh *tongue, but thoſe of thy device.*

We further obſerve among the copies of verſes inſcrib'd by *Spenſer* himſelf, at the end of his ſaid *Fairy Queen*, to the ſeveral miniſters of ſtate and noblemen in queen *Elizabeth*'s court, one to the *noble and valorous Sir* Walter Ralegh, *&c.* as he again ſtyles him: and this, becauſe it not only informs us what a favourite *Ralegh* was at this time with the queen; but alſo gives us occaſion to dilate upon his own poetical productions a little more copiouſly than opportunity has before offer'd, I muſt here entirely repeat.

To thee that are the ſummer's nightingale,
Thy ſoveraign goddeſſes moſt dear delight,
Why do I ſend this ruſtick madrigal,
That may thy tuneful ear unſeaſon quite?
Thou only fit this argument to write;
In whoſe high thoughts pleaſure hath built her bowre,
And dainty love learn'd ſweetly to indite:
My Rhimes I know unſav'ry are and ſowre,
To taſte the ſtreams, which, like a golden ſhowre,
Flow from thy fruitful head, of thy love's praiſe,
Fitter perhaps to thunder martial ſtowre,
When ſo thee liſt thy lofty muſe to raiſe:
Yet till that thou thy poem *wilt make known,*
Let thy fair Cynthia's *praiſes be thus rudely ſhown.*

Hence we learn Sir *Walter Ralegh* wrote a poem, call'd Cynthia; that it was in praiſe of the queen, and that it was not now publiſh'd. *Spenſer*, in his letter to *Ralegh* above-cited, alſo mentions again ſomething of this poem, where he ſays, "In that *Fairy Queen*, I mean "*glory* in my general intention; but in my particular, I conceive the moſt excellent and glo- "rious perſon of our ſoveraign the *queen*, and her kingdom, in *Fairy-land*. And yet in ſome "places elſe, I do otherwiſe ſhadow her. For conſidering ſhe beareth two perſons; the one, "of a moſt royal queen or empreſs; the other, of a moſt virtuous and beautiful lady; this lat- "ter part, in ſome places, I do expreſs in *Belphœbe*; faſhioning her name *according to your own* "*excellent conceit of* Cynthia; *Phœbe* and *Cynthia* being both names of *Diana*." This is all I remember to have met with of that poem.

But this very year that *Ralegh* was in *Ireland*, there was a book publiſh'd by a learned and ingenious gentleman; in which others of *Ralegh*'s poems, and perhaps that before mention'd, are quoted with great commendation;[a] as if theſe few little pieces had before

Eminent for his own poetry.

[a] This treatiſe, now very ſcarce, is call'd *The Art of Engliſh Poeſy; contrived into three books:* the firſt of poets and poeſy; the ſecond of proportion; the third of ornament. *London*, 4to. 1589. I never ſaw but one of them, and this is in the curious library of that worthy owner *James Weſt* Eſq; of the *Middle Temple*. There is a wooden print of the queen before it; and, tho' dedicated to the lord *Burghley*, the work is addreſs'd directly to the queen. Therefore that paſſage in the firſt book, *cap.* 26. where the author is ſo luxuriant upon the *Epithalamies*, or poetical manner of celebrating marriages; and that in the third book, *cap.* 23. where he makes the *Imperial* ambaſſador, a *Bohemian* born, ſo bluntly expreſs in the *French* tongue what a gallant *horſe-woman* the empreſs was, will, among ſome others, be allow'd very remarkable, in a book ſo publickly and ſo particularly tender'd to the peruſal of our *virgin-queen*.

before this time render'd him eminent, and advanc'd his name among the prime wits or leading poets of the age; not that we are ſure they were now in common print, or vulgarly known to be his; for the ſaid author, ſpeaking of the moſt conſiderable writers in *Engliſh* poetry, ſays; "In her majeſty's time ſprung up another company of courtly poets, who "have writ excellently well, if their doings could be found out and made publick with the "reſt; of which number is *Edward* earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas* lord *Buckhurſt*, when young, "*Henry* lord *Paget*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and many others; ſome of whom "he further names." [a] Then proceeding to give his judgment in ſhort characters of them; and having diſtinguiſh'd the earl of *Oxford* for *Comedy*, *Buckhurſt* for *Tragedy*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and the other gentleman who wrote the late *Shepherd's Calender* (meaning *Spenſer*) for *Eclogue* and *Paſtoral*, he adds; "For *Ditty* and amorous *Ode*, I find Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s vein moſt *lofty*, *inſolent*, and *paſſionate*." [b] But it is in the chapter of *Sententious* or *Rhetorical Figures*, that this critic illuſtrates his obſervations, by ſome examples out of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s poems; which, becauſe rare to be met with, and not prolix, nor violating the privileges of particular and perſonal narrative, I ſhall here rehearſe; the rather, becauſe theſe *fragments* may both give further light into the genius, as well as hiſtory perhaps of their author, and help the enquiries of ſuch readers, as are curious in comparing the monuments of ancient and modern wit, to recover and revive the *entire pieces* from whence they are extracted. That critic therefore, where he is ſpeaking of ſome elegant tautologies in poetry, and particularly the excellences of the *Anaphora*, or figure of *Report*, as he tranſlates it, gives us the following example, written by Sir *Walter Ralegh*; whether in his *Cynthia*, I cannot yet tell; but, *to his greateſt miſtreſs, in moſt excellent verſes*, ſays that author.

In vain, my eyes, in vain you waſte your tears;
In vain my ſighs, the ſmokes of my deſpairs:
In vain you ſearch the earth and heav'ns above;
In vain you ſeek, for fortune keeps my love. [c]

Further ſpeaking of the *Epizeuxis*, which he *Engliſhes* the *Underlay* or *Cuckow-Spell*, another ſort of repetition, when in one verſe we iterate one word without intermiſſion, he brings, as an example, that of Sir *Watler Ralegh*; *very ſweet*, ſays he.

With wiſdom's eyes, had but blind fortune ſeen,
Then had my love, my love for ever been. [d]

And in another place, to diſtinguiſh that form of repetition, called *Ploche*, or the *Doubler*, a ſpeedy iteration of one word, but with ſome little intermiſſion, he exemplifies the two *cloſing verſes of a moſt excellent ditty*, as he calls it, written by Sir *Walter Ralegh*. Theſe two cloſing verſes confirm the genuineneſs of thoſe which precede them in a tranſcript of this very ditty I once ſaw in a nobleman's library, from the copy of a celebrated lady, [e] who probably had

But for the reſt, it contains many pretty obſervations, examples, characters and fragments of poetry for thoſe times, now no-where elſe to be met with; which if ſome of our modern criticks had read, they would have been better acquainted than they were, with certain antiquities in the *Engliſh* meter, whereof they have erroneouſly ſpoken. The author was educated at *Oxford*; born about the year 1530, or not long after; and wrote ſeveral other books, whereof he gives us the titles himſelf. So that if his name was *Puttenham*, one of the queen's gentlemen-penſioners, as *Anthony Wood* thinks, he was entitled to a more diſtinct remembrance in his book of *Oxford* writers. That he was a courtier, is viſible; alſo had been a traveller, and ſeen the courts of foreign princes; wherefore his illuſtrations, both hiſtorical and political, are drawn ſo familiarly from thence, that he may be call'd the *court-critic* of that reign.

[a] See the ſaid *Art of Engliſh Poeſy*, p. 49.

[b] Ib. p. 51. Some modern authors, and among them *Edward Philips*, as I remember, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 12mo. 1675, but I am ſure *A. Wood*. vol. 1. col. 436, and others from him, have, in the quotation of this character, changed that middle epithet for the word *condolent*; perhaps through an unneceſſary tenderneſs; every word of that character being ſpoken, and to be underſtood, in a ſenſe of praiſe.

[c] *Art of Engliſh Poeſy*, p. 165. [d] Ib. p. 167.

[e] Lady *Iſabella Thynne*; the ſame who is ſo finely celebrated by Mr. *Waller*, tho' her ſirname is no-where to be found in any of the printed editions I have ſeen of his poems: but I have had an old MS. collection, in which one poem is directed to the lady *Iſabella Thynne cutting trees in* paper; which poem is printed among Mr. *Waller*'s, but her name left out. In the print alſo we have only a fragment; but my copy had it entire. For the poem which follows it, in Mr. *Waller*'s printed collection, is a compliment to the ſame lady for reſtoring him this piece, becauſe he deſired to print it, tho' the laſt thought was torn off and loſt; which, to his regret, he never could recollect; ſo was obliged to print it imperfectly, in his own apprehenſions at leaſt, tho' all the world beſides have looked upon what is printed of it as a perfect maſter-piece, even of that great hand: and for our conſolation it may be obſerv'd, if he had not loſt this concluſion, we ſhould have loſt that fine poem, which was the conſequence of it. The ſentiment this MS. could have reſtored him, conſiſted, as I think, of ſix lines, but that I cannot repeat them all; yet preſume, upon the favour which is due to the fair ſex, that it will not be thought an unwelcome digreſſion here to preſerve what I can of them, and as well as I can, leſt they ſhould be loſt again, by not having an opportunity to remember them elſewhere.

A poet, when he would deſcribe his mind,
Is, as in language, ſo in fame confin'd:
Your works are read, where-ever there are men;
So far the ſciſſer *goes beyond the* pen.

it

it out of the family. 'Tis there entitled, *The Excuſe, written by Sir* Walter Ralegh, *in his younger years.* And, becauſe by the foregoing parts of this *admir'd ditty* the concluſion will be beſt underſtood, I ſhall here repeat the whole from the aforeſaid tranſcript; not doubting but the modern readers will judge of it by its contemporary writings; or if by their own, after due conſideration, how they may be judg'd of near a hundred and fifty years hence; but more eſpecially, that the readers may ſee with what artful ſimplicity the author could reconcile himſelf to his paſſion, whether real or feign'd, when he found, upon a ſtrict examination, he had not been indirectly betray'd to it.

Calling to mind my eyes *went long about,*
To cauſe my heart for to forſake my breaſt;
All in a rage, I ſought to pull them out;
As who had been ſuch traitors to my reſt:
What could they ſay to win again my grace?
Forſooth, that they had ſeen my miſtreſs' face.

Another time, my heart *I call'd to mind;*
Thinking that he this woe on me had brought;
Becauſe that he, to love, his force reſign'd,
When of ſuch wars my fancy never thought:
What cou'd he ſay when I wou'd him have ſlain?
That he was hers--- and had forgone my chain.

At laſt, when I perceiv'd both eyes *and* heart
Excuſe themſelves, as guiltleſs of my ill;
I found my ſelf the cauſe of all my ſmart,
And told my ſelf, that I my ſelf would kill:
Yet when I ſaw my ſelf to you was true;
I lov'd my ſelf, becauſe my ſelf lov'd you.

This poem, I have been told, is printed under Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s name, in a modern collection,[a] not much to be ſuſpected of having had it from any ancient manuſcript, therefore probably from ſome old copy in print, which I have not yet met with. There is one old collection I never ſaw, printed about the time we are now upon, with ſeveral of Sir *Philip Sidney*'s ſonnets in it, and therefore I think under his name;[b] which poſſibly may contain ſome alſo of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s. But in that modern collection there is alſo printed, not over-correctly it ſeems, another poem of his: this I have likewiſe ſeen in manuſcript, where it is call'd the *Silent Lover*; and have heard ſeveral lines in it applauded, eſpecially the beginning. But the part, which would be moſt agreeable in this place to an hiſtorical reader, is that from which he might fancy he could make ſome further gueſſes at the object of *Ralegh*'s addreſs; tho' after all it may be no other than the common object of all poets: however, the lines are theſe:

But ſeeing that I ſue to ſerve
A ſaint of ſuch perfection,
As all deſire, and none deſerve
A place in her affection;
I rather chuſe to want relief,
Than venture the revealing;
Where glory recommends the grief,
Deſpair diſdains the healing.

And a little further, very perſuaſively:

Silence in love betrays more woe
Than words, tho' never ſo witty;
A beggar *that is* dumb, *you know,*
May challenge double *pity.*

In ſhort, he has ſaid ſuch handſome things of ſilence, that it were a pity any words even in its commendation, but his own, ſhould break it. But it will perhaps hereafter be thought he

[a] Entitled, *Wit's Interpreter*, 8vo. printed, one edition of it, about 1671.

[b] *England's Helicon*, 4to. without date, in which are ſeveral of the ſonnets, ditties, madrigals, paſtoral-airs, and ſuch-like compoſitions, which were ſo much the mode among the noble and illuſtrious wits of thoſe times.

could

could break it himſelf with as much ſucceſs, as now he ſeems to have commanded the keeping it. All that I have ſeen more of his juvenile compoſitions in this kind, is a paſtoral ſonnet, which old Mr. *Iſaac Walton* reciting, tells us was written by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in his younger years,[a] in anſwer to another, famous alſo in thoſe days, compoſed by *Chriſtopher Marlow*; but as both theſe ſonnets are involv'd in a collection which the bookſellers or publiſhers have called *Shakeſpear*'s poems, printed between twenty and thirty years after his death,[b] in which I think ſeveral pieces are known to have been written by other poets; the reader is left at liberty to judge whether the authority of a writer, who ſubſcribes his name thereto, one, of *Walton*'s noted ſincerity, and advantages for intelligence by his acquaintance among the men of literature in thoſe times; or that of an anonymous publication in the circumſtances aforeſaid, is to be preferr'd; without urging the improbability that *Shakeſpear* ſhould quote a ſtanza, from that aſcrib'd to *Marlow*, afterwards in one of his own plays, if he had been the author of that ſonnet himſelf.[c]

THERE is another poet beſides *Spenſer*, who writ ſomething of *Ralegh* relating to theſe times, tho' near twenty years after them; and as on a different ſubject, ſo with a different diſpoſition towards him. This poet was Sir *John Harrington*, the tranſlator of *Orlando Furioſo*; but that which he is here mention'd for, is a little book in proſe, yet not clear of poetry,[d] tho' it was intended for a piece of church-hiſtory, and as a ſupply to Dr. *Francis Godwin*'s *Catalogue of Biſhops*. This, at the time that *Ralegh* was under royal diſpleaſure in the next reign, and in confinement; but growing into favour with the hopeful prince of *Wales*, Sir *John Harrington*, then a courtier, preſented to that prince: 'tis full of little jeſts and tales againſt the married clergy, and againſt ſome of the laity who had any controverſies with them, the better to inſinuate with that young prince, and engage his attention; otherwiſe the author would doubtleſs have written it with a gravity ſuitable to the ſubject; but he tells the prince, "he took "ſome kind of pleaſure with the pains of writing it, ſuppoſing (ſays he) I was all the while "telling a ſtory as it were in your highneſs's preſence and hearing."[e] Among the ſtories he tells, there is one concerning Dr. *Thomas Godwin*, biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, it ſeems;[f] the relation of which, becauſe that biſhop died about the latter end of 1590, we ſhall not longer defer. This biſhop, he tells us, came to that ſee, among his other good qualities, unreproveable for Simony, and in the queen's good opinion: if he had held on as clear as he enter'd, I ſhould have highly extoll'd him, ſays our author; but, continues he, ſee his misfortune, which firſt loſt him the queen's favour, and after forced him to another miſchief. For being aged, diſeaſed, and lame of the gout, he married, as ſome thought, for opinion of wealth, ſays he, a *London* widow, his ſecond wife at leaſt: when a chief favourite of that time (whom he had named before in this kind, and therefore thought by ſome,[g] as perhaps it might be, Sir *Walter Ralegh*) had labour'd to get the manor of *Banwell* from this biſhoprick; but diſdaining the repulſe, and hearing of this intempeſtive marriage, he took advantage thereof, caus'd it to be told the queen (knowing how much ſhe miſliked ſuch matches) and inſtantly purſued the biſhop with letters and mandates for the manor of *Banwell* for a hundred years. The good biſhop, ſays he, not expecting ſuch a ſudden tempeſt, was greatly perplex'd; yet a while he held out, and endured many ſharp meſſages from the queen; of which my ſelf, ſays he, carried one, deliver'd to me by my lord of *Leiceſter*, who ſeem'd to favour the biſhop, and miſlike the knight for moleſting him; but they were ſoon agreed, ſays he, like *Pilot* and *Herod* to condemn Chriſt. And further tells us, never was harmleſs man ſo traduced to his ſoveraign; as that he had married a girl; had convey'd half the biſhoprick to her; and, becauſe he had the gout, that he could not ſtand to his marriage.—The concluſion to the premiſſes, he tells us, was, that to pacify his perſecutors, and to ſave *Banwell*, he was fain to part with *Wilſcomb* for ninety-nine years; and ſo purchaſed his peace. We may hence obſerve this matter was in agitation before *Leiceſter*'s death, which was two years before this time; but, as the biſhop ſeems to have linger'd before he clos'd, it might be near this time before it was brought to a perfect concluſion. And, as he did not hold on ſo clear as he enter'd, it might be with reference to the Simony before-mention'd; the rather, becauſe a biſhop who would not ſcruple at his years to marry for money, might be reaſonably thought not impreg-

[a] See *Iſaac Walton's Compleat Angler*, 4th edition, 8vo. 1668. p. 76, *&c.* This *Walton* was twenty-five years of age at *Ralegh*'s death, and liv'd ninety years. Beſides that book, for which he has been call'd the *Father of Anglers*, he wrote five lives of learned and religious men, excellently well, being either from a perſonal knowledge of them, or their intimate friends; for which he deſerves a more liberal acknowledgment than this place will admit.

[b] Poems by *William Shakeſpear*, &c. 8vo. 1640.

[c] See *Shakeſpear*'s *Merry Wives of Windſor*, Act 3.

[d] *A brief view of the Church of England*, as it ſtood in queen *Elizabeth*'s and king *James*'s reign, to the year 1608. Being the character and hiſtory of the biſhops of thoſe times, *&c.* written by Sir *John Harrington* of *Kelſton*, near *Bath*, publiſhed by *John Chetwind*, paſtor of the pariſh of *Cutbert*'s in *Wells*. 12mo. 1653.

[e] Sir *John Harrington*'s *Brief View*, *&c.* p. 210.

[f] Ibid. p. 111.

[g] *Ant. Wood* in *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 710.

nable,

hable, through the ſame motive, againſt a divorcement from his biſhoprick: which way ſoever it was, the queen ſaw it not unreaſonable, but eſpouſed the alienation; ſo that it was her gift. And the biſhop's own ſon, Dr. *Francis Godwin*, when he was a biſhop alſo, and reviving his *Catalogue of Biſhops*, in the next reign, before *Ralegh* was out of priſon, makes no complaint againſt him in the account of his father's life; tho' he might ſafely, if he could juſtly, have done it, and *Ralegh* had been poſſeſs'd of that for which this author's father had not, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, received ſatisfaction.[a] On the contrary, with much modeſty, rather laments that his father ſhould take upon him the duties of eccleſiaſtical government, when his infirmities had render'd him unable to diſcharge them.[b] His manor of *Wilſcombe*.

If this affair did any ways diſpleaſe the hierarchy, there was another occurrence fell out about this time, in which *Ralegh*, by ſhewing a generous and charitable inſtance of his power and intereſt, might give ſome further umbrage for its diſpleaſure. It was in the caſe of Mr. *John Udall*, miniſter of the goſpel, a good ſcholar, and a man of good parts; but very zealous for the reformation of the church, even under the epiſcopal government; for which he was reckon'd among the Nonconformiſts, or rather Puritans of thoſe times. He had been bred at *Cambridge*; was ſeven years miniſter of *Kingſton upon Thames*; and, through the favour of the earl of *Huntington*, about a twelvemonth at *Newcaſtle upon Tine*. Here he was ſilenc'd, ſent for to *London* by letters from the lord-chamberlain *Hunſdon*, in the name of the council,[c] and examin'd about a book he had newly publiſhed againſt the clergy.[d] But becauſe, contrary to the laws, he would not betray himſelf, ſays my author, he was committed cloſe priſoner to the *Gatehouſe*; debarr'd of all communication with his family or others; thence convey'd to *Croydon* in *July* this preſent year 1590; brought to the bar in fetters, and indicted for publiſhing a libel againſt the queen. No evidence *vivâ voce* produc'd to atteſt it, but only depoſitions taken in the high commiſſion-court, no court of record, and hearſay reports urg'd againſt him, his witneſſes not being permitted to teſtify in his behalf, becauſe the court ſaid it was againſt the queen: the words of the ſtatute being wreſted, ſays my author, by baron *Clark* and ſerjeant *Puckering*, as if the treatiſe call'd, *The Demonſtration of Diſcipline*, for which *Udall* was now indicted, becauſe written againſt biſhops who exercis'd their government under the queen, was therefore conſequently written againſt her royal perſon. So the ſaid judges directed the jury to find *Udall* author of the book without legal proof, and to leave the felony to them. The jury did as they were taught, being told it ſhould be no further danger to the author, but tend to his good; of which verdict they afterwards repented. Then he was kept half a year uncondemn'd in durance; and at the aſſizes in *February* following at *Southwark*, not relinquiſhing his tenets, he had the ſentence of death pronounc'd againſt him by *Puckering*.[e] But it ſeems before *Udall* receiv'd this ſentence, he had procur'd a friend to ſollicit Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that the violent and aggravated conſtructions which had been made of his doctrine and principles, might not be his utter deſtruction, till a more unprejudic'd judgment was made of them; and immediately after the ſentence was pronounc'd, the ſheriff brought him a reprieve from the queen. Then Dr. *Bond*, one of her chaplains, came to him in priſon with a form of ſubmiſſion for him to ſubſcribe. After two days conference, they agreed upon another. But, ſays *Udall*, "at the ſame time that Dr. *Bond* "was with me, I receiv'd a letter from a friend of mine that did ſollicit Sir *Walter Ralegh* for me."[f] This letter he then exhibits, and thereby it appears *Ralegh* had adviſed or encouraged *Udall* to explain himſelf to him concerning thoſe imputations which had been infuſed into her majeſty, which accuſed him with maintaining, the church of *England* and its ſacraments were no church and no ſacraments; that its laws and her government were againſt the word of God; that all

[a] See a tract entitled, *No ſacrilege or ſin to alienate or purchaſe* cathedral lands *as ſuch*: *or a vindication of not only the late purchaſers, but of the ancient* nobility *and* gentry; *yea, of the* crown *it ſelf*, &c. 3d edit. *with a poſtſcript to Dr.* Pearſon, *by* Cornelius Burges, D. D. 4to. 1660. Wherein there are ſeveral particularities about the church of *Wells*.

[b] *O illum fælicem, ſi fælix manere maluiſſet, quam regiminis eccleſiaſtici laboris tum ſuſcipere, cum laboribus impar fractus ſenio neceſſum illi fuerit aliorum uti auxilio*, &c. *vid. Godwin de Præſul. Angl. in vit. Patris.*

[c] Dated 29 *December* 1589.

[d] Entitled, *The Demonſtration of Diſcipline which Chriſt hath preſcrib'd in his word for the government of the church in all times and places until the world's end.*

The horrible treaſon in this book it ſeems (which was inſerted in the indictment) lay in theſe words to the biſhops: "Who can, without bluſhing, deny you to be the "cauſe of all ungodlineſs, ſeeing your government is that "which giveth leave to a man to be any thing ſaving a "ſound chriſtian: for certainly it is more free in theſe "days to be a *Papiſt*, an *Anabaptiſt*, of the *Family of* "*Love*; yea, any wicked one whatſoever, than that "which we ſhould be: and I could live theſe twenty "years any ſuch in *England*, yea, in a biſhop's houſe "may-be, and never be moleſted for it. So true is that "which you are charged with in a dialogue lately come "forth againſt you, and ſince burned by you; *That you* "*care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be* "*it to the damnation of your own ſouls, and infinite millions* "*more.*" *Strype's Life and Acts of Archbiſhop* Whitgift, fol. 1718. p. 343.

[e] See a *new diſcovery* of *old pontifical practices* for the maintenance of the prelates authority and hierarchy, evinced, by their perſecution of that reverend, learned, pious and worthy miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt Mr. *John Udall*, in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, &c. 4to. 1643, in Pref. This pamphlet is *Udall*'s own account of the whole proſecution againſt him; whether printed in the queen's time, I cannot tell; but the ſame account, I think, that is reprinted in the *State-Trials*; tho' the title to this pamphlet is adapted to the time wherein it was now printed; and the preface is a clear abſtract of the whole.

[f] See the ſaid pamphlet, p. 37.

eccleſiaſtical matters ought to be governed by a presbytery; and that ſhe ought to be ſubject to the cenſures thereof; for (ſays that correſpondent) "If ye will write half a dozen lines to "Sir *Walter Ralegh* concerning theſe opinions, that he may ſhew it to her majeſty, he hopes "to obtain your life. I know it is very eaſy for you to anſwer all thoſe things, therefore do "it with ſpeed; and in your writing to Sir *Walter* take knowledge, that he hath ſent you "ſuch word." Hereupon *Udall* wrote a letter, which he alſo ſets forth, directed to the right honourable Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Knt. lord-warden of the ſtanniaries, wherein, after the remembrance of his duty and thanks for his great and honourable care over him and for his good, he moſt humbly beſeeches him to be a means to appeaſe her majeſty's diſpleaſure for the accuſations untruly ſuggeſted againſt him.

"For God is my witneſs (continues he) I have never had any earthly thing in ſo precious ac-"count as to honour her highneſs, and to draw her ſubjects to acknowledge with all thankful-"neſs, the exceeding bleſſings that God beſtoweth upon them by her majeſty's happy govern-"ment; whereof I truſt my adverſaries will be witneſs when I am dead. I have ſent unto your "lordſhip (as in perplexity I could upon the ſudden) what I hold upon certain points declared "unto me, as from your lordſhip, praying, that it would pleaſe you to make known the truth "thereof unto her highneſs: and if neither my ſubmiſſion heretofore delivered, nor theſe things "now ſet down, will be accepted to draw her highneſs of her gracious compaſſion to pardon "me, that yet it would pleaſe her majeſty, that the land may not be charged with my blood, "to change my puniſhment from death to baniſhment. Thus truſting your lordſhip will "vouchſafe me this favour, and that it will pleaſe her majeſty thereupon graciouſly to conſi-"der me, I humbly take my leave from the *White Lyon*, *Feb.* 22. 1590." [a] Herewith he ſent the tenets he maintained, or articles of his perſuaſion, which are to be ſeen immediately following the ſaid letter in his own narrative, and elſewhere. [b] After this he remain'd, according to his own expreſſion, without great hope of liberty, yet without fear of further extremity. [c] Whence it may be righty obſerved by ſome hiſtorians, that Sir *Walter Ralegh*, through his generous interceſſion, did procure *Udall*'s reprieve, or ſave him from execution. Till a few months after, being further peſter'd with ſtricter forms of ſubmiſſion, by Dr. *Andrews*, he was forced to make further applications, not only by the earl of *Eſſex*, but Sir *Walter Ralegh* again, and dean *Nowell*, againſt the menaces of the approaching aſſizes at *Kingſton*. [d] About the ſame time the king of *Scots* alſo wrote a letter to the queen in behalf of the ſaid Mr. *Udall*, and other learned nonconformiſts. [e] But this wrought only ſo far, when *Udall* was brought to *Kingſton*, that he was immediately returned to priſon before the firſt day of the trials, and thereupon the unlucky diſturbance of *Hacket* the enthuſiaſt enſuing, *Udall* was diſcouraged from making further ſollicitation till the lord-chancellor *Hatton* died. [f] The *Eaſter* after which, he ſued for liberty to go to church, which was denied him, being a condemn'd man: but, by the lord-treaſurer's means, getting a copy of the indictment, and a pardon fram'd according to it, he was refer'd therewith to archbiſhop *Whitgift*; "Unto whom (ſays he) I both ſent "divers petitions, and dutiful letters; and alſo got many of my friends, both honourable per-"ſonages and others, to ſue to him; yet could not his good-will be gotten." [g] And when the *Turkey* merchants apply'd to his *Grace*, that *Udall* might go over to *Guinea*, he would not conſent to that, unleſs they would be bound he ſhould not return till he had her majeſty's licenſe; but to this *Udall* would not conſent. And tho' Sir *John Puckering*, now lord-keeper,

His generous interceſſion for Mr. *Udall*.

[a] We may obſerve, that *Udall*, in this letter, here quoted from his ſaid narrative, addreſſes Sir *Walter Ralegh* (as lord-warden) by the title of his *Lordſhip*; but, as Mr. *Strype* copies it, in his life of *Whitgift*, fol. 376, that word is changed for his *Honour*, as if this author, or thoſe he takes this part of his materials from, had copied the letter out of *Udall*'s narrative, and helped him (in their thoughts) to a title more proper for Sir *Walter Ralegh*. If Mr. *Strype* had ſeen this pamphlet, it will make ſomething againſt the character of his ſincerity, in advancing ſo much his archbiſhop's *chriſtian mildneſs*; ſee his life, fol. 344. and repreſenting him to have been moſt active in procuring *Udall*'s pardon, by his effectual interceſſions with the queen; as if the queen only was inexorable at *Udall*'s endeavour to reform her biſhops; which is partially throwing all the cruelty *Udall* ſuffer'd upon her; when it will plainly appear in the ſequel of this pamphlet, that *Whitgift* was the chief author of it; and yet, if Mr. *Strype* had ſeen this letter to Sir *Walter Ralegh* in *Udall*'s pamphlet, 'tis to be thought, he would have corrected the date in his own copy by it, which is a whole year too late; not that he is over-correct in other dates, even of this ſtory (which is inconnectedly told, and confuſed with repetitions) for, in two places of the archbiſhop's life, he tells us, *Udall* died 1593, ſee fol. 344 and 345; and in a third, fol. 375, that he died, which is moſt probable, in 1592; and a little further quotes a letter of *Udall*'s to the lord-treaſurer, dated in 1591, wherein he tells his lordſhip, he had been in durance above three years.

[b] *Strype*'s life of archbiſhop *Whitgift*, fol. 375.

[c] New diſcovery of the old Pontif. Pract. p. 39.

[d] *Ibidem*, p. 42.

[e] Herein his majeſty tells the queen, "That hear-"ing of the apprehenſion of Mr. *Udall*, Mr. *Cart-*"*wright*, and certain other learned miniſters of the evan-"gell, within your realm (ſays he) of whoſe good eruditi-"on and fruitful travels in the church, we hear a very "credible commendation, howſoever their diverſity from "the biſhops, and others of your clergy, in matters "touching them in conſcience, hath been a mean, by "their dilation, to work them your miſliking; at this "preſent, we cannot (weighing the duty we owe to ſuch "as are afflicted for their conſcience in that profeſſion) "but by our moſt effectual and earneſt letter, interpone "us at your hands to any harder uſage of them for that "cauſe. So requeſting her earneſtly to let them be re-"leaſed out of their preſent ſtraite, he concludes, from "*Edinburgh* the 12 of *June*, 1591." See this letter at length in the ſaid pamphlet, p. 43.

[f] 20 *Nov.* 1591.

[g] The pamphlet aforeſaid, p. 43.

was

was at laſt moved (who indeed had much reaſon to be ſo) to deal with the archbiſhop, ſo that both promiſed to obtain *Udall*'s pardon of her majeſty, and liberty for the ſaid voyage; yet *Udall* never enjoyed one or the other, for he died in priſon before they were fully confirmed. [b]

HERE we may give another inſtance of *Ralegh*'s friendly and generous exerciſe of his power and intereſt, for an old officer in the army, ſince there is no date to it, that confines us to any particular year; and, if we may gueſs at the ſucceſs of his requeſt by the zeal of it, we ſhall not doubt, but it effectually obliged his petitioner with the fruits thereof. This officer had a ſum of money long owing him, it ſeems, from the treaſury, and, knowing how well *Ralegh* was acquainted with the juſtice of the debt, no leſs than what influence his applications would be of for procuring it, prevail'd on him to write to the lord-treaſurer's ſecretary, who was afterwards knighted, and well known by the name of Sir *Michael Hicks*, that he might obtain his lordſhip's order for the payment of the money. Theſe are the words of his letter: " I am moſt earneſtly to intreat you for this gentleman, captain *Spring*; that partly for love, " partly for honeſt conſideration, you will further him with my lord-treaſurer for a debt of " three hundred pounds, which her majeſty owes him. It hath been long due; and he has " got good warrant for it: beſides, he has ſerved her majeſty very long, and hath received " many wounds in her ſervice. Theſe reaſons delivered by a man of your utterance, and " *having his good angel at your elbow* to inſtruct you, I doubt not, but it will take good and " ſpeedy effect. (Concluding) I never wrote unto you for any man, or in any matter, " wherein you ſhall more bind me unto you, than for this bearer: and ſo not doubting of " your aſſured friendlineſs, I leave you to God; and remain your moſt aſſured loving friend." In a poſtſcript he ſays, " Always remember you muſt deal conſcionably for my ſake, and I " will requite you." [c] Examples of this kind ſhew men worthy of the power they enjoy, and ſhine brighter in their characters than many actions of a more publick and magnificent nature; power being ſo often corrupted with pride and other paſſions, as frequently render the poſſeſſors of it miſchievous, rather than beneficial to their fellow-creatures. But *Ralegh*, in theſe and many other inſtances, was ſo far from miſuſing, that, above the narrow apprehenſions of repulſe, or laying himſelf under obligations, he appears to have exerted it in the moſt ſtrenuous and generous manner, either for preventing or relieving the diſtreſs of others, which moved the greater compaſſion when his own miſfortunes brought him to need, and yet to fail of the like liberal and ſucceſsful mediation for himſelf. The truth is, *Ralegh* was ſo famous in theſe days, for ſuch-like good offices, that the queen ſeems to have diſtinguiſhed him by a title more honourable, in the proper ſenſe it is to be here taken, than any other ſhe conferred upon him: for one day, having told her he had a favour to beg of her, *When, Sir* Walter, *ſaid ſhe, will you ceaſe to be a* beggar? To which he anſwered, *When your gracious majeſty ceaſes to be a* benefactor. [d] With great juſtice therefore ſeems, a certain noted author of theſe times, to have adapted his work to a patron, when he dedicated a diſcourſe upon *Friendſhip*, which he publiſhed not long before this time, to Sir *Walter Ralegh*. [e]

And for captain *Spring*.

BUT friendſhip made ſuch a rare and laſting impreſſion on him, that it may be ſaid to have extended beyond the life of the object; and he well deſerves to be remembered in his grave, who could leave us ſuch noble patterns in memory of the dead. But this place requires only our notice of the memorial he wrote, to clear from ſome *Spaniſh* aſperſions, the fame and conduct of the valiant and renowned Sir *Richard Grenvill*, in that bloody expedition, where he made ſuch a glorious, tho' untimely end. This brave commander was vice-admiral in the lord *Thomas Howard*'s expedition, to intercept the *Spaniſh* plate-fleet at the iſles of *Azores* in its return from *America*. The *Engliſh* ſquadron conſiſted of ſix of the queen's ſhips, ſix victuallers of *London*, with two or three pinnaces. They ſet out early in the ſpring 1591,

a The pamphlet aforeſaid, p. 44.

b And was not brought to execution, as *Thomas Fuller* in one part of his *Church Hiſtory* implies, lib. 9. ſect. 8. parag. 31. tho' he contradicts himſelf before in another, paragr. 4. where he had ſaid *Udall* died peaceably in his bed; for *Thomas Forde*, in his collection of *Familiar Letters* (before mentioned) p. 135, having one to Dr. *Fuller* in praiſe of his ſaid *Church Hiſtory*, but wiſhes him therein to review that paſſage, where he ſpeaks of the execution of *Udall*; for he died, ſays he, at the *White Lyon*, juſt as his pardon was procured, and was buried at St. *George*'s *Southwark*; " Of whom, ſays this *Forde* (who was *Udall*'s " kinſman) we have this tradition, That he was the firſt " man king *James* asked for when he came into *England*, " and being anſwered, he was dead, the king reply'd, " *By my ſal then the greateſt ſcholar in* Europe's *dead.*" As for the *relation of* Udall's *tryal, cenſures, and ſentence, written by himſelf*, which this *Forde* further mentions to have had by him, it ſeems to be no more than the printed narrative we have before uſed.

c This letter is printed in the baronettage of *England*, by *Arthur Collins*, Eſq; 8vo. 1720. vol. 2. p. 58. and, as I have been told by this author, was communicated to him by Mr. *Strype*, who was favoured with it out of ſecretary *Cecil*'s papers in the poſſeſſion of his noble deſcendents.

d *Apophthegms* of the *Engliſh* nation, MS. alſo with very little variation, in a book called, *Miſcellanea*, or a choice *Collection* of wiſe and ingenious *Sayings* of *Princes, Poets, Stateſmen, Courtiers*, and others, out of ſeveral ancient and modern authors, &c. by *G. M.* 8vo. 1694. p. 38.

e See a ſpark of friendſhip and warm good-will, that ſheweth the effect of good affection, &c. By *Thomas Churchyard*, 4to. 1588.

and

and waited ſix months at *Flores*, one of thoſe iſlands, in expectation of the ſaid fleet. As there was, beſides the *Engliſh* Ships before number'd, one alſo of Sir *Walter*'s in this expedition, named *Bark Raleigh*, commanded by captain *Thynne*; and as he employ'd ſome time in the latter end of this year to deſcribe that memorable engagement they had with the *Spaniards*; the brief abſtract I ſhall give thereof from his own words, cannot be arraign'd of prolixity, nor perhaps of digreſſion; ſince, beſides his gratitude for the paſt ſervices of his heroic kinſman, it ſo well diſplays his ſentiments at this time of the religious hypocriſies and cruelties of their common enemy. The king of *Spain* therefore, having had intelligence of their waiting thus for his *Indian* fleet, ſent an *Armada* to the *Azores* of fifty-three ſail to convoy it home, under the command of *Don Alphonſo Baçan*. This fleet was juſt in ſight of the *Engliſh* by then they had any warning of it; and they were ſo unprepar'd for its reception, that many of their crew were on ſhore, providing ballaſt, water, and other neceſſaries; and thoſe who were on board, were half of them, through ſickneſs, unfit for ſervice. The *Spaniards* were now ſo near at hand, that the *Engliſh* had ſcarce time to weigh anchor; and *Grenvill*, in the *Revenge*, was the laſt upon the place, being deſirous of receiving all his crew aboard from the iſland, whereof he had no leſs than ninety who were ſick and diſeaſed. So that, unable to recover the wind, and having but one hundred ſound men, he was perſuaded to cut his main-ſail, caſt about, and truſt to the ſailing of the ſhip; for the ſquadron of *Seville* was on his weather-bow: but he, through the greatneſs of his ſpirit, utterly refuſed to turn from the enemy; proteſting he would rather die than be guilty of ſuch diſhonour to himſelf, his country, and her majeſty's ſhip; aſſuring his company he would paſs through the two ſquadrons in ſpite of them, and force thoſe of *Seville* to give him way; which he perform'd upon divers of the foremoſt, who, as the mariners term it, ſprung their looſ, and fell under the lee of the *Revenge*: but while he had regard to thoſe who were neareſt, the huge *San Philip*, being in the wind of him, and approaching, becalm'd his ſails in ſuch manner, that the ſhip could neither make way, nor feel the helm; ſo large and high charged was the *Spaniſh* galleon, being of fifteen hundred ton, carrying three tire, of eleven pieces in each on a ſide, and diſcharging eight foreright from her chaſe, beſides thoſe of her ſtern-ports. After the *Revenge* was thus entangled with this *Philip*, four others looſing up alſo, boarded her, two on the larboard, and two on the ſtarboard. The fight thus beginning at three a-clock in the afternoon, on the laſt of *Auguſt* the year aforeſaid, continued very terrible all that evening. But *San Philip* having received the lower tire of the *Revenge*, charged with croſs-bar ſhot, ſhifted with all expedition, utterly miſliking her firſt greeting. Some ſaid ſhe founder'd hereupon; but this is uncertain. The *Spaniſh* ſhips were fill'd with ſoldiers; ſome having two hundred, beſides mariners; ſome five, others eight hundred men: in the *Engliſh* ſhip there were only mariners, with the commanders ſervants, and ſome gentlemen-volunteers. After many exchanges of great and ſmall ſhot, the *Spaniards* many times attempted to board the *Revenge*, but were as often beaten back into their own ſhips, or into the ſea; and when a *London* victualler, who was under the lee of the *Revenge*, offer'd to undertake any ſervice for her aſſiſtance, *Grenvill* bid him "Save himſelf, and leave him "to his fortune." The fight thus continuing while the day laſted, and ſome hours of the night, many of the *Engliſh* were ſlain; ſome of the *Spaniſh* ſhips ſunk; and in many others there was great ſlaughter: *Grenvill*, tho' wounded in the beginning of the cloſe fight, was never ſo diſabled as to forſake the upper deck for eight hours together; and then being ſhot into the body with a muſket, as the wound was dreſſing, he was again ſhot into the head, and his ſurgeon at the ſame time wounded to death. Still the fight continued, and as faſt as the *Spaniards* were beaten off by the *Revenge*, others came in their places; ſo that by morning ſhe had ſuſtained, for fifteen hours together, the vollies, boardings, and entries of fifteen ſeveral ſhips of war, and repulſed them all; beſides the reſt which batter'd her looſe and at a diſtance. But with the light, increas'd the diſcovery of her diſmal condition; and the more irkſome was the one, in that it would not let her conceal the other from her ſurrounding enemies. [a] Now was to be ſeen nothing

His report of the deſperate fight at the *Azores*.

[a] As for her friends, the lord *Thomas Howard*, and the other ſhips, Sir *Walter Raleigh* further ſays of them, "If all "the reſt had enter'd, all had been loſt; for the very hugeneſs of the *Spaniſh* fleet, if no other violence had been "offer'd, would have cruſh'd them into ſhivers; of which "the diſhonour, and loſs to the queen, had been far greater "than the ſpoil or harm that the enemy could any way "have receiv'd. Notwithſtanding it is true, that the "lord *Thomas* would have enter'd between the ſquadrons, "but the reſt would not condeſcend; and the maſter "of his own ſhip offer'd to leap into the ſea, rather than "conduct it with the reſt to be a prey to the enemy; "where there was neither hope nor poſſibility either of "defence or victory. Which alſo, in my opinion, ſays "*Raleigh*, had ill ſorted with, or anſwer'd the diſcretion "of a general, to commit himſelf and his charge to aſſured deſtruction, without hope or any likelihood of "prevailing thereby, to diminiſh the ſtrength of her majeſty's navy, and enrich the pride and glory of the "enemy. The *Forefight* of the queen's (continues he) "commanded by Mr. *Thomas Vavaſour*, performed a "very great fight, and ſtay'd two hours as near the "*Revenge* as the weather would permit, not forſaking "the fight till he was likely to be encompaſs'd by the "ſquadrons, and with great difficulty clear'd himſelf. "The reſt gave divers vollies of ſhot, and enter'd as far "as the place permitted, and their own neceſſities, to "keep the weather-gage of the enemy, until they were "parted by night." Thus in Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s ſaid *report* this *fight*.

but

but the naked hull of a ſhip, and that almoſt a ſkeleton, having received eight hundred ſhot of great artillery, and ſome under water; her deck cover'd with the limbs and carcaſſes of forty valiant men, the reſt all wounded, and weltering in, or cover'd with their own blood; her maſts all beaten over-board, all her tackle cut aſunder, her upper works razed, and all in effect levell'd with the water; incapable of any further management or motion, but what the billows gave her. *Grenvill*, now finding their diſtreſs irreparable, commanded the ſhip to be ſunk, that the *Spaniards* might not carry a ſplinter home as a trophy of their dear-bought victory; dear-bought indeed! the *admiral* of the *Spaniſh* hulks, and another great galleon, called the *Aſcenſion* of *Seville*, being both ſunk by the ſide of the *Revenge*; another alſo in the road of *St. Michael*; and a fourth run herſelf a-ground to ſave her company. There were beſides ſlain and drown'd in this fight two eminent *Spaniſh* commanders, and near a thouſand of their men, as one of their own officers, who was ſever'd from the fight by the enſuing ſtorm, and taken by a *London* veſſel, confeſs'd. In that ſtorm, as well the whole *Indian* fleet, which had now join'd them, as the reſt of the *Armada*, were ſo diſpers'd and damag'd, that fourteen ſail were caſt away upon the *Iſle of St. Michael*. On the reſt of the iſlands they alſo loſt fifteen or ſixteen more of their ſhips of war; and of their *Indian* fleet, which was a hundred and odd ſail, there were alſo above ſeventy conſum'd and taken by our ſhips of *London*; beſides a very rich one which ſet her ſelf on fire, and five others taken by Mr. *Wats*'s ſhips. Three thouſand carcaſſes were found two or three days after on the *Iſle of Tercera*; and, by the *Spaniards* own confeſſion, no leſs than ten thouſand of their countrymen were loſt in this expedition.[a] But to return: Sir *Richard* exhorted the remainder of his company to truſt in God's mercy, and to none elſe; and, as they had thus long and reſolutely repulſed ſo many enemies, that they would not now leſſen the honour of their country, by any overtures to lengthen for a few hours or days their own lives. Several join'd in opinion with him; but the majority prevail'd, who urg'd, the *Spaniard* would be as ready to entertain a compoſition, as they to offer it; and that there were divers valiant men yet living, who might do their prince acceptable ſervice, and revenge this action upon the enemy; that the ſhip could be of no uſe either to one or the other, for upon the firſt working of the ſea ſhe muſt needs ſink, being ſo cruſh'd, riv'd, and leaky, having ſix foot water in the hold, that ſhe could never remove out of the place. Accordingly the *Spaniſh* general Don *Alphonſo Baçan* did make very honourable conceſſion; yielding that all their lives ſhould be ſav'd, the company ſent into *England*, and the better ſort only to pay a reaſonable ranſom, free from all gallies or impriſonment. Tho' it may be thought it was not difficult to diſſuade men from death to life, the maſter-gunner would have ſlain himſelf when he found their reſolution thus by reaſon over-borne; but that he was by force with-held. Then the general ſent many boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of the *Engliſh* ſuſpecting Sir *Richard*'s deſperate diſpoſition to blow up or ſink the ſhip, ſtole away to the *Spaniards*. But the general prevail'd upon him to remove out of the *Revenge*, being very unſavory, fill'd as it was, like a ſlaughter-houſe, with the bodies and blood of the dead and wounded. Sir *Richard* told them, they might do with his body what they pleas'd, for it was now of no uſe to him; and, as he was carried out of the ſhip, he ſwooned, but revived again, and deſir'd the company to pray for him. The general uſed him with the utmoſt humanity, and left nothing unattempted for his recovery; highly reſpecting, or rather admiring, the wonderful and unconquerable reſolution in ſo rare a ſpectacle of conſummate and approv'd intrepidity, who could make ſuch reſiſtance for ſo long time, and ſuch havock upon ſuch an *Armada*, with a ſingle ſhip and ſo few men. Sir *Richard* linger'd two or three days, and then died aboard the general, who greatly bewailed his loſs;[b] but the *Revenge*, with two hundred *Spaniards* in her, being overtaken by the ſtorms

[a] *Linſchoten*, in the 99th chapter of his voyages to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, ſays, that of the whole fleet and *Armada*, being 140 ſhips, there were but 32 or 33 arriv'd in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and thoſe with ſuch difficulty and diſperſion, that not any two arriv'd together; all the reſt were caſt away upon the iſlands and overwhelm'd in the ſea by that violent ſtorm: ſo that for twenty days after it they did nothing but fiſh for dead men.

[b] The ſame *Dutch* author, tho' he miſtakes in ſome particulars; as making this engagement to have happen'd a fortnight later, *&c.* yet agrees with Sir *Walter Raleigh* that Sir *Richard* made a wonderful oppoſition; for he mentions, "no leſs than ſeven or eight ſhips boarding the "*Revenge*; that ſhe reſiſted them at leaſt twelve hours; "that the *Spaniards* loſt above 400 men in the fight; and "that when Sir *Richard* was convey'd into the *Spaniſh* ad"miral's ſhip the *St. Paul*, all the captains were aſtoniſh"ed at his ſtout and couragious heart, for he ſhew'd no ſign "of faintneſs, nor change of colour; but, feeling the hour "of death approach, ſaid in the *Spaniſh* tongue, *Here die I* "Richard Grenvill, *with a joyful and quiet mind, having* "*ended my life like a true ſoldier, that has fought for his* "*country, queen, religion, and honour*, *&c.* He gives us "further, as an inſtance of his bravery, that while he "continued amongſt the *Spaniſh* captains, and they were "at dinner or ſupper with him, he would carouſe three or "four glaſſes of wine, and take the glaſſes between his "teeth and cruſh them in pieces, and ſwallow them down; "ſo that often the blood would run out of his mouth, "without any other harm to him." Which I can believe without ſcruple, having ſeen an officer of the army in a frolick do the like, and ſwallow the glaſs he had drank in, all but the ſolid ſtem, or that part which is not mandible; but more cautiouſly than Sir *Richard* ſeems to have perform'd it, for he drew not a drop of blood from any part of his mouth. As for *Grenvill*'s pedigree, it may be ſeen in the late collection of *Engliſh* baronets, 12mo. 1728; but the memorials that are attempted of him in *H. Holland*, *Fuller*, and *Prince*, are far ſhort of his actions and deſerts.

aforeſaid, was ſunk with the others above-mention'd, at *St. Michael's Iſland*. In this manner did they honour the burial of that renown'd ſhip; and thus did ſhe to the laſt make good her name upon them.

THUS have we gather'd from Sir *Walter Ralegh* what is here moſt material of this extraordinary action; but when he further obſerves the general's former promiſe was not perform'd, of ſetting the priſoners at liberty; ſo that they petition'd to be landed upon the iſlands, hoping to be thence tranſported into *England:* and alſo the endeavours that were made to corrupt their loyalty, by *Morrice Fitz-John* (ſon of old *John of Deſmond* before-mention'd) who ſent to the *Engliſh* from ſhip to ſhip, perſuading them to ſerve the king of *Spain*, through the motives of trebling their pay, advancing their condition, and improving their faith, to the ſafety of their ſouls, he is moved to make ſome ſharp and lively reflections upon theſe topicks; on the laſt whereof he expreſſes himſelf in this manner. "For matter of religion, it would re-
"quire a particular volume to ſet down how irreligiouſly they cover their greedy and am-
"bitious practices with that veil of piety; for, ſure I am, there is no kingdom or common-
"wealth in all *Europe*, but if reform'd, they invade it for religion-ſake: if it be, as they
"term, *Catholick*, they pretend title; as if the kings of *Caſtile* were the natural heirs of all
"the world; and ſo between both, no kingdom is unfought. Where they dare not with
"their own forces invade, they baſely entertain the traitors and vagabonds of all nations;
"ſeeking by thoſe and their renegade jeſuits to win parts; and have by that means
"ruin'd many noble houſes and others in this land, and have extinguiſh'd both their lives and
"families. What good, honour, or fortune, ever man yet by them atchiev'd, is yet unheard of,
"or unwritten. And if our *Engliſh* papiſts do but look into *Portugal*, againſt which they
"have no pretence of religion; how the nobility are put to death, impriſon'd; their rich
"men made a prey, and all ſorts of people captiv'd; they ſhall find, that the obedience
"even of the *Turk* is eaſy, and a liberty, in reſpect of the ſlavery and tyranny of *Spain*.
"What have they done in *Sicily*, *Naples*, *Milan*, and the *Low-Countries?* Who hath there
"been ſpared for religion at all? And it cometh to my remembrance of a certain burgher of
"*Antwerp*, whoſe houſe being enter'd by a company of *Spaniſh* ſoldiers when they firſt
"ſack'd the city, he beſought them to ſpare him and his goods, being a good catholick, and
"one of their own party. The *Spaniards* anſwer'd, *They knew him to be of a good conſcience*
"*for himſelf; but his money, plate, jewels, and goods, were all heretical; and therefore lawful*
"*prize*. So they abuſed and tormented the fooliſh *Fleming*, who hoped that an *Agnus Dei*
"had been a ſufficient target againſt all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither
"have they at any time, as they proteſt, invaded the *Indies* or *Peru*, but rather to reduce
"the people to Chriſtianity, than either for gold or empire; whereas in one only iſland, cal-
"led *Hiſpaniola*, they have waſted three millions of the natural people, beſides many mil-
"lions elſe in other places of the *Indies:* a poor and harmleſs people, created of God, and
"might have been won to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almoſt as many
"as ever were perſuaded thereunto. The ſtory whereof is at large written by a biſhop of
"their own nation, called *Bartholomew de las Caſas*, and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and many
"other languages, entitled, *The Spaniſh Cruelties*. Who would therefore repoſe truſt in ſuch
"a nation of ravenous ſtrangers; and eſpecially in thoſe *Spaniards*, who more greedily
"thirſt after *Engliſh* blood, than after the lives of any other people in *Europe?* For the
"many overthrows and diſhonours they have received at our hands, whoſe weakneſs we have
"diſcovered to the world, and whoſe forces at home, abroad, in *Europe*, in *India*, by ſea and
"land, we have, even with handfuls of men and ſhips, overthrown and diſhonour'd. Let
"not therefore any *Engliſhman*, of what religion ſoever, have other opinion of the *Spaniard*,
"but that thoſe whom he ſeeketh to win in our nation, he eſteemeth baſe and traiterous,
"unworthy perſons or unconſtant fools: and that he uſeth his pretence of religion for no
"other purpoſe, but to bewitch us from the obedience of our natural prince; thereby hoping
"in time to bring us to ſlavery and ſubjection. And then none ſhall be unto them ſo odious
"and diſdain'd as the traitors themſelves, who have ſold their country to a ſtranger, and
"forſaken their faith and obedience, contrary to nature and religion; and even contrary to
"that human and general humour not only of Chriſtians, but of heathen and irreligious na-
"tions, who have always ſuſtain'd what labour ſoever, and imbraced even death it ſelf for
"their country, prince, or commonwealth. To conclude: it hath ever to this day pleaſed
"God to proſper and defend her majeſty, to break the purpoſes of malicious enemies, of
"forſworn traitors, and of unjuſt practices and invaſions. She hath ever been honour'd of
"the worthieſt kings; ſerved by faithful ſubjects; and ſhall, by the favour of God, reſiſt,
"repel, and confound all whatſoever attempts againſt her ſacred perſon or kingdom. In the
"mean

His reflexions on the *Spaniſh* pretences of *Religion*.

" mean time, let the *Spaniards* and traitors vaunt of their ſucceſs; and we her true and obe-
" dient vaſſals, guided by the ſhining light of her virtues, ſhall always love her, ſerve her,
" and obey her to the end of our lives."[a]

RALEGH had no ſooner done with his pen, but he took up arms againſt the *Spaniards*, intending to ſeek reparation of them for the loſſes aforeſaid. He had formed an enterpriſe upon *Panama*, with a deſign alſo of meeting the *Spaniſh* plate-fleet; was at great expence in fitting out a maritime force for that purpoſe; and uſed his utmoſt intereſt and diligence to engage many worthy friends in the adventure. The ſcheme he laid down appear'd ſo feaſible to her majeſty, having provided no leſs than thirteen ſhips of his own and his aſſociates, all well mann'd, and plentifully furniſhed with arms, proviſions, and all other neceſſaries, that ſhe added to them two of her own men of war, named the *Garland* and *Foreſight*, and gave him a commiſſion, conſtituting him general of the fleet.[b] The honour of lieutenant-general was given to Sir *John Burgh*, a gentleman altogether worthy of the command. And indeed all his conſorts, officers, ſoldiers and ſailors, were men of notable reſolution; ſuch as had given ſufficient proof of their valour in divers ſervices; and, to give them their right, ſays my author, ſo well qualified in courage, experience and diſcretion, that the greateſt prince might repute himſelf happy to be ſerved by the like. With theſe ſhips thus equipp'd, *Ralegh* departed in *February*, the year aforeſaid, to the weſt of *England*, there to ſtore himſelf with ſuch further conveniences as he thought he ſhould need; but the weſterly winds blowing for a long time contrary to his courſe, bound him to keep harbour ſo many weeks, that the fitteſt ſeaſon for his purpoſe was expir'd, and much of his proviſions conſum'd. The queen, underſtanding how unluckily he was detain'd, it being the ſixth of *May* following, that is, in the year 1592, before *Ralegh* could put to ſea, ſhe ſent Sir *Martin Frobiſher* after him, who overtook him the very next day, with letters of revocation. But *Ralegh* finding his honour ſo far engag'd in the undertaking of this voyage, that, without proceeding, he ſaw no remedy either to ſalve his reputation, or ſatisfy his friends, who had contributed ſo largely to this adventure; and interpreting the queen's letters, as if her commands had been propounded in terms of latitude, either to advance or retire at his own diſcretion, would by no means conſent to leave the fleet, now under ſail. So he continued his courſe upon the ſeas, till he met with a ſhip belonging to Monſieur *Gourdon*, governor of *Calais*, in which was one Mr. *Nevel Davies*, who was return'd from a twelve years captivity in *Spain*; and who aſſur'd him, there was little hopes of any ſucceſs this year in the *Weſt-Indies*; for the king of *Spain* had ſent expreſs orders to all the ports, both of the *Iſlands* and *Terra Firma*, that no ſhips ſhould ſtir that year, nor any treaſure be laid aboard for *Spain*. But neither this diſagreeable news, nor the other diſcouragements, could deter him from proceeding; till on the eleventh of *May*, when he was off *Cape Finiſter*, a moſt raging tempeſt ariſing, ſo ſcatter'd the greater part of the fleet, and ſunk his boats and pinnaces, that, as the reſt were driven and divided, *Ralegh* himſelf, in the *Garland*, was in great danger of being ſwallowed up in the ſea. Hereupon, conſidering the ſeaſon was too far gone for his enterpriſe upon *Panama*, and his victuals too much conſum'd; that the ſame conſumption might further diſable him from lying upon the *Spaniſh* coaſt, or at the *Iſlands*, to meet with the *Indian* fleet, for which he had received ſuch little encouragement to wait, *Ralegh* made a diviſion of his fleet into two ſquadrons, committing one under the charge of Sir *John Burgh*, and the other to Sir *Martin Frobiſher*; and gave his inſtructions for Sir *Martin*, in the *Garland*, with captain *George Gifford*, captain *Henry Thynne*, captain *Grenvill*, and others, to lie off the ſouth cape to terrify and keep the *Spaniards* on their own coaſt; while Sir *John Burgh*, with captain *Robert Croſs*, *Thomſon*, and others, ſhould lie at the *Azores* for the carracks from *India*. The ſucceſs of theſe directions was anſwerable to the excellent judgment that contriv'd them. For the *Spaniſh* admiral, receiving intelligence that the *Engliſh* fleet was cruiſing upon their coaſt, gather'd all his naval power to watch *Frobiſher*, and defend the ſouthern parts of *Spain*; while the carracks, unguarded, were left a prey to Sir *John Burgh*. Before the fleet ſeparated, they met on the *Spaniſh* coaſt with a great *Biſcayan*, called *Sanƈta Clara*, a

General of an expedition to *Panama*.

Recall'd.

In a dangerous ſtorm.

His inſtructions to his fleet.

[a] See a report of the truth of the fight about the iſles of *Azores*, this laſt ſummer, betwixt the *Revenge*, one of her majeſty's ſhips, commanded by Sir *Richard Grenvill*, and an *Armada* of the king of *Spain*: 4to. 1591. reprinted, fol. in *Hakluyt*, vol. 2. 1599. part 2. p. 169. where it is ſaid to be penn'd by the honourable Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

[b] Sir *William Monſon*, in his *Naval Tracts*, obſerves upon this enterpriſe, " That Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who had " taſted abundantly of the queen's love, finding it now begin " to decline, reſolved to undertake an expedition to ſea; " and engaged ſeveral of his friends, of great quality, to " be concern'd with him." 'Tis pity but this author had ſatisfy'd us more expreſly about that declenſion of the queen's love. For, I think, that her lending *Ralegh* her ſhips of war, and the honourable commiſſion ſhe gave him, to be general in this expedition, ſeem rather to contradict, than any ways confirm that inſinuation.

ſhip

ſhip of ſix hundred ton; which, after a fight for ſome time, they maſter'd, and found freighted with all ſorts of little iron-work, valued by the *Engliſh* at ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds; but of treble the value to the *Spaniards*. This, having clear'd, they ſent to *England*. Then Sir *John Burgh*, in a ſhip of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s, named the *Roebuck*, coaſting along towards the ſouth cape of *St. Vincent*; and, by the way ſpying a ſail, gave her chaſe; which being a flyboat and good ſailor, drew him far ſouthward, before he could fetch her; at laſt ſhe came under his lee, and ſtruck ſail. The maſter confeſs'd a great fleet was prepar'd at *St. Lucar* and *Cadiz*; for the rumour of *Ralegh*'s putting out ſtrong for the *Weſt-Indies* had ſo alarmed the king of *Spain*, that he raiſed this fleet to oppoſe and encounter him; tho' looking for the arrival of his *Eaſt-India* carracks, he firſt order'd thoſe ſhips to convoy them from the *Azores*; but perſuading himſelf if *Ralegh*'s fleet did make for the *Weſt-Indies*, that then the iſlands would be infeſted only by ſome ſmall men of war which the carracks of themſelves would be able to cope with, his order was to *Don Alphonſo de Baçan* to purſue *Ralegh*'s fleet, and engage him, what courſe ſoever he held: and the *Engliſh* ſoon found this information true. For Sir *John Burgh*, not long after his having taken that flyboat, as he return'd to his company, deſcry'd the *Spaniſh* fleet to ſea-ward of him; which having likewiſe diſcover'd him, made full account to bring him into the *Spaniſh* harbour; but he dexterouſly eſcaped them, and ſhaped his courſe to the *Azores*, according to *Ralegh*'s directions. Here he took ſeveral ſmall caravels; but learnt little intelligence from them. Arriving at *Flores* on the 21ſt of *June*, and making to the ſhore of a village there, call'd *Santa Cruz*, he found them all in arms; but, ſhewing ſigns of amity by a white flag, he was accommodated by the inhabitants with whatever he wanted. Here he learnt news of the *Eaſt-Indian* carracks, one whereof had lately paſſed by for *Lisbon*, and that four more were behind. He made after, and ſoon diſcover'd the foremoſt, named the *Santa Cruz*; which was preſſed ſo cloſe upon by the *Engliſh*, that ſhe fir'd her ſelf; but they took, beſides ſome ſpoil, certain priſoners out of her, who confeſs'd, that within fifteen days three other greater carracks would arrive at the ſame iſland. Sir *John*, having taken counſel with his officers, departed ſix or ſeven leagues to the weſt of *Flores*, cauſing the ſhips in his company to ſpread themſelves north and ſouth two leagues diſtant from each other, by which extenſion they could diſcover two whole degrees. Thus they lay till the third of *Auguſt*, when captain *Thomſon* firſt ſaw that prodigious great carrack, called the MADRE DE DIOS, or *Mother of God*, one of the greateſt burden belonging to the crown of *Portugal*. Captain *Thomſon* firſt attack'd her, but with the loſs of ſeveral men; then Sir *John Burgh*, in the *Roebuck* aforeſaid, intangled her; and Sir *Robert Croſs* faſten'd himſelf to her at the ſame inſtant: but Sir *John* was forced to diſengage a-while, for fear of ſinking, being ſhot under-water. At laſt *Croſs* fell athwart her all alone, prevented her running aſhore to fire her ſelf, as the other had done, and gave the reſt time to come up to his ſuccour; which, after he had fought with her three hours, he receiv'd by the lord *Cumberland*'s ſhips: and then, having made a great ſlaughter of the *Spaniards*, they boarded and poſſeſs'd themſelves of her with little difficulty.

A prize.

THIS prize was reckon'd the greateſt and richeſt that ever had been brought into *England*; and when the news of her being taken arriv'd, *Ralegh* was no leſs diligent to have her ſafely conducted home, than the officers aforeſaid had been in the taking of her. For, after conſultation with Sir *John Hawkins*, his chief partner in this enterpriſe, they wrote a letter to the lord admiral, in theſe words; "Our very good lord, we have confer'd together about the *Eaſt-*
"*Indian* ſhip to be brought to *Plymouth* by Sir *John Burgh*; and, in our opinions, ſhe can be
"no leſs worth than *five hundred thouſand pounds*; being a ſhip of ſo great burden, and laden
"with ſo rich commodities as appeareth ſhe is: wherefore we have conſider'd, that the *Spaniſh*
"men of war, lying upon the coaſt of *Bretagne*, hearing of ſo great a prize taken from the
"king, or the merchants of the country; and, envying that ſuch a benefit ſhould grow to us,
"to their hinderance and diſhonour, will endeavour by all poſſible means, being diſtant but a
"day or night's ſailing, either to recover the ſhip again, or to burn her and all her lading,
"rather than ſhe ſhall be deliver'd here; ſeeing that the places of defence where the ſhip may
"remain, are not able to reſiſt their power: in our opinion therefore we think fit, and do pray
"your lordſhip, that the three ſhips of her majeſty's which are appointed to keep the narrow ſeas,
"may, by your lordſhip's letter and directions, be appointed to go weſtward, and there to
"guard the *Indian* ſhip for a time, until the *Gardland* and ſome of the ſame fleet be return'd,
"whoſe arrival cannot be any long time expected; or till ſome order may be taken for the
"unlading or keeping of her otherwiſe; which we pray your lordſhip may be done with
"ſome expedition. And ſo we humbly take our leave, this 27th of *Auguſt* 1592. Your
"lordſhip's

Another of great value.

" lordſhip's humbly at commandment, *W. Ralegh* (and underneath) *John Hawkins.*" [a] By this means probably ſuch care was taken, that this mighty ſhip was brought ſafe into *Dartmouth* on the 7th of *September* following, where it daily drew vaſt numbers of ſpectators from all parts to admire at the hugeneſs of it, being far beyond the model of the biggeſt ſhipping then known among us either for war or burden. [b] But as to the lading, tho' Sir *John Burgh* did prudently ſeize upon the whole to her majeſty's uſe, to prevent all licentious ſpoil; whereby the treaſure brought home was ſufficient to recompenſe the adventurers coſt, and the ſailors peril, however, the dividends are not known, more than that her majeſty had the largeſt ſhare; and tho', through the varieties thereof, our nation was let into the diſcovery of thoſe merchandiſes, whereof we had before but an imperfect knowledge; yet the whole cargo, when it came to be landed and valued in *England*, fell ſhort above two thirds of the computation which had been made by *Ralegh* and *Hawkins*, as above. [c] For it ſeems there were a large quantity of jewels, and of great value, which were never brought to light; and ſo much of her other goods was alſo purloin'd by the ſailors, ſoldiers, and officers, that at her arrival in *England*, ſhe drew five foot leſs water than ſhe did when ſhe was firſt freighted at *Cochin* in the *Eaſt-Indies*. And indeed the ſailors themſelves, whom neither order, oath, nor proclamation, could reſtrain, boldly confeſs'd, *They had rather truſt their ſouls to a merciful God by Perjury, than their fortunes to the hands of unmerciful men.* [d]

THE latter end of this year, and beginning of next, we meet with Sir *Walter Ralegh* in the parliament houſe, whether return'd for a county or a borough, and for which, does not at preſent particularly occur; but much engaged we find him there throughout this ſhort ſeſſion, [e] among the ableſt heads both in committees, and as a publick ſpeaker. A late author of his life obſerves, " that his ſpeeches were full of reaſon and eloquence, no man in his days being more a " maſter of language than himſelf;" [f] and matter too, he might have added; none more ſatisfactorily confirming his arguments with facts and experience than he did, even in his unpremeditated ſpeeches, no leſs than in the more deliberate compoſitions of his pen; ſo full of obſervation he was upon all times and countries, and ſo readily he could apply it upon all occaſions; which now won him great regard, as a ſpeaker in the houſe, and afterwards as an author, to the whole world. Soon after the opening of the ſeſſion, we find him upon the committee for the liberties and privileges of the members, to examine and make report of all ſuch caſes touching the elections and returns of any the knights, citizens, burgeſſes, or barons of the houſe, as ſhould ariſe during the ſaid ſeſſion of parliament: alſo in another againſt popiſh recuſants. And when *the bill for certain ſubſidies* to be granted her majeſty was in debate, and ſome members were for having it expreſly diſtinguiſh'd in the bill, that the ſaid ſubſidies ſhould be for maintaining a war impulſive and defenſive againſt the *Spaniard*, that the conqueſts we made over them might be legal and warrantable; Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſeconded thoſe ſpeeches, and ſaid, " He knew many, who held it not lawful in conſcience, as the time was, to take prizes " from the *Spaniard*; and he knew, that if it might be lawful and open war, there would be " more voluntary hands to fight againſt the *Spaniard* than the queen ſhould ſtand in need of to

In parliament.

His character as a ſpeaker.

Argues for a lawful and open war againſt the *Spaniard*.

[a] This, from the original, among the ineſtimable treaſures in the *Harleyan* library; tho' written neither by *Ralegh* nor *Hawkins*, but perhaps by ſome ſecretary, or other perſon belonging to one of them; for it is ſign'd by their own hands, as above. It has alſo a ſeal (on ſoft yellow wax) of *Ralegh*'s coat of arms (hereafter mention'd) in a triangular eſcutcheon; but the creſt (a ſtag, or other-like horned animal) is different from what he afterwards bore, as will be alſo obſerved in the ſequel of this work.

[b] This carack was in burden no leſs than 1600 ton, whereof 900 were merchandiſe: ſhe carried 32 pieces of braſs ordnance, and between ſix and ſeven hundred paſſengers; was built with decks ſeven ſtory, one main orlop, three cloſe decks, one forecaſtle, and a ſpare-deck of two floors apiece. According to the obſervations of Mr. *Robert Adams*, an excellent geometrician, ſhe was in length from the beak-head to the ſtern 165 foot; in breadth near 47 foot; the length of her keel 100 foot; of the main-maſt 121 foot; its circuit at the partners near 11 foot; and her main-yard 106 foot.

[c] As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at *Leadenhall* the 15th of *September* this year, the principal wares conſiſted of ſpices, drugs, ſilks, callicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, *Porcellan* or *China* ware, ebony; beſides pearl, muſk, civit, and ambergris; with many other commodities of inferior value. The *Cargaſon* freighted ten of our ſhips for *London*, and was, by moderate computation, valued at 150000 *l.* Sterling. See a *true report* of the honourable ſervice at ſea, perform'd by Sir *John Burrough*, lieutenant-general of the fleet, prepar'd by the honourable Sir *Walter Ralegh*, lord-warden, *&c.* in *Hakluyt*, vol. 2. part 2. p. 194. There was alſo printed another account of this great ſhip, while it lay in the port aforeſaid, in *Quarto*, under this title, *The Seaman's Triumph*, declaring the honourable actions of ſuch gentlemen, captains, *&c.* as were at the taking of the great carack lately brought to *Dartmouth*, with her burden and commodities: alſo the manner of the fight with and burning of another at the *Iſle of Flowers*, of the burden of 900 ton, written for truth, to a *Gentleman of great worſhip* in *London*. This gentleman, tho' his name is not prefix'd to the dedication, was Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as may plainly appear to thoſe who have read it, and are acquainted with the hiſtory of this action. I never ſaw but one of theſe pamphlets, which is in the poſſeſſion of a nobleman, curious in collections of this kind; and remember to have read in it, that ſome jars of civit were, through unadviſedneſs of the ſailors, thrown overboard; they not knowing what it was. But in the whole, this tract, as I remember, is not ſo particular and accurately written, as that account in *Hakluyt* aforeſaid.

[d] *Camden*'s *Annals*, 1592.

[e] It begun *Feb.* 19. 1592. and was diſſolv'd *Apr.* 9. 1593.

[f] The *Life of* Sir *Walter Ralegh* in *Lives Engliſh and Foreign*, vol. 1. p. 95.

"ſend to ſea." Accordingly he was appointed of the committee for drawing the articles and preamble of the ſaid bill.[a] Further, when the neceſſity of the ſaid ſubſidy came to be enforc'd, *Ralegh* ſpake for it, "not only (as he proteſted) to pleaſe the queen, to whom he was infi-"nitely bound above his deſerts; but for the neceſſity he both ſaw and knew." He very well diſcover'd the great ſtrength of the king of *Spain*; and, to ſhew his mightineſs, he told how he poſſeſs'd all the world; as alſo that his malice and ill purpoſe was evident to this realm, he ſhewed how on every ſide he had beleaguer'd us. "That in *Denmark*, the king being "young, had corrupted the council and nobility; ſo as it was very likely he would ſpeed "himſelf of ſhipping from thence. In the marine towns of the *Low-Countries*, and in *Nor-*"*way*, he laid in great ſtore of ſhipping. In *France*, he had the parliament-towns at his "command; in *Britany*, he had all the beſt havens; and in *Scotland*, had ſo corrupted the no-"bility, that he had promis'd them forces to aſſiſt the papiſts; that they were ready to join "with any foreign forces that would make them ſtrong, to be by themſelves and reſiſt others; "for, as he thought, there were not ſix gentlemen of that country of one religion. In his "own country, there is all poſſible preparing; and he is coming with ſixty gallies, beſides "other ſhipping, with purpoſe to annoy us. We muſt then have no ſhips, if he invade us "riding at anchor; all will be little enough to withſtand him. At his coming, he fully re-"ſolveth to get *Plymouth*, or at leaſt to poſſeſs ſome of the havens this ſummer within our "land; and *Plymouth* is a place of moſt danger, for no ordnance can be carried thither to re-"move him, the paſſages will not give leave. Now the way to defeat him, is to ſend a royal "army to ſupplant him in *Britany*, and to poſſeſs our ſelves there; and to ſend a ſtrong navy "to ſea, and to lye upon the *Cape* and at *Lambuck*; to which places come all his ſhips with "riches from all parts, and then they may ſet upon all that come. This we are able to do, "and undoubtedly with fortunate ſucceſs, if we undertake it."[b] But ſome diviſion ariſing upon the queſtion how they ſhould make the motion for this ſupply to the lords, *Ralegh* made ſo judicious a diſtinction of the cauſe thereof, and ſo clearly demonſtrated the erroneous manner in which it had been propounded, that it appears plainly, the ſucceſsful turn which follow'd thereupon was owing to him alone. For, ſaid *Ralegh*, "had the queſtion but been "put, whether they ſhould only yield to a conference in general with the lords? the houſe "would not have been againſt it;" therefore deſir'd the ſpeaker to put it to the queſtion, whether they ſhould confer with the lords generally or not, without naming the ſubſidy? This motion was ſo well liked, that *Ralegh* was deſir'd by the houſe to repeat it over again, that it might be better heard by them all. Thereupon he ſaid, "that as it had been lately receiv'd "in the negative, he would not make it a queſtion again, for by the order of the houſe he could not;" but propounded it as a new queſtion, "Whether the houſe would be pleaſed to have a "general conference with the lords, touching the great and imminent dangers of the realm and "ſtate, and the preſent neceſſary ſupply of treaſure to be provided ſpeedily for the ſame, ac-"cording to the proportion of the neceſſity?" Being ſtated in this manner, it was aſſented to by the whole houſe, without one negative voice.[c] But one of the members, Mr. *Oliver St. John*, making ſome miſconſtruction of the vice-chamberlain's ſpeech upon this occaſion, Sir *Walter Ralegh* further explain'd the matter agreed upon by the houſe to him, in theſe words. "If we confer generally, it muſt be of our dangers, and of the remedies, which muſt be by "means; if of means, it muſt be of money and aid. So our conference muſt needs be of "ſubſidy, or rather aid: but to agree upon this with any reſolution either in the matter or ſub-"ſtance, it is not our meaning."[d] After this conference, ſeveral forms of proviſion were propos'd by way of treble ſubſidies, and like proportionable fifteenths and tenths, with other kinds of benevolence: and many excellent ſpeeches paſſed upon that part of this important affair. Sir *Thomas Cecill* was for three ſubſidies to be paid in four years, and to be charged upon men of ten pounds and upwards, to ſpare thoſe who were under. Sir *Henry Knivet* alledged the poverty of our country againſt the reaſons uſed, and imputed that poverty to the bringing in more foreign wares, than we vented commodities, whereby our money was carried out of our country, which was thus become like a pond that was fed with a ſpring, but having a breach, through which more paſſed away than came in: thereupon moved for a ſurvey to be taken of all mens lands and goods in *England*, and ſo much to be yearly levied as might maintain the queen's wars, the proportion being ſet a hundred thouſand pounds yearly; or, if that was miſliked, every man on his word ſhould deliver in, to his power, the profits of his lands and goods;

His ſpeech for the ſubſidy againſt the *Spaniards*.

[a] Sir *Simon Dewes*'s Journal of queen *Elizabeth*'s parliaments, fol. 1708. p. 478.

[b] Sir *Simon Dewes*, fol. 484. and *Haywood Townſhend*'s *Hiſt. Coll.* fol. 65. [c] *Dewes*'s Journ. fol. 488. [d] *Id.* 490.

goods; ſo a proportion to be ceſs'd accordingly. To him who argued of the poverty of the land, from the multitude of beggars, *Ralegh* gave theſe reaſons: "That the broken companies "in *Normandy* and the *Low-Countries*, who returned maimed hither, never went back again "to the towns from whence they came: for a multitude of clothiers, taking their looms into "their hands, ſpun their wool themſelves; and except we would work for them cheaper than "they can make themſelves, they will ſet none to work. This engroſſing of ſo many trades "into their own hands, beggars ſo many as uſually lived by the trade." As for the ſurveying of ſo many mens eſtates, he thought it inconvenient. "For many, being eſteemed richer than "they are, would be found beggars, and increaſe the opinion of their number, by loſing their "credit, which is now their wealth. He further reported of his own knowledge, that the "*Weſt-Country*, ſince the parliament begun, had taken from them the worth of four hundred "and forty thouſands pound; and that thoſe of *Newcaſtle* lay ſtill for fear, becauſe the *Bour-* "*deaux* fleet was taken this year by the enemy. For the enemy approaching us, and being be- "come our neighbour, our trades will decay every day, and ſo our poverty increaſes. Thus "it is moſt certain; the longer we defer aid, the leſs able we ſhall be to yield it; yet in the "end, the greater aid will be required; ſo ſparing them now, we ſhall charge them when they "ſhall be leſs able to bear it: for it is moſt true, one hundred thouſand pounds would have "done the laſt year, that which three will not now do; and three will do this year, that "which ſix will not do hereafter." In the concluſion, he agreed to three ſubſidies; in them, the three pound-men to be ſpared; the ſum which came from them, to be levied upon thoſe of ten pound and upwards; and the payment to be ſpeedy.[a] Mr. *Francis Bacon* aſſented to three ſubſidies; but not to the payments under ſix years: but to his reaſons of difficulty and danger in a ſpeedier levy, which might hazard a double peril, by making it four ſhillings in the pound, a double payment; *Ralegh* anſwer'd, "I ſee no reaſon that the ſuſpicion of diſcontent- "ment ſhould croſs the proviſion for the preſent danger. The time is now more dangerous "than it was in eighty-eight; for then the *Spaniard* coming from *Spain*, was to paſs dangerous "ſeas, and had no place of retreat or relief if he fail'd: but now he has in *Britany* great ſtore "of ſhipping; a landing-place in *Scotland*; and men and horſes there as good as any we "have. But for the difficulty in getting this ſubſidy, I think it ſeems more difficult by *ſpeak-* "*ing*, than it would be in *gathering*."[b] In the end, it was carried agreeable to his propoſitions; the grant of a triple ſubſidy being agreed to, and of ſix fifteenths and tenths; to be levied and paid in four years, by a certain form which they had ſet down in articles; that is to ſay, one entire ſubſidy and two fifteenths and tenths at one payment in the firſt year; and one other entire ſubſidy, with two fifteenths and tenths at another payment in the ſecond year; and one entire ſubſidy and two fifteenths and tenths at two payments in the third and fourth years.[c]

Soon after there was *a bill* read in the houſe *againſt counterfeiting the hands of counſellors or principal officers*; and upon the ſecond reading, it was committed to Sir *John Woolley* and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with others. But after a meeting in the *Middle Temple* hall, Sir *John* made report to the houſe, that himſelf, and the reſidue of the committee, upon the end of their examination and travel therein, did all of them think it a very dangerous bill; and not fit, in their opinion, to paſs the houſe; to whoſe conſideration they further thought proper to leave it. And becauſe it was a bill which came from the lords, they thought good, with the ſaid report firſt made, to deliver the ſaid bill again into this houſe, and there to leave it as it is, and not otherwiſe. But the *bill againſt aliens ſelling foreign wares among us by retail*, produced ſeveral weighty arguments and ſpeeches in the houſe, which have been tranſmitted to us. Theſe foreigners it ſeems were *Dutchmen*, who had neſtled themſelves in *St. Martins*, anciently allow'd for a ſanctuary, and therefore ſtill had this privilege: here they practis'd ſpinning and weaving, to the great detriment and complaint of merchants and regular dealers in our own city; inſomuch that threeſcore *Engliſh* retailers had been ruin'd by them ſince the laſt parliament, to the diminution, beſides their own private ſubſtance, of the queen's ſubſidy and the publick treaſure of the kingdom; twenty thouſand pounds a year at leaſt having been carried out of the realm by them. They had indeed ſome learned council who pleaded for them at the bar, and ſome of the members ſpoke in their behalf. One of them ſaid, this bill was thruſt into the houſe by our mercantile engroſſers; that their beggaring the domeſtick retailers might be imputed to the ſtrangers retailing. But he was anſwered by another with arguments to prove that engroſſing was ſufferable among merchants. Others again ran upon the more univerſal topics of charity, in giving ſhelter and means of getting livelihood to poor deſtitute ſtrangers, who fly to us for religion and relief: that we have been ſtrangers, and allow'd the liberty we deny; that now

[a] *Dewes*'s Journal. fol. 492. [b] *Id.* 493. [c] *Id.* 495.

they

they are ſtrangers, and we may be ſo hereafter. Again, that it was an honour for one country to be hoſpitable to another; would extend its renown; increaſe its riches; ſtrengthen its intereſt; and induce them to a mutual return of favours: laſtly, that their example is profitable, through the patterns of piety and induſtry they diſperſe among us. Other arguments were uſed; but againſt theſe, *Ralegh* concur'd with thoſe who thought that denization ought not to circumvent birth-right; and that to behave our ſelves like citizens to foreigners, was but making our ſelves ſtrangers to our neighbours. His ſpeech againſt *foreign Retailers.* "Whereas it is pretended (ſays he) that for ſtrangers, "it is againſt charity, againſt honour, againſt profit, to expel them; in my opinion, it is no "matter of *charity* to relieve them. For firſt, ſuch as fly hither have forſaken their own "king; and religion is no pretext for them, for we have no *Dutchmen* here, but ſuch as come "from thoſe princes where the goſpel is preach'd; yet here they live, diſliking our church. "For *honour*: it is honour to uſe ſtrangers as we be uſed among ſtrangers; and it is a lightneſs in a commonwealth, yea, a baſeneſs in a nation, to give a liberty to another nation "which we cannot receive again. In *Antwerp*, where our intercourſe was moſt, we were never ſuffer'd to have a taylor or a ſhoo-maker to dwell. Nay, at *Milan*, where there are "three hundred-pound *Engliſhmen*, they cannot ſo much as have a barber among them. And "for *profit*; they are all of the houſe of *Almoigne*, who pay nothing; yea, eat out our profits, "and ſupplant our own nation. Cuſtom indeed they pay; paying fifteen-pence where we "pay twelve-pence; but they are diſcharged of ſubſidies. The nature of the *Dutchman* is to "fly to no man but for his profit; and they will obey no man long; now under *Spain*; now "under *Mountfort*; now under the prince of *Orange*; but under no governor long. The "*Dutchman*, by his policy, hath gotten trading with all the world into his hands; yea, he is "now entering into the trade of *Scarborough*-fiſhing, and the fiſhing of the *Newfoundlands*, "which is the ſtay of the *Weſt-Countries*. They are the people that maintain the king of "*Spain* in his greatneſs; were it not for them, he were never able to make out ſuch armies "and navies by ſea; it coſt her majeſty ſixteen thouſand pounds a year the maintaining of "theſe countries; and for all this, they arm her enemies againſt her. Therefore, I ſee no reaſon that ſuch reſpect ſhould be given to them: and, to conclude; in the whole, no matter "of honour, no matter of charity, no profit in relieving them."[a] This ſpeech we may meet with in ſome modern writings, quoted in Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s praiſe, both for his knowledge in the intereſt of his country, and his unbiaſs'd affection in exerting it. As for the bill, he was one to whom it was committed, and who, after the travels of the ſaid committee upon it, offer'd it again to the houſe with the addition of a proviſo. On the 27th of *March* following, that is to ſay, in the year 1593, it was read the third time; and, after many long ſpeeches, which are not ſpecify'd, paſſed upon the queſtion, by the diviſion of the houſe, with the difference of fourſcore voices; the *Yeas* being a hundred ſixty-two, the *Noes* eighty-two. About a week afterwards there was a bill, for explaining a branch in *an act to retain the queen's ſubjects in due obedience*, read; and many ſpeeches paſs'd in the houſe before it was committed, through the many imperfections in the preamble and body of the ſaid bill. For it pretended a puniſhment only of the *Browniſts* and other ſectaries; but, alledging nothing againſt them in particular, contained ſome enſnaring clauſes that might comprehend more innocent perſons. As the ſpeeches before Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s, on this occaſion, are not rehearſed, we can only gueſs at them, by what is preſerv'd of his; who ſaid, "In my conceit, the *Browniſts* are worthy to be rooted out And upon the bill againſt the *Browniſts*. "of a commonwealth:[b] but what danger may grow to our ſelves if this law paſs, were fit to be

[a] *Dewes*'s Journal, fol. 509.

[b] This ſect was ſo call'd from *Robert Brown*, ſon of *Anthony Brown Eſq*; of *Tolethorp* in *Rutlandſhire*, and grandſon of *Francis Brown*, whom king *Henry* VIII, *Anno Regn.* 18. privileg'd by charter to wear his cap in preſence of himſelf, his heirs, or any of his nobles, and not to uncover but at his own pleaſure. This *Robert* ſtudied divinity in *Cambridge*, and was ſoon diſcover'd by Dr. *Still*, maſter of *Trinity-College*, to have ſomewhat extraordinary in him that would prove a great diſturbance to the Church. He travell'd to *Zeland*, and return'd, as we are told, confirm'd in error and obſtinacy, which he firſt preach'd at *Norwich Anno* 1581, and wrote a book to juſtify his doctrine; for which biſhop *Pbreak* of that dioceſe confin'd him: but being related to the lord *Burghley*, and he rather imputing it to zeal than malice, interceded to have him charitably perſuaded out of his opinions, and releaſed. The latter being done, he was ſent home in 1585, but remain'd incorrigible; wherefore his good old father would own him for his ſon no longer than his ſon own'd the Church of *England* for his mother; but he choſe rather to part with his aged ſire than his new ſchiſm: ſo, with *Richard Harriſon* a ſchoolmaſter, he ſet up for an orator againſt biſhops and all eccleſiaſtical authority. When gentleneſs was found ineffectual, ſeverity was ſo long, and upon ſo many occaſions exercis'd, that this *Brown* uſed to boaſt he had been committed to *Thirty-two priſons, and in ſome could not ſee his hand at noon-day*; yet did he to the laſt ſave his life and living, which was *Achurch* in *Northamptonſhire*. This favour is conceived to proceed from the promiſes he made of conformity, together with the intereſt of his powerful kindred. He allowed a ſalary for one to diſcharge his cure; and tho' he oppoſed his pariſhioners in judgment, yet agreed in taking their tithes. He was of a nature uncontrolable, ſo far from the *Sabbatarian* ſtrictneſs, afterwards eſpouſed by ſome of his followers, that he ſeemed rather a libertine therein. In a word, he had (ſays my author) a wife with whom he never lived, and a church in which he never preached, tho' he received the profits thereof; and as all the other ſcenes of

" be conſider'd. For it is to be fear'd that men not guilty will be included in it: and that " law is hard, that taketh life, and ſendeth into baniſhment; where mens *Intentions* ſhall be " judged by a jury; and they ſhall be judges what another means. But that law, which is " againſt a fact, is but juſt; and puniſh the fact as ſeverely as you will. If two or three thou- " ſand *Browniſts* meet at the ſea, at whoſe charge ſhall they be tranſported, or whither will " you ſend them? I am ſorry for it, but I am afraid there are near twenty thouſand of them in " *England*; and when they are gone, who ſhall maintain their wives and children?" [a] A committee was therefore appointed to reviſe and correct this bill, among whom *Ralegh* is the foremoſt named; who, after many ſubſtractions, alterations and debates, moved it might be read to the houſe for their approbation: and, after many arguments and conferences, being read the third time, as were alſo the additions and amendments, it paſſed upon the queſtion. *Ralegh* was frequently in committees upon other bills during this ſeſſion, till it was diſſolved on the 10th of *April* following; but as his arguments upon them are not preſerv'd, we ſhall refer to the titles of theſe bills in the *journals of parliament*, whence we have extracted his ſpeeches upon thoſe before mention'd.

THIS year we met with a notable libel in print, ſet forth by a *Lover of his Country*, as he calls himſelf, to expoſe and ſcandalize certain miniſters and counſellors of ſtate, who had been inſtrumental in framing that ſearching proclamation againſt the *Seminaries* which was publiſh'd about two years before. [b] For the king of *Spain* having lately founded an *Engliſh* cloyſter at *Valladolid*, as a nurſery to ſupply us with treaſon and rebellion; ſo many hopeful ſtocks of that ſpecies were ſoon tranſplanted into *England*, as occaſion'd the ſaid proclamation to extirpate them. Now this *Anſwer* was publiſh'd to calumniate the ſuppoſed authors of it; and as *Ralegh* appears, among other very good company, to have his ſhare of the ſlander therein; ſo he might probably have had a hand in thoſe wholſome articles for the ſafety of the realm, which occaſion'd it. For, to the great honour of his knowledge in the conſtitution of his country, and his conſtant zeal for its ſecurity and welfare, he was, tho' no counſellor of ſtate, often call'd to the council table; where no ſmall difference was paid to his arguments and obſervations in the various debates that aroſe upon matters in church or ſtate, in war or peace. After this libel has revil'd the greateſt and wiſeſt miniſters of the nation, it ſeems to have reſerved the quinteſſence for him, who had the ability ſo many ways to cruſh the pernicious purpoſes which were daily hatching by the viperous brood which brought it forth; tho' after all, by embarking his character in ſuch an old and ſhatter'd bottom of detraction, 'tis much they could ſo long keep its weather-beaten credit a-float: and indeed, how they came to launch firſt out into ſuch an improbable contumely, ſeems a myſtery comprehenſible only to the patron of their iniquity. For *Ralegh* had given ſuch proofs of his ſound and ſincere affection to religion, ſome of which have in the foregoing pages been noted, that his ſentiments were made uſe of to reform or regulate even the profeſſors of it; yet now his head muſt be turn'd ſo exceſſively to its detriment, as to provoke this libeller's pious ſpleen againſt nothing leſs than *Sir Walter Ralegh's School of Atheiſm*; compendiouſly inſinuating, as if truly he was not ſatisfied with being a diſciple, but ſet up for a doctor in his faculty, and won young " gentlemen into his ſaid ſchool; wherein " the Old and New Teſtament were jeſted at, and ſcholars taught to ſpell *God* backwards." Then he complains, " what a miſerable thing it is, that her majeſty ſhould make laws " and proclamations according to theſe mens ſenſes and opinions." [c] But there may need little

Aſpers'd with *Atheiſm*.

pains

of his life were ſtormy and turbulent, ſo was his end; for the conſtable of his pariſh requiring ſomewhat roughly the payment of certain rates, his paſſion moved him to blows, whereof complaint being made to Juſtice *St. John*, he rather inclin'd to pity than puniſh him; but *Brown*, at fair words alſo diſguſted, ceaſed not till he was ſent to *Northampton* jayl on a bed in a cart, being very infirm, and aged above eighty years; where ſoon after he ſicken'd and died *Anno* 1630. Thus the church hiſtorians have painted out this ſtory, but in larger dimenſions. See *Fuller*, &c. As for *Brown*'s tenets, 'tis ſaid one *Bolton* firſt broach'd them among us, and that they are only revived from the ancient *Donatiſts*; but thoſe, who think it worth while to hunt more diſtinctly after them, may read Dr. *Fulk*; *Rogers* on the ſixteenth article; *Dayrel* againſt the *Browniſts*; *Bredwell*'s Detection of *Glover* the *Browniſt*; *Gifford*'s Treatiſe of *Engliſh Donatiſts*; with his Reply to *Barrow* and *Greenwood*; and *Stow*'s *Chronicle*; where it appears the *Browniſt*'s books were prohibited by authority, and that ſome were hang'd for diſperſing them, with ſuch-like writings. There is a volume (containing ſome ingenious remarks) aſcribed to the earl of *Angleſea*, and named the *Happy future State of England*, which fol. 280. quotes from this ſpeech of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s, his obſervation above, to what number the *Browniſts* were ſo early multiply'd; yet, as he adds, the name of theſe ſchiſmaticks is now evaporated, and their tenets almoſt univerſally unknown.

[a] *Townſhend's Hiſtorical Collections*, fol. 76. and *Dewes's Journal*, fol. 517.

[b] *Elizabethae Reginae Angliae Edictum, promulg. Lond. Nov.* 29. 1591. & *Andr. Philopatris ad idem Reſponſio.* 8vo. *Lugd. ap. J. Didier.* 1593.

[c] See the ſaid *Reſponſ. ad Elizab. Reg. Edictum contra Catholicos*, under that name of *Andr. Philopater*; alſo an extract or abbreviation of the ſame in *Engliſh*, printed at *London* in 8vo. near the ſame time: and the ſame extract, or another of it, in a late collection, named, *Miſcellanies Hiſtorical and Philological*, &c. found in a nobleman's ſtudy, 8vo. 1703. p. 171. It is in this book call'd, *An advertiſement to a ſecretary of the lord treaſurer's, by an Engliſh Intelligencer*, &c. *concerning a book writ in Latin, and publiſhed in divers languages, againſt her majeſty's late proclamation for ſearch and apprehenſion of ſeminary prieſts, and their receivers.* That intelligencer gives this character of it; " I aſſure you, it is the moſt ſharp, bitter and odious

pains to blunt the point of this dart, when we ſhall further conſider that it came out of a jeſuitical quiver; for by whom ſhould it be levell'd againſt him but *Robert Parſons*, the notorious traitor and incendiary! however deeply he diſguis'd himſelf into a *Lover of his Country*. So that, till we ſhall find a more credible father for the aſperſion, we may ſafely enough believe it no genuine iſſue of truth: nevertheleſs, ſome ten years after, when *Raleigh* was trampled down by the court, and there was a turn of ſtate to ſerve, this might be a good ſerviceable obloquy enough to upbraid him with, and depreciate him in the eye of the populace. But theſe prejudic'd repreſentations will probably be thought of ſo little authority, that the reaſons and matter of fact which have been produc'd in a poetical performance, may be ſufficient to make thoſe ſtains even befriend his reputation, and brighten it in clearing them away.[a]

INDEED there is a traditional author who accounts for the grounds of this aſperſion, in the following words; "Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the firſt (as I have heard) who ventur'd to tack "about, and ſail aloof from the beaten tract of the *ſchools*; and who, upon the diſcovery of "ſo apparent an error as a *Torrid Zone*, intended to proceed in an inquiſition after more ſolid "truths: till the mediation of ſome, whoſe livelihood lay in hammering *ſhrines* for this ſuper-"annuated *ſtudy*, poſſeſſed queen *Elizabeth* that ſuch doctrine was againſt God, no leſs than "her father's honour; whoſe faith (if he owned any) was grounded upon *ſchool divinity*: "whereupon ſhe chid him; who was (by his own confeſſion) ever after branded with the ti-"tle of an atheiſt, tho' a known aſſertor of God and Providence."[b] That he was ſuch aſſertor, ſeems to be affirmed by an author of his acquaintance, who introduces the apparition of Sir *Walter*, ſpeaking to him in this manner. "Thou well knoweſt that the world hath, at-"ſundry times, caſt a foul and moſt unjuſt aſperſion upon me for my preſumed denial of a "Deity; from which abominable and horrible crime I was ever moſt free; and not any man "now living better knows the ſame than thy ſelf; in whoſe preſence I was often accuſtom'd "highly to praiſe and eſteem the book of *Leſſius*, written in proof of the being of a Deity." So requeſts, that he would tranſlate the ſame into *Engliſh*, "which I my ſelf, ſays the ghoſt, had "done, if cruel fate had not untimely cut off the thread of my mortality; and let the title bear "my name; that ſo the readers may acknowledge it was done by my ſollicitation." Then the ſaid tranſlator of that book ſays in his own perſon to the reader, "It is well known that "Sir *Walter* was a man of great natural parts; and yet was ſuſpected of the moſt foul and exe-"crable crime of atheiſm; how truly God and himſelf only knows; *yet I have reaſon to think* "*it a falſe aſperſion*."[c] If thus much is ſaid of *Raleigh* by an author who knew him; what credit ſhall we pay to another who wrote many years later? never knew him, produces no authority for the principles he charges upon him; yet pretends to give us the tutor's name from whom he imbib'd them; and that, a man of no leſs learning and merit than the famous Mr. *Thomas Hariot?*[d] This was that *Engliſh* philoſopher from whoſe illuſtrious diſcoveries, he, who was the glory of the *French* philoſophers, is not denied to have borrowed much of the

"thing that ever I think was written by the papiſts." See the ſaid *Miſcellanies*, p. 164. *Will. Watſon* the ſecular prieſt, ſpeaking of *Blackwell* the arch-prieſt's inhibition againſt certain catholic books, ſays, "Among other er-"rors committed by him therein, it was one, that he "would ſuffer all *Parſons*'s ſeditious books to paſs cur-"rent; as his *Philopater*, ſpeaking moſt rebelliouſly "againſt her majeſty and the whole ſtate and nobles of "the land." See his *Quodlibets* of religion and ſtate, 4to. 1602. p. 107. There was alſo the like extract of this *Philopater* made in ſome *Collections* of *Poetry*, *Hiſtory*, *&c.* by *John Heyward* of *Gray's-Inn* Eſq; which I have ſeen in a *Quarto* volume among the MSS. of the late curious *Thomas Granger* Eſq; which *Collections* are likewiſe mention'd in the *Catalogue of the remaining part of his MSS.* p. 6. N°. 18.

a The late Dr. *George Sewell*, in his tragedy of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, 8vo. 1719. Act I. Scene I. makes the following reflexion on the attorney general's ſtarting from the queſtion in debate at *Raleigh*'s trial, to upbraid him with this imputation of atheiſm.

Sir Julius Cæſar. When prejudice and ſtrong averſions work,
All whoſe opinions we diſlike are *Atheiſts*;
Now 'tis a term of art, a bugbear word,
The villain's engine, and the vulgar's terror.
The man who thinks and judges for himſelf;
Unſway'd by aged follies, rev'rend errors;
Grown holy by traditionary dullneſs
Of ſchool-authority; he is an *Atheiſt!*
The man, who hating idle noiſe, preſerves
A pure religion ſeated in his ſoul;
He is a ſilent, dumb, diſſembling *Atheiſt!*
Lord Howard. I had forgot it—yes the baſe-tongu'd gownſman
Did call him Atheiſt—ſo men judge at home,
Who never trac'd a Providence at ſea;
And ſaw his wonders in the mighty deep.
The Atheiſt-ſailor were a monſtrous thing,
More wonderful than all old ocean breeds!
But I will witneſs for my *Raleigh*'s faith;
Yes, I have ſeen him when the tempeſt rag'd,
When from the precipice of mountain-waves,
All hearts have trembled at the gulph below;
He with a ſteddy, ſupplicating look,
Diſplay'd his truſt in that tremendous pow'r,
Who curbs the billows, and cuts ſhort the wings
Of the rude whirlwind in its midway courſe,
And bids the madneſs of the waves to ceaſe.
O *fellow-ſoldier!* were that folly thine;
Tho' thou wert dearer than the love of honour
To this old boſom; I would pluck thee hence,
Tho' my heart crack'd———————

b *Francis Oſborne*'s *Miſcellany* of ſundry *Eſſays*, *Paradoxes*, *&c.* in preface to the reader, among his works the laſt edition, vol. 1. 12mo. 1722.

c Sir *Walter Raleigh's Ghoſt*: or his Apparition to an intimate friend, willing him to tranſlate into *Engliſh* the learned book of *Leonard Leſſius*, entitled, *De Providentiâ Numinis*, *& animi immortalitate*, *&c.* 8vo. 1651. with Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s picture before it, graved by *R. Vaughan*.

d *Ant. Wood Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 460.

light

light wherewith he ſhone: [a] this was that excellent mathematician, who, ſays our author *Wood* aforeſaid, "coming to the knowledge of this heroic knight Sir *Walter Ralegh*, was entertain'd "by him in his family, who allow'd him a yearly penſion, [b] and was inſtructed by him at "leiſure hours in that ſcience." [c] This was that virtuous and religious man, who, being ſent over by Sir *Walter Ralegh* with his firſt colony to *Virginia*, but did not bear him company, as the ſaid author miſtakes, to ſurvey the bounds of the *Engliſh* diſcoveries, with the commodities and cuſtoms of the country, did firſt communicate the goſpel to thoſe heathen inhabitants; and, "in every town where he came, explained to them the contents of the Bible; declaring, "that therein was ſet forth the true and only *God*, and his mighty works; that therein was "contain'd the true doctrine of ſalvation through *Chriſt*; with many particulars of miracles "and chief points of religion, as I was able then to utter (continues he) and thought fit for the "time. And tho' I told them the book, materially and of itſelf, was not of ſuch vertue as I "thought they did conceive, but only the doctrine therein contain'd; yet would many be glad "to touch it, to embrace it, to kiſs it, to hold it to their breaſts and heads, and ſtroke over "all their bodies with it, to ſhew their hungry deſire of that knowledge which was ſpoken "of." [d] Yet this is the man whom the above-cited *Anthony Wood* charges with having had ſtrange thoughts of the ſcripture; with undervaluing the old ſtory of the creation; with never believing that trite poſition *Ex nihilo nihil fit*; with making a *philoſophical Theology*, wherein he caſt off the *Old Teſtament*; ſo that conſequently the *New* would have no foundation. Further, with being a Deiſt, and imparting his doctrine to the earl of *Northumberland*, into whoſe ſervice *Ralegh* had recommended him, and of whom he alſo receiv'd a yearly penſion of a hundred and twenty pounds. Laſtly, with infuſing thoſe principles likewiſe into Sir *Walter Ralegh* himſelf, when he was compiling his *Hiſtory of the World*. This laſt inſinuation, and probably all the reſt, is ſurely a manifeſt ſlander, as *Wood* himſelf muſt have own'd, if he had ſufficiently read that *Hiſtory of the World*; where Sir *Walter Ralegh* has, in many places, given ſtronger evidences of his Chriſtian faith, than any of his detractors ever did of theirs. And however *Hariot* might controvert certain theological matters with ſome divines of thoſe times, which made them have no good opinion of him (ſays *Wood*) and look upon the manner of his death as a judgment; not unlike the charity of ſome divines in all times; yet enough of his religious character [e] might be ſaid, as there has been of his patron, Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s, to clear them both from this common and threadbear calumny.

As for *Ralegh*, what might not a little ſharpen theſe detractions againſt him, was perhaps a grant about this time made him from the crown of ſome church-lands; a courſe of reward uſual with queen *Elizabeth* towards ſuch as had perform'd any conſiderable ſervices for the ſtate. The

[a] This aſſertion will further appear to any who ſhall have the curioſity to conſult the late learned Dr. *John Wallis*, in his treatiſe of *Algebra*, where he compares the improvements which *Hariot* made, with what *Deſcartes* has advanced, as his own, without mentioning the name of this *Engliſhman* in his *Geometry*; and gives it clearly on *Hariot*'s ſide. Nay, this *Plagiariſm* was ſo well known, as to have been objected againſt Monſieur *Deſcartes* in his own country; and the *Frenchman*, who has paid the ſingular honours to his memory of writing his life, having confeſs'd it was the opinion of ſome, that he ſtole his method of *Algebra* from one *Hariot*, an *Engliſhman*, does not go about to contradict it. See the life of Monſieur *Deſcartes*, tranſlated from the *French* by *S. R.* 8vo. *Lond.* 1693. p. 283.

[b] *Vid. Pref. R. Hakluyt ad orbem novum, ſcriptum per Pet. Martyr. Angler.* 8vo. *Paris*, 1587. of which I have met with this note,

Editor dicat Gualtero Ralegho, quem impensè laudat: Bibliopola vero Chartam Geographicam Ricardo Hakluyto dicat.

[c] *Athen. Oxon ubi ſupra.*

[d] See Mr. *Hariot*'s brief and true Report of the *Newfoundland* of *Virginia*, &c. in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 277, 278.

[e] For would Dr. *Richard Corbet*, as orthodox a divine as any of them, and afterwards a biſhop of the Church, tell Sir *Thomas Aylesbury*, *That* Hariot's *deep mine was without droſs*, if it had any ſuch *allay*? See his *Poems*, 8vo. 3d edit. 1672. p. 56. Would another as grave and virtuous an author as any in thoſe times, Mr. *George Chapman*, his contemporary, tell all who knew him, in the preface to his *Homer*'s *Iliad*, "That ſome places he had "ſhewn to his worthy and moſt learned friend Mr. *Hariot*; "whoſe judgment and knowledge in all kinds I know "(ſays he) to be incomparable and bottomleſs; yea, to "be admir'd as much, as *his moſt blameleſs life, and the "right ſacred expence of his time, is to be honour'd and "reverenc'd*; if this were not his true character." Nor is it likely the earl of *Northumberland* would alſo have made ſuch a man a domeſtic, and allowed him ſo handſome a ſalary, to have infected his ſons with atheiſtical principles: neither would *Hariot*'s noble executors, Sir *Thomas Aylesbury*, and *Robert Sidney*, viſcount *Liſle*, have beſtowed on him in *St. Chriſtopher*'s Church, *London*, where he was buried in *July* 1621, a monument, ſince deſtroyed by the great fire, with an inſcription that might have been contradicted by all the town, if it had been falſe; beginning as follows: *Omnes ſcientias calluit, & in omnibus excelluit; Mathematicis, Philoſophicis, Theologicis, veritatis indagator ſtudioſiſſimus, Dei Triniunius cultor piiſſimus, &c.* As to the manner of his death, Dr. *Alex. Rhead*, in his works, *Lond.* 1650. treat. 2. lect. 26. ſpeaking of the lip, ſays, "That cancerous ulcers often ſeize "on that part; and that this grief haſtned the end of "that famous mathematician Mr. *Hariot*, with whom I "was acquainted (ſays he) but a ſhort time before his "death." He adds none of thoſe ſcandalous reflections aforeſaid; and whether it begun firſt in his lip, ſeems not to have known; tho' poſſibly the braſs inſtruments which mathematicians are ſo familiar with, and, for readineſs, often hold in their mouths, might occaſion ſuch a diſeaſe. But I have ſeen an epigram in MS. as old as the time of his death, which makes an alluſion or compariſon between the ulcer in Mr. *Hariot*'s *Noſe*, and that in Count *Gondomar*'s *Poſteriors* (who had a Fiſtula) and my reader may ſee that Epigram too, if he pleaſes; for it is lately printed by Mr. *Morgan*, in his *Phœnix Britannicus*, or *Revival of ſcarce Tracts*, 4to. 1731. p. 368. As to his learned writings, they are mentioned by *Ant. Wood*; but not all of them, for he wrote a Chronicle of *Virginia*, beſides the *Brief Report* thereof before quoted; and mentions the particulars of that Chronicle in the ſaid *Brief Report*. See *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 280.

ſtory,

ſtory, as we are forc'd to gather it from thoſe authors, by whom it has not been over-favourably told, is, That about the year 1594[a] the biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *John Coldwell*, who had been bred a phyſician, gave his ſee a ſtrong purge, by alienating the manor of *Sherborne* to Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Sir *John Harrington*, before quoted, ſpeaks of an ominous preſage, to make his tale as affecting as he can to prince *Henry*, and inſinuate the diſpleaſure even of Heaven againſt Sir *Walter Raleigh*; where he obſerves, "That Sir *Walter*, uſing often to ride "poſt in theſe days, upon no ſmall employments, between *Plymouth* and the court, when "*Sherborne* caſtle being right in the way, he caſt ſuch an eye upon it, as *Ahab* did (ſays he) upon "*Naboth*'s vineyard; and once above the reſt being talking of it; of the commodiouſneſs of "the place; of the ſtrength of the ſeat; and how eaſily it might be got from the biſhoprick; "ſuddenly, over and over came his horſe; that his very face, which was then thought a very "good face, plough'd up the earth where he fell. This fall was ominous, I make no queſtion "(ſays he) as the like was obſerv'd in the lord *Haſtings*, *&c.* but his brother *Adrian* would "needs have him interpret that, not as a courtier, but as a conqueror, it preſaged the quiet "poſſeſſion thereof. And this, through the queen's favour, came to paſs:"[b] for after Dr. *John Piers* was tranſlated to *York*, this Dr. *Coldwell* was elected to ſucceed him in the ſee of *Salisbury*; but it lay vacant three years: in which dangerous juncture for denial, all the Doctor's church-preferments being diſpos'd of, yet before his election was confirm'd, Sir *Walter Raleigh* (as the church-hiſtorians have colour'd it out) aſſaulted his conſent; importun'd him to paſs *Sherborne* to the crown, and effected it; ſo ſhot the good old man (as one of them phraſes it) *between wind and water*; tho' indeed (confeſſes) a good round rent was reſerved to the biſhoprick.

His manor of *Sherborne*,

Then Sir *Walter* begg'd the ſame of the queen, and obtain'd it; much after the ſame method Sir *William Killigrew* got the manor of *Crediton* (a bough almoſt as big as the reſt of the body) from the church of *Exeter*, by the conſent of biſhop *Babington*.[c] We ſhall leave it for *Harrington* to determine whether *Raleigh*, who was now ſo high in the queen's favour, might with leſs ſuit than he was fain to make to her before he could perfect this purchaſe (as he perhaps at laſt juſtly calls it) and with leſs money than he beſtowed afterwards on *Sherborne*, in buying out leaſes and in drawing the river through rocks into his garden, have compaſſed a better, without giving umbrage to church or ſtate: while from others we obſerve, that *Raleigh* embelliſh'd his ſoveraign's bounty with great magnificence and commendation; not that he was in danger thereby of falling under the remark he has made on common builders of ſumptuous ſeats, *That men are rather known by their* houſes, *than their houſes by* them;[d] it not being eaſy for him, who had been ſuch a ſolid architect in the temple of fame, to make his habitation more conſiderable than its inhabitant, or raiſe any edifice with his fortune, which ſhould be more illuſtrious than what he had already founded by his virtue. Yet his elegant taſte in building is ſufficiently atteſted by an author who ſurvey'd the improvements he made upon this eſtate when they were freſh and in their ſplendor, and who tells us, "That the queen having

And buildings there.

"granted the fee-farm of *Sherborne* to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, he began to build the caſtle very "fairly; but altering his purpoſe, he built in the park adjoining a moſt fine houſe, which he "beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves of much variety and great delight: ſo that, whe-"ther you conſider the pleaſantneſs of the ſeat, the goodneſs of the ſoil, or the other delica-"cies belonging to it, it reſts (ſays he) unparallel'd by any in theſe parts."[e] How he came afterwards to be juggled out of it, may alſo ſufficiently appear when we arrive at the latter part of his life. But here, ſince we have touch'd ſomething upon gardening, we may take an opportunity of remembring a plantation of his, which is ſomewhat obſervable. A late author mentions it with reſpect to him, but in a diſtant manner; where, telling us, "That "*Beddington* near *Croydon* in *Surrey*, is a neat curious ſeat, built by Sir *Francis Carew*,"[f] he further adds; "The orchards and gardens are very pleaſant, and eſpecially famous for

[a] *Richard Iſacke*'s *Antiquities of Exeter*, 8vo. 1681. p. 141.

[b] *Harrington*'s *Brief View* of the *State of the Church of England*, *&c.* p. 92.

[c] *Fuller*'s *Church-Hiſtory*, lib. 10. p. 27. Where he alſo obſerves, that among the acts paſſed in king *James* the firſt's parliament, none were more beneficial for the church, than that which made the king himſelf and his ſucceſſors incapable of any ſuch church-land to be convey'd to them; yet ſome (adds he) were ſo bold as to conceive this law void in the very making of it, and that all the obligations thereof conſiſted (not in the ſtrength of the law) but only in the king's and his ſucceſſors voluntary obedience thereunto: accounting it injurious for any prince in parliament to tie up his ſucceſſors, who neither can nor will be concluded thereby further than it ſtands with their own convenience: however, it was to ſtand in force till the ſame power ſhould be pleaſed to reſcind it.

[d] *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 5. ſect. 4. cap. 1.

[e] See *Coker*'s *Survey of Dorſetſhire*, fol. 1732. p. 124.

[f] *Fuller*, in his *Worthies of Surrey*, ſays, it was Sir *Nicholas Carew* (put to death by king *Henry* VIII. for retorting ſome ſharp words upon him, with more truth than diſcretion) who built the fair houſe, or palace rather, at *Beddington*, which by the advantage of the water is a paradiſe of pleaſure. However Sir *Francis*, who was a curious and polite gentleman, and lived very nobly here the latter end of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, did enrich it with conſiderable improvements.

" the orange-trees, which have now grown there above theſe hundred years; being planted in the " open-ground, under a moveable covert, during the winter months; they were the firſt that were " brought into *England*, by a knight of that noble family; who deſerves no leſs commenda- " tion than *Lucullus* met with for bringing cherry and filbert-trees out of *Pontus* into *Italy*; " for which he is celebrated by *Pliny* and others."[a] Now it has been a conſtant tradition at *Beddington*, that this knight of that noble family was Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who was allied thereto, if not otherwiſe, by the laſt of that ſirname's adopting his near kinſman, a *Throgmorton*, to be his heir, on condition that he would aſſume the name and arms of *Carew*;[b] and how *Ralegh* became related to the *Throgmortons*, will in a little ſpace appear. But that we might not here want ſuch further confirmation, as the place will afford, of the firſt planter of that famous orangery, whereof there are ſeveral trees ſtill flouriſhing of the original plantation, which are the ſtatelieſt and moſt perfect bearers of this fruit in *England*, I have been oblig'd with the gentleman's *Anſwer* to the *Enquiry*, who now dwells at the ſeat; and his words are, " 'Tis the common opinion " of this family, that Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who was related to it, brought over and planted the " old orange-trees here."[c] But in the houſe they preſerv'd a fine cabbin-bed which was his, having furniture of green ſilk and legs carved like dolphins, gilt with gold. In ſhort, the ſeat was now ſo frequented, that not only *Ralegh* and other courtiers, but the queen received here many agreeable entertainments;[d] for ſome of which ſhe could not eſcape the cenſure of her jeſuited enemies.

His orangery at *Beddington*.

Of the other places of reſidence which *Ralegh* might have, beſides what is before-mention'd, to compaſs a perfect knowledge, would need more time and pains than at laſt perhaps might be thought neceſſary here to beſtow. As to the ſeat at *Weſt-Horſely* in *Surrey*, there is good authority that it was in the poſſeſſion of his ſon, as will be further obſerv'd, if not his own; and in the hall of that houſe, there are in ſeveral places of the walls and cieling the arms of *Ralegh* ſtill viſible.[e] But there is a houſe no farther from *London* than *Iſlington*, about a bow's-ſhot on this ſide the church, which, tho' I think it has no ſuch evidences remaining upon its walls, cielings, or windows, that will prove him to have been its owner, the arms that are ſeen there, above a hundred years old, being of a ſucceeding inhabitant; is

His houſe at *Iſlington*.

[a] Addit. to *Camden*'s *Britan.* tranſlat. by the preſent biſhop of *London*, fol. 1695. p. 166. upon which we may obſerve, tho' the *Engliſh* have not been ſo grateful as the *Romans* were in celebrating thoſe worthy perſons who have made the like beneficial importations to the laſting ornament and fertility of their country; yet that we have had ſome authors not altogether ſilent in theſe vegetable antiquities, from whom we learn, that Dr. *Linacre* firſt brought into this land that prince of flowers the *Damaſk Roſe*; that the *Perdigwen Plum*, with two kinds more, were firſt made natives of this ſoil by *Thomas* lord *Cromwell*, when he return'd from his travels; and the *Apricock*, by a prieſt named *Wolſe*, gardener to king *Henry* VIII. In this reign were alſo firſt propagated among us *Hops* and *Artichokes*; and then were *Cherry* orchards firſt planted here, about *Sittingborne* in *Kent*, with a more improv'd kind of that fruit, brought from *Flanders* by one *Harris*, another of that king's gardeners: but what effect *Cardan*'s recommendation of *Olive*-trees had with king *Edward* VI. I find not. In the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, when *Edmund Grindal*, afterwards archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, return'd from exile, he firſt tranſported the *Tamerisk*, ſo uſeful in medicine againſt diſeaſes of the *Spleen*. Then alſo after our opening a trade with *Zant*, the ſhrub which bears the *currans* was firſt tranſplanted hither. In 1578 the *Tulip* firſt ſhewed her gaudy garment in *Engliſh* ground; and, laſtly, not to extend further on this ſubject now, as for the profitable plant *Tobacco*, and that princely one the *Orange*-tree, enough is ſaid above, in the body of this work, to the honour of Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

[b] *Fuller*'s *Worthies*, as before.

[c] Extract of a letter from *Beddington*, dated *Dec.* 19. 1733.

[d] Sir *Hugh Plat* informs us, " That delicate knight " Sir *Francis Carew*, once making a ſplendid entertain- " ment for queen *Elizabeth* at *Beddington*, led her majeſty, " after dinner, to a *Cherry-tree* in his garden, which had on " it fruit in their prime, then above a month after all cher- " ries had taken their farewell of *England*. This retardation " he perform'd by ſtraining a tent or canvas cover over the " whole tree, and wetting it as the weather requir'd with " a ſcoop; ſo by obſtructing the ſun-beams, they grew " both great, and were very long before they gain'd their " perfect cherry-colour; and when he was aſſur'd of the " time her majeſty would come, he remov'd the tent, and " a few ſunny days brought them to their full maturity." See his *Garden of Eden*, 12mo. 1655. p. 165.

[e] With a draught whereof having been oblig'd (among many other uſeful particulars) by the ingenious Mr. *George Vertue*, I find that coat agree with the arms upon Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ſeal in yellow wax to the letter before exhibited; and alſo with the draught repreſented before his life, in *Prince*'s *Worthies of Devon*; where, as this author blazons it, he bears *Gules, three Fuſils in Bend Argent*. But *Prince* further adds, *a Label of three Points Azure*; which the draught from *Horſely-Hall* does not ſpecify: neither do I remember to have obſerved this diſtinction in the impreſſion of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ſaid ſeal. Nor is it in that ſeal, of which a fair impreſſion remains, upon another letter he wrote about this time to the lord-treaſurer's ſecretary *Hext* or *Hicks*, alſo before-mention'd; and lately communicated to me by the obliging *James Weſt* Eſq; where the creſt is the ſame with that in the other ſeal; but in the *dexter-chief* of the ſhield, that other *family-diſtinction* of a *martlet*, as I take it. As for his creſt, it appears in thoſe ſeals as I before remark'd, to have been a ſtag, or other like animal; but at *Horſely*, and under the ſculpture of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, before his *Hiſtory of the World*, it is, I think, a *Cap of Honour*; to which poſſibly it might afterwards be chang'd for his further merits of it. And as for the motto, it is at *Horſely*, *Amore & virtute*; as alſo to his arms before the hiſtory aforeſaid. *Hooker*, in his dedication of the *Iriſh* chronicles; often before-quoted, explaining or mythologiſing the ſignatures of *Ralegh*'s arms, ſhews us at the ſame time what they were. For telling him he is taught to be careful in reſtoring the houſe of his decay'd fore-fathers, not only by their good examples, but alſo by the enſigns of their and his own nobility; he adds, " the " *Fuſils* being an inſtrument of travel and labour, adver- " tiſe you that you are one of the ſons of *Adam*, born to " walk in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable " member of the Church of God, and in maintenance " of the common ſociety. The *white* colour or ſilver " metal, doth teach you virtue, ſincerity, and godli- " neſs, *&c.* And therewith alſo, which by the *gulie* co- " lour is meant—You be bold and valiant for the defence " of your country, and for the ſafety thereof to ſpend " both life and goods: ſuch were your anceſtors, and " ſo it ſhall be with you," *&c.* which, by the way, was a perfect prophecy.

yet popularly reported to have been a *villa* of his. For the preſent tenant affirms, "his land-"lord[a] was poſſeſs'd of ſome old-account-books, by which it appears beyond all doubt this houſe "and fourteen acres of land, now let at about ſeventy pounds *per Ann.* did belong to Sir *Walter* "*Ralegh*; and that the oldeſt man in the pariſh[b] would often declare his father had told him, "Sir *Walter* purpoſed to wall in that ground, with intention to keep ſome of his horſes therein; "further, that ſome huſbandmen ploughing up the ſame a few years ſince, found ſeveral pieces "of queen *Elizabeth*'s money, whereof they brought, whatever they might reſerve to them-"ſelves, about fourſcore ſhillings to their maſter, the ſaid tenant," in whoſe hands I have ſeen of the ſaid coin. As for the houſe, it is, and has been for many years, an inn; ſo that what it was, is not clearly to be judg'd from its preſent outward appearance, it being much impair'd, or very coarſely repair'd, and diminiſh'd perhaps from what it might be when perſons of diſtinction liv'd in it. For there is now to be ſeen but a narrow front, which ſoon coming to an angle, ſhoots down backwards only one range of buildings; as if another part of the front was wanting on this ſide, for the gateway to appear in the middle, and ſuch another range of buildings where the new parſonage-houſe now ſtands, to make the whole uniform. However, there are within-ſide ſome handſome ſpacious rooms; the parlour was painted round the upper-moſt part of the wainſcot in about a dozen pannels with ſcripture hiſtories; but now ſo old and decay'd, as to be ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable. There is alſo a noble dining-room, the cieling whereof is all over wrought in *plaſtic* or fret-work, with repreſentations of the *Five Senſes*; and the chimney-piece, with the *Three principal Chriſtian Virtues*. But the arms in the window, as well as in that of the hall, are by the preſent inhabitants erroneouſly call'd Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s; there being a date under one of the coats, which ſhews it was *aneal'd* ſix years after his death. So that we are not ſure the decorations aforeſaid were done by his direction, or that others more rich and elegant were not in their ſtead before them. As for his dwellings in *London*, we have read before that he had apartments in the court at *Somerſet-houſe*, and ſhall read hereafter of ſome acquaintance reſorting to him at *Durham-houſe* in the *Strand*: that he had a houſe by the *Thames*-ſide, which might be the ſame; and another at *St. James*'s, or apartments alſo in the court there; but to be diſtinct and particular in theſe, would be a task perhaps more difficult than profitable to attempt.

THE truth is, Sir *Walter Ralegh* did not live ſo long at court, and ſo much about the dazling beauties in it, without having the wings of his glory, at laſt, ſomewhat ſindg'd in the flames thereof: yet love, which in ſome other great courtiers of thoſe times, was the grand buſineſs of their life, ſeemed only an interlude in his. And tho' a gratification of this paſſion is uſually thought lighter of in martial men, and thoſe embarraſs'd with the weight of public action, as a convenient relaxation of their cares, or reward of their toils and perils; yet a more ſevere conſtruction was made of a little indulgence *Ralegh* might about this time take of that kind, than was in ſome others, who more frequently and notoriouſly made a practice thereof. Whether it was that his greater merits, in other parts of his conduct, made malice more poinant in this; or that little failings are not thought ſuch in thoſe where we commonly ſee, and therefore conſtantly expect, great virtues; whereby men of ſuperior qualifications undergo greater diſcredit than their inferiors for the ſame miſdeeds; as any diſproportion or disfigurement in a ſtatue of gold or alabaſter gives us more diſpleaſure than one in ſtone or common clay; and we look with regret upon the flaws in a diamond, while even greater in the flint do not affect us: but this ſeems to have been *Ralegh*'s caſe. For there was among the queen's maids of honour a beautiful young lady (as her picture repreſents her) named *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, an able ſtateſman and ambaſſador, whoſe negociations and character are recorded both by the *French* and *Scotch*, as well as *Engliſh* hiſtorians of thoſe times.[c] With this lady, *Ralegh* had it ſeems an amour; and, as he was a man of nervous addreſs, won her heart even to the laſt favour (if we may uſe the phraſe of a polite author) incluſive. This intimacy came at laſt to the queen's knowledge; whether enviouſly betray'd by any female confident, as ſome might apprehend, from a character *Ralegh* would beſtow upon the ladies of the privy-chamber and bed-chamber; being wont to ſay, *They were like witches who could do hurt, but could do no good*:[d] or whether the intrigue could not be long conceal'd for the fruits of it, as ſome, who manifeſtly ſlander *Ralegh* in other particulars, have not ſcrupled to ſuggeſt, the reader has it in his choice to believe. But in ſuch colours this matter of devirginating a maid of honour was heighten'd, that *Ralegh* was out of favour again; alſo in confinement for ſeveral months; and when enlarg'd, forbidden the court;[e] whence the lady alſo was diſmiſs'd

a Juſtice *Milner*, late of *Hatton-Garden*.
b Mr. *Whitford*, as I remember, lately deceas'd.
c *Vide Thuanus*, *Wicquefort*, *Melvin*, *Camden*'s *Annals*, the *Cabala*, and *Leiceſter's Commonwealth*.
d Lord *Bacon*'s *Apophthegmes* new and old, 8vo. 1625. p. 45.
e *Camden*'s *Annals*, 1595.

from

from her attendance. Yet, as heinous as this miſdemeanor was in *Ralegh*, her majeſty did not puniſh it in *Leiceſter*, *Eſſex*, and other courtiers, noted in their days for ſuch intrigues; eſpecially the former, who turn'd off *Douglas Sheffield*, by whom he had a ſon, to marry the earl of *Eſſex*'s mother. But *Ralegh* very readily made the moſt honourable reparation he could, and cemented this flaw in their conduct, by marrying the object of his affection. Married. It appears they lived together ever after in the moſt exemplary degree of conjugal harmony; and when he was in his greateſt troubles, there are teſtimonies from one, who was otherwiſe none of his greateſt friends, of her extraordinary diligence and fidelity in making intereſt and applications to aſſuage them.[a] What his thoughts were of a married life, in compariſon with a ſingle one, may ſomewhat appear in that obſervation he made upon a certain nobleman's growing plump after matrimony, who was meagre before; for another perſon in company remarking thereupon, that it fared with him contrary to what it did with other married men, who uſually at firſt became lean after it; *Ralegh* very pleaſantly obviated the rarity, by ſaying, *Why there is no beaſt, that, if you take him from the* common, *and put him into the* ſeveral, *but he will grow fat.*[b] Many years afterwards, when *Ralegh* wrote his *inſtructions to his ſon*, he ſufficiently explained this ſentiment in the grave and paternal manner he is then writing, among others there laid down for his conduct in the *choice of a wife*; which topic he concludes, with adviſing him "to beſtow his youth ſo, that he may have comfort to remember it when it has forſaken "him." And further, amongſt the judicious precepts he there gives, one of them is; "That his ſon would evermore care to be beloved *by* his wife, than be beſotted *on* her." That in regard to the alterations of youthful affection, "If he cannot forbear to *love*, yet for-"bear to *link*." However, approves of a mature and ſettled choice at laſt, even while he is upon the ſtage of his virility. "For, believe it, the young wife betrayeth the old huſband; "and ſhe that had thee not in thy *flower*, will deſpiſe thee in thy *fall*." But not to marry for beauty only; "leſt thou bind thy ſelf for life, to that which perchance will never laſt or "pleaſe one year." Nor yet an uncomely woman; "as much regard being due at leaſt to "our own iſſue as to any other race of creatures; and comelineſs in children is riches, if no-"thing elſe be left them. He remains perhaps pretty ſafe in this opinion from many cenſures by the hard-favour'd part of the ſex, becauſe he knew that few ladies would be poſitive upon this head in their right to reprove him; nor will widows believe he has treated them with rigor, while they remain in that ſtate, ſince he has ſaid, "Leave not thy wife to be a ſhame unto thee "after thou art dead; but that ſhe may live according to thy eſtate; eſpecially if thou haſt "few children, and thoſe provided for." Tho' he does alſo further ſay, "Leave her no "more than of neceſſity thou muſt, but only during her widowhood; for if ſhe love again, let "her not enjoy her ſecond love in the ſame bed wherein ſhe loved thee; nor fly to future "pleaſures with thoſe feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings."[c] Not that he was averſe to ſecond marriages, for he adviſed his own wife to marry again when he was in expectation of being ſuddenly divided for ever from her.[d] Many other weighty admonitions may be found relating to that ſex among his writings, ſome of which we meet with, quoted by our moſt accompliſh'd humaniſts and critics in the manners and paſſions of life, as from an author who had read their hearts through all their veils and diſguiſes: but one of thoſe writers, tho' he allows him all the advantageous views of life through ſuch a variety of ſcenes; as "having lived "in courts and camps; travell'd through many countries; ſeen many men under ſeveral cli-"mates, and of as various complexions;" yet thinks (in which every body will not agree) "he ſpeaks of our impotence to reſiſt the wiles of women, in very ſevere terms;"[e] where *Ralegh* has upon the ſolid ground of the greateſt examples admoniſhed us, to what fatal inconveniences mankind is allur'd by their reſtleſs curioſity of knowing what is unfit for their knowledge, and the prevailing expedients to gratify it of diſſimulate ſorrow and unquietneſs.[f]

While *Ralegh* was under the diſpleaſure aforeſaid, and in retirement, he projected a further removal from the court; the better by that diſtance, and ſome memorable exploit, to allay the malice of his enemies, and recover his ſoveraign's love. Some thought this an impolitic courſe; as if his foreign actions could not work ſo effectually to his advantage, as the applications of his adverſaries to his diſparagement.[g] And hereupon Sir *Robert Naunton* ſays, "That find-"ing his favour declining, and falling into a receſs, he undertook a new peregrination to leave

[a] Sir *John Harrington*, in his *Brief View* aforeſaid.
[b] Lord *Bacon*'s *Apophthegms* new and old, p. 295.
[c] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Remains*, 12mo. 1726. p. 62.
[d] The arraignment of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, copied by Sir *Thomas Overbury*, 4to. 1648. p. *ult.* and *Ralegh*'s *Remains* aforeſaid, p. 195.
[e] See the *Spectator*, vol. VII. n°. 510.
[f] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 1. cap. 4. ſect. 4.
[g] *Lloyd*'s obſervations on the ſtateſmen and favourites of *England*, 8vo. 1665. p. 488.

"that

" that *Terra infirma* of the court, for that of the wars, and by declining himſelf, and by ab-
" ſence to expel his and the paſſion of his enemies; which in court (ſays he) was a ſtrange
" device of recovery; but that he knew there was ſome ill office done him, that he durſt not
" attempt to mind any other ways than by going aſide, thereby to teach envy a new way of
" forgetfulneſs, and not ſo much as to think of him: howſoever, he had it always in mind ne-
" ver to forget himſelf; and his device took ſo well, that at his return he came in, as rams do
" by going backwards, with the greater ſtrength; and ſo continued to the laſt great in her
" grace." [a] Thus alſo ſays another author, " His enemies of greater rank kept him under;
" ſometimes in, ſometimes out; and then he would wiſely decline himſelf out of the *court-road*;
" and then you found him not but by fame; in voyages to the *Weſt-Indies*, *Guiana*, *New Plan-*
" *tations*, *Virginia*, or in ſome expeditions againſt the *Spaniard*." [b] And thus writes a third to the ſame purpoſe: " 'Tis obſervable, that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was in and out at court ſo
" often, that he was commonly call'd the *Tennis-Ball of Fortune* which ſhe delighted to ſport
" with. His enemies perpetually brought him into diſgrace with his miſtreſs, and his merit in
" a little time reſtor'd him again to her favour: and as ſhe always grew cold to the earl of
" *Eſſex* after abſence; ſo ſhe ever receiv'd *Ralegh* with greater marks of her eſteem; and he
" was too hard for his rivals by the very means which they intended for his deſtruction." [c]
Certainly he deſerved ſuch good fortune, beyond all others, of a reſtitution to royal favour, who could ſo much more hazardouſly and heroically than any of them aſpire to earn it; as now he abundantly manifeſted, in that grand and gallant undertaking to diſcover and conquer the large, rich, and beautiful empire of *Guiana*; an enterprize which had baffled the repeated efforts of ſome of the ableſt and moſt renowned captains and cavaliers in *Spain* for near a hundred years paſt: for, in one of their own authors, we may read the names of many brave commanders, and their commendations for the miſeries they endur'd, who within that ſpace had trod this maze, and loſt themſelves, with ſome, five hundred, ſome a thouſand men apiece, in finding out this country. [d] And yet none of all their own authors have more nobly and liberally celebrated theſe, and other ſuch like adventurers of the *Spaniſh* nation, than *Ralegh* himſelf has done. [e] How juſtly therefore his painful and perilous enterpriſe for the ſame diſcovery, will entitle him to praiſes equal with the moſt worthy of them, may ſoon appear, now that we are lanching forth into the ſpacious and meandrous channels thereof.

FOR *Ralegh*, induſtrious in diving into the cauſes of ſo many failures, having inform'd himſelf what ambient courſes the preceding adventurers had taken to arrive at the heart of the country they ſought, and which was the ſhorteſt way to make a ſucceſsful diſcovery, found that moſt of the *Spaniſh* attempts in theſe parts had fail'd, through the mutinies and diſcords which they had fomented among themſelves; as moſt of their conqueſts in others, were much owing to the like factions among the *Americans*: and if " there was not an expert ſoldier or ſeaman
" but he conſulted (as one author obſerves upon his character in general) nor a printed or
" manuſcript diſcourſe but he peruſed; whereby it came to paſs, there were not exacter rules
" or principles for both ſervices then he drew:" [f] much more may we believe he now particularly made uſe of theſe helps and lights to draw thoſe rules and directions by which this year (laſt mention'd, 1594) he gave to an old officer, captain *Whiddon*, whoſe experience he had before try'd, for a voyage to the country aforeſaid: and this ſame year that captain alſo return'd from thence, with ſeveral inducing confirmations of the grandeur and opulency of *Guiana*, having learnt the ſame from ſome of the grand *caſiques*, or principal rulers, upon the borders thereof; but not without complaints of ſome barbarous treachery from the *Spaniſh* governor, who had then got ſome footing there; and, after promiſes of ſuffering the *Engliſhmen* to furniſh themſelves with what ſupplies they wanted, decoy'd ſeveral of them to their deſtruction. *Ralegh*

a *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 29.
b *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, p. 78.
c Life of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in *Lives Engliſh and Foreign*, vol. I. p. 98.
d *Juan de Caſtellanos clerigo*, in his book entitled, *Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illuſtres de Indias*.
e Sir *Walter Ralegh* expreſly points at the *Spaniſh* attempts upon *Guiana*, as any one may perceive who has read *Caſtellano*'s *Elogies*, juſt before quoted, where he ſays, " Here I cannot forbare to commend the patient virtue of
" the *Spaniards*. We ſeldom or never find that any na-
" tion hath endured ſo many miſadventures and miſeries as
" the *Spaniards* have done in their *Indian Diſcoveries*; yet
" perſiſting in their enterpriſes with an invincible conſtancy,
" they have annexed to their kingdoms ſo many goodly
" provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers paſt.
" *Tempeſts*, *ſhipwreck*, *famine*, *overthrows*, *mutinies*, *heat*
" *and cold*, *peſtilence*, and all manner of *diſeaſes*, both old
" and new; together with extreme *poverty* and want of
" all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith
" every one of their moſt noble diſcoverers, at one time or
" other, hath encounter'd. Many *years* have paſſed over
" ſome of their heads in the ſearch of not ſo many *leagues*;
" yea, more than one or two have ſpent their labour, their
" wealth, and their lives, in ſearch of a *golden kingdom*,
" without getting further notice of it, than what they had
" at their firſt letting forth. All which notwithſtanding,
" the third, fourth, and fifth, have not been diſhearten'd.
" Surely they are worthily rewarded with thoſe treaſuries
" and paradiſes which they enjoy; and well they deſerve
" to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtues
" in others, which (perhaps) will not be found." *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. ſect. 10.
f *Lloyd's obſervations on the ſtateſmen and favourites of England*, p. 486.

had

had thus more ſpurs than one, inciting him to viſit theſe regions in perſon; and the ſcheme he form'd upon an anſwerable return, might, according to the probability of his own propoſitions, which will not be paſs'd over, being founded upon the teſtimonies of the beſt inform'd writers, and intelligence of travellers into the country, have ſubjugated not only the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, but *Spain* it ſelf, to the crown of *England*: for if we could but compaſs golden territories in *America*, as the *Spaniards* had done, he doubted not to extend the empire of his royal miſtreſs as far beyond the dominion of other *European* princes, as ſhe ſurpaſs'd them in her magnanimous virtues. And now this *golden country* made ſuch invitations, being then no leſs, if not more confidently deſcrib'd and atteſted for ſuch, than any other in thoſe parts of the world,[a] at leaſt before they were perfectly diſcover'd; he chearfully determin'd, in queſt thereof, tho' through an ocean of difficulties, to waſh away the malice of his adverſaries at court, and render his character more impenetrable againſt the little cenſures which ſwarm in that theatre of circumvention to ſting and feſter ſuperior merit: as if he thought no foreign expedition could be more hazardous to the brave, or ſuch as cannot live without diſtinguiſhing themſelves, than the buſy factions and parties which are daily undermining them at home; but that, like *Chabrias*, and others of the greateſt *Athenians* in his time, he ſhould be remov'd from envy, as far as he was diſtant from his native country. With ſuch like views *Ralegh* very ſpeedily fitted out a fleet, and at a great expence; tho' the lord admiral *Howard* and Sir *Robert Cecyl* were at the further charge of augmenting it; ſuch opinion they alſo had of this enterpriſe. We may diſtinguiſh five ſhips under him, beſides barges, wherries, and other neceſſary tenders, in his own excellent *narrative* of this voyage, tho' he names them not at firſt ſetting out; becauſe he ſeems not to have been then accompanied with more than one of them: but, as they afterwards join'd him, he mentions them. Whence we underſtand, the ſhip himſelf went in was his own, which he does not name; but the *Lion's Whelp*, which was the lord-admiral's, was commanded by captain *George Gifford*; captain *Keymis* had the command of a *galego*, beſides a bark, which was committed to captain *Croſs*, and another to captain *Calfield*. The whole number of men in this fleet is not mention'd; but the ſelect company of officers, gentlemen and ſoldiers, he us'd in his diſcoveries, exceeded not one hundred. Thus prepar'd, he departed from *Plymouth* on the ſixth of *February* following, and made to the *Grand Canaries*, and ſo to *Tenerif*, where he waited a-while for the *Lion's Whelp*, and for captain *Amias Preſton*. But this captain diſappointed him, and went upon another adventure, which proved ſome diſadvantage in the proſecution of his diſcoveries. After ſeven or eight days, not ſeeing them, he proceeded for *Trinidad* with his own ſhip and captain *Croſs*'s only (for the galego which ſet out with them linger'd behind on the coaſt of *Spain*) They reach'd that iſle on the 22d of *March*, and caſt anchor at *Point Curiapan*, which the *Spaniards* call'd *Punta de Gallo*, ſituate in eight degrees or thereabouts. In the four or five days he continued here, he came not to the ſpeech of any *Indian* or *Spaniard*. On the coaſt he ſaw a fire, but for fear of the *Spaniards* none of the *Indians* dared to approach him. Then *Ralegh*, in his barge, coaſted cloſe along the ſhore, and landed in every cove, the better to know the iſland, while his ſhips kept the channel. From hence he remov'd in a few days up north-eaſt, to recover that place the *Spaniards* call *Puerto de los Eſpannoles*, but the inhabitants *Conquerabia*; and as before (revictualling his barge) he left the ſhips, and kept by the ſhore, that he might better ſpeak with the inhabitants, and obſerve the rivers, watering-places, and ports in the iſland; of all which he took draughts as he paſſed along, which he re-

His voyage for the diſcovery of *Guiana*.

[a] The empire of *Guiana* is directly eaſt from *Peru* towards the ſea, and lies under the equinoctial line, was then governed by the ſame laws, and under the ſame religion. There are many atteſtations of the wonderful riches in theſe parts, eſpecially the imperial city, which they called *Manoa*, where, *Franciſco Lopez*, ſpeaking of the magnificence of the emperor's court, ſays, "That all "the veſſels of his houſe, table and kitchen, were of "gold and ſilver; that in his wardrobe were hollow ſta-"tues of gold, which ſeemed giants; and the figures, in "proportion and bigneſs, of all the beaſts, birds, trees "and herbs that the earth brings forth, and of all the "fiſhes that the ſea or waters of his kingdom breeds. "Finally, there was nothing in his country whereof he "had not the counterfeit in gold," *vid. Fran. Lopez de Gomara, Hiſt. gen. de las Ind.* cap. 120. Further, that city of *Manoa* was by *Juan Martinez*, the firſt Chriſtian who ſaw it, call'd *El Dorado*, or the *Golden City*, upon ſeeing the *Guianians* there, and all about the borders, in their drunken revels, anoint themſelves with a glutinous balſom, and powder their naked bodies over with gold duſt till they all glitter'd from head to foot. The ſubſtance of which report is at the end of the navigation of the great river of *Marannon*, written by *Gonzalo Fernando de Oviedo* to cardinal *Bembo*, and printed in the *Raccolta delle Navigazioni, &c. da Giovanni Batiſta Ramuſio*, vol. 3. fol. 416. We may read alſo in *Martin Fernandez de Enzica*'s diſcourſe of the ports, creeks, and havens of the *Weſt-Indies*, dedicated to *Charles* the emperor *Ann.* 1518. in *Lopez Vaz*, and ſeveral other authors, repeated aſſurances of the mountains and rivers in this country abounding with gold. And this very year, that *Ralegh* ſent for intelligence thither, there were *Spaniſh* letters taken at ſea by captain *Popham* (who laid them before the council) wherein were many teſtimonies of gold and jewels found there in vaſt plenty; and a great idol weighing forty-ſeven quintals, with a bark brought from thence to *Madera*, containing two millions of gold. Confirming alſo the natives beſprinkling themſelves over with the powder of gold when they enter'd their *Borracheras* or *Bacchanalian* feaſts, which the honourable Mr. *Rob. Duddely*, in his voyage to the iſle of *Trinidad*, alſo mentions. See *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 634, 699, 778, 576, *&c.*

duced at laſt to one general map. At *Parico* he found a freſh-water river, and at *Terra de Brea*, another port, call'd by the natives *Pitche*, great quantities of very good oyſters growing upon the branches of certain trees, here ſo numerous, that he travell'd for a dozen miles together under them; which enabled him afterwards to rectify the ancient accounts of this tree, and the fond conceits of ſome moderns, that it was the *tree of knowledge.*[a] In ſhort, he coaſted three parts of the iſle of *Trinidad*, in the month he ſtaid there for captain *Preſton*, the more exactly to make his draught thereof aforeſaid.[b] At *Puerto de los Eſpannoles* he met with his ſhips, and found a company of *Spaniards* keeping guard at the deſcent, who, in doubt of their own ſtrength,[c] offer'd ſigns of peace. He ſent captain *Whiddon* to parley with them, whom he afterwards left buried in the iſland to his great grief, being a man, ſays *Ralegh*, moſt honeſt and valiant. From ſome of the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers, whom he found means to make free of their tongue by the help of wine; and from one of the *Indian* rulers, named *Cantyman*, whom captain *Whiddon* had been acquainted with, he gather'd what ſtrength the *Spaniards* were of, and how far it was to the city they had built under their governor *Don Antonio de Berreo.* Here he found occaſion of ſtaying a-while; both to have ſome reckoning with *Berreo* for his treacherous dealings with the *Engliſh* under *Whiddon*; and to learn alſo the ſtrength, riches, and paſſages to ſeveral other parts of the country. But when *Ralegh* was credibly inform'd that the *Spaniſh* governor had ſent for a recruit of ſoldiers, and how lamentably the natives ſuffer'd under his cruelties; that the very lords of the country were made his ſlaves; that he had put one of them, named *Morequito*, to death; that ſeveral others were then lying in chains, and languiſhing under the moſt exquiſite tortures, he found ſufficient occaſion not only to revenge the loſs of his countrymen, but a good opportunity to gain the hearts of the *Indians*, by attempting to reſcue them from this yoke of tyranny: and indeed without this attempt, in vain had any other been towards his intended diſcoveries. For, conſidering he was to enter *Guiana* in ſmall boats, and to leave his ſhips ſome hundred miles behind, he was not unapprehenſive how indiſcreet he ſhould be thought by all men, if he left alſo a garriſon of enemies at his back, intereſted in the ſame enterpriſe, and in daily expectation of reinforcements from *Spain:* therefore, taking his advantage, he boldly ſet upon the *Corps du Garde* in the duſk of the evening; and having put them to the ſword, advanced with a hundred men, and by brake of day took their new city call'd *San Joſeph*, which, at the entreaty of the *Indians*, he ſet on fire. Then were the natives in confinement, ſet at liberty. Among them were five *Caſiques*, or petty kings in thoſe parts.[d] Theſe, all bound together in one chain, almoſt dead with famine, and waſted with torments; having had their naked bodies baſted or dropp'd over with burning bacon; *Ralegh* alſo, to his great reputation, deliver'd from their captivity; and ſeveral years after, when this, with *Ralegh*'s other noble acts among theſe *Indians*, was mention'd by ſome of our *Engliſh* adventurers to *Guiana*, it was freſhly retain'd and gratefully acknowledg'd by them to his honour; when alſo one of their braveſt princes, who had been in *England*, and chriſten'd *Leonard Ragapo*, came above a hundred miles to viſit them, for the great love he bore to *Ralegh*; manifeſtly ſhewing, how durably he had engag'd their affection and deſires for his return to be their ruler and protector.[e] But for the governor, who had impriſon'd ſo many of them, he was now become a priſoner himſelf; and *Ralegh*, by his courteous treatment of him, reaped the fruit of that knowledge and experience he had gather'd in the many years he had conſum'd, with great ſums of money, upon the diſcovery of *Guiana.*[f] The ſame day that *Ralegh* made this conqueſt, arrived captain *Gifford* and captain *Keymis*, and in their ſhips divers gentlemen and others, which to his little army was a great ſuccour and

Fires the city of *San Joſeph.*

Delivers five *Indian* princes from *Spaniſh* bondage.

Takes *Berreo* priſoner.

[a] 'Tis the *Indian* fig, which he has curiouſly deſcrib'd; and how it bears *oyſters*, by planting it ſelf into the ſea; ſo that one ſtem ſoon becomes a grove. See *Hiſt. of the World*, lib. 1. cap. 4. ſect. 2.

[b] *Martin Fernandez de Encica*, before quoted, ſays this iſland of *Trinidad* is twenty-five leagues in length, and as many in breadth; but *Ralegh*, who knew it much better, ſays it is but narrow, and in the form of a ſheep-hook; that the north part is mountainous; the ſoil excellent, and will bear ſugar, ginger, or any other commodities the *Indies* yield; has ſtore of deer, wild porks, fruits, fiſh, and fowl. Mr. *Duddely*, in his voyage thither before-mention'd, call'd the bay under the point of *Curiapan*, *Pelicans Bay*, from the abundance of thoſe birds there; ſays they had alſo parrots in great number and variety; and, according to Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s account, divers beaſts which the *Indies* have not, who adds, the *Spaniards* confeſs'd they had found grains of gold in ſome of the rivers; but he tarried not in ſearch thereof, through his deſire of entering *Guiana*.

[c] And yet the *Spaniards* had now gotten ſome three hundred ſoldiers there, as Mr. *Duddely*, in his voyage above-cited, informs us, which was the reaſon he could not attempt to diſplant them. *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 575.

[d] Their names were *Wannawanare*, *Carroaori Maquarima*, *Tarroopanama*, and *Alterima*.

[e] See captain *Rob. Harcourt*'s voyage to *Guiana*, 1608, in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. 4. 1625. fol. 1268 and 1271.

[f] This *Berreo* was a man of great honour, and of a great heart, as *Ralegh* acknowledes (at leaſt while he was his priſoner) tho' otherwiſe unfit for his undertaking, as well for his cruelty, for which he would have been expell'd, as being utterly unlearn'd, and not knowing the eaſt from the weſt; therefore, no ways curious after the intelligence he ſhould have procur'd; for tho' he had been eleven years upon this diſcovery, had loſt above a thouſand men; and, as he ſwore to *Ralegh*, had ſpent three hundred thouſand duckets; yet never could he enter ſo far into the land as my ſelf (ſays *Ralegh*) with that poor troop, or rather handful of men.

ſolace.

ſolace. Then proceeding upon his diſcovery, *Ralegh* firſt call'd all the chiefs of the iſland together, who were enemies to the *Spaniards*; for ſome of them *Berreo* had brought out of other countries, and planted there, to eat out and waſte the natives; then by his *Indian* interpreter, whom he carried out of *England*, he made them underſtand "he was the ſervant of a queen, "who was the *greateſt Caſique of the north*, and a virgin, who had more *Caſiqui* under her "than there were trees in that iſland: that ſhe was an enemy to the *Caſtellani*, in regard of "their tyranny and oppreſſion; and having freed all the coaſts of the northern world from their "ſervitude, had ſent him to free them alſo; and withal to defend the country of *Guiana* from "their invaſion and conqueſt." Then he ſhew'd them her majeſty's picture, which they ſo admir'd and honour'd, that it had been eaſy for him to have made them idolatrous thereof. The like and larger ſpeeches he made in ſolemn manner to the reſt of the nations, both in his paſſage to *Guiana* and to thoſe of the borders: ſo as in that part of the world the queen of *England*'s fame was diffus'd with great admiration. This done, *Ralegh* return'd to *Curiapan*, and tho' he had learnt of *Berreo*, that *Guiana* was ſome hundred miles further than the accounts he receiv'd of captain *Whiddon* had repreſented it, he kept the knowledge thereof from his company, whom he fear'd would have been diſcourag'd thereby from proſecuting the diſcovery. When *Ralegh* had further gather'd from *Berreo* the proceedings of the paſt adventurers and his own, of all which he gives us a ſuccinct and curious hiſtory, he told him he was come upon the ſame deſign, and was reſolved to ſee *Guiana*. *Berreo* uſed many arguments to diſſuade him; as that he muſt venture in very light and ſmall boats to paſs ſo many dangerous ſhallows, and could not carry victuals enough above half the way; that none of the country would ſpeak with him; and, if he followed them, would burn their towns; beſides, the way was long, the winter at hand, and the rivers beginning to ſwell; but above all, that the kings and lords, who bordered upon *Guiana*, had decreed, that none of them ſhould trade with any Chriſtians for gold, becauſe the ſame would be their own overthrow. *Ralegh*, reſolving however to make trial, directed his vice-admiral, captain *Gifford*, and captain *Calfield*, to turn eaſtward againſt the mouth of the river *Capuri*, and gave them inſtructions to anchor at the edge of the ſhoal, and upon the beſt of the flood to thruſt over; but they labour'd in vain: nor did the flood continue ſo long, but the water fell before they could have paſſed the ſands. Then *Ralegh* ſent one *King*, maſter of the *Lion's Whelp*, to try another branch, called the *Amana*, if either of the ſmall ſhips would enter; but when he came to the mouth, he found it as the reſt. After him went *John Dowglaſs*, who diſcover'd four goodly entrances; but all ſhoal'd and ſhallow in the bays leading to them. In the mean time *Ralegh*, fearing the worſt, cauſed his carpenters to cut down an old galego boat, to fit her with banks for oars, and ſo as ſhe might draw but five foot; in this went *Ralegh*, with gentlemen and officers to the number of threeſcore. In the *Lion's Whelp* boat and wherry they carried twenty; captain *Calfield*, in his wherry, carried ten; and a barge of *Ralegh*'s ten more. This was all the means they had, having left their ſhips at *Curiapan*, to carry a hundred men, with weapons and proviſions for a month, expoſed to all the extremes of the weather, all the hazards of the water; to lie open to the air, and upon hard boards by night; in ſtorms of rain, or under the burning ſun by day; to ſmell the wet cloaths of ſo many crowded together; the dreſſing of their food, and that moſtly ſtale fiſh, in the ſame place; to be in ſuch a labyrinth of rivers, in ſuch a remote and unknown region; what priſon could be more loathſom and unhealthy? what proſpect more fearful and deſolate? At firſt ſetting out, they had twenty miles of a high ſea to croſs in theſe ſcanty boats; ſo that they were driven before the wind into the bottom of the bay of *Guanipa*, inhabited by inhuman cannibals, who ſhot poiſon'd arrows: and from thence to enter one of the rivers of which *Dowglaſs* had brought tidings. After four days, they were paſt ebbing and flowing, and might have wander'd a whole year about, and never been able to extricate themſelves, in ſuch a general confluence or rendezvous of ſtreams were they now bewilder'd; and ſo reſembling one another, as not to be diſtinguiſh'd; but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the ſame places where they had been before; paſſing between many iſlands and ſtreights, whoſe borders were ſo thickly arched and over-ſhadowed with trees, as bounded their ſight to the breadth of the river and length of the avenue, while the gloomineſs of the proſpect added horror to the loneſomeneſs of the place. At length, on the 22d of *May* 1595, they fell into a river; which, becauſe it had no name, they call'd the *Red-croſs River*, theſe being the firſt Chriſtians who ever enter'd the ſame. When they drew into the creek, which led to a town upon this river, their *Indian* pilot, named *Ferdinando*, landing, was ſet upon by his countrymen, who hunted him with dogs; whereupon *Ralegh* ſeiz'd an old man paſſing that way, and threaten'd to cut off his head if he would not procure his pilot's liberty: but he, by his agility, ſoon eſcaped them,

His ſpeech to the chiefs of *Trinidad*.

Diſcouragements.

Yet leaves his ſhips at *Curiapan*.

Driven into the bay of *Guanipa*.

And into the *Red-croſs River*.

them, and ſwam to *Ralegh*'s barge: however, they kept the old man, and uſed him kindly, aſſuring themſelves of uſeful information from a native ſo long converſant in thoſe parts. And indeed, but for this accident, they had never found their way forward to the country they ſought, nor back to that where their ſhips lay; the old man himſelf being often in the utmoſt perplexity which river to take, ſo numerous and intricate they were. Thoſe people who dwell in the flooded lands of this *inſular* and broken world, or in all the tracts towards *Guiana*, which the eight branches of the *Orenoque* faſhion into iſlands, are generally called *Tivitivas*, but diſtinguiſhed into two tribes, a hardy and valiant generation; who, though they inhabited houſes on the ground in ſummer, yet in winter were forced to aſcend and reſide in the trees, where they built themſelves artificial towns, and whole families were to be ſeen lodg'd in an arm or branch of thoſe aireal or vegetable tenements; as, it is written in the *Spaniſh hiſtory* of the *Weſt-Indies*, thoſe people alſo did in the low-lands, near the gulph of *Uraba*; for between *May* and *September* thoſe iſlands are over-flow'd in ſome places twenty foot high by the ſaid grand river of *Orenoque*.

Among the *Tivitivas*.

DEPARTING from this quarter of the *Tivitivas*, which was under the diviſion or tribe call'd *Ciawani*, he kept paſſing up the river with the flood, and anchoring in the ebb; yet the third day of his entering the river aforeſaid his galley ran a-ground, and ſtuck ſo faſt, they all thought their diſcovery was at an end, and that the greateſt number of them muſt live like rooks, and build them neſts in the boughs; but, after emptying her ballaſt, and much labour, they got her a-float at the end of the fourth day, and ſtruck into another river call'd the *Great Amana*, ſpacious and without winding, being one of the faireſt branches of the grand *Orenoque*: but here the flood of the ſea left them, and every man, from the higheſt to the loweſt, was forced to tug by turns at the oar for ſeveral days, againſt a rapid current, and in a moſt ſultry clime; for they were now in five degrees of the *line*. Many goodly rivulets they paſs'd on either ſide, which *Ralegh* nam'd in his map, and ſhewed their riſe and deſcent. When three days more were paſſed over, his company began as well to deſpair at the length of the way, as to languiſh through exceſſive heat; and well might their courage, now their proviſion alſo began to fail; yet now had they moſt need of ſtrength and vigor, when the current of the river grew moſt boiſterous and violent againſt them. Here *Ralegh* had a great task to keep up the ſpirits of his diſconſolate companions, which could not be done by exhortations, without example; without being ever foremoſt to endure labour, and the laſt who gratify'd himſelf with refreſhment. He alſo ſtrictly commanded his pilots to promiſe an end every next day; which honeſt deceit he uſed ſo often, they were forced to aſſure it would be at every reach. Thus while he was giving them hopes of attaining the land where their patience ſhould be rewarded with plenty; while he was wringing out every man's thoughts of returning, by the ſtrongeſt arguments which could be oppos'd; as that they were now got ſo far, and reduced to ſuch ſlender accommodations, they could not avoid periſhing if they return'd; but might find relief in proceeding: Providence ſeems to have rewarded his truſt in her, by happily ſhifting the ſcene, and preſenting the moſt beautiful landskip they had ever beheld. For here mountains, crowned with garlands of fruitful trees, invited one ſenſe; and verdant plains of many miles extent, enamell'd with groups of odorous flowers, regal'd another. Birds of ſuch ſorts and colours as they had never ſeen,[a] tempted them to ſupply themſelves by their fowling-pieces; and fiſhes of various kinds, by their nets; without which, having little or no bread, and leſs drink, only the thick and troubled water of the river, they had been in the greateſt extremity. Now the old *Ciawanian* they had taken (as before-mention'd) perſuading them he would lead them to a town up the branch of a river on the right hand, where they might be ſupply'd with all conveniences, and return before night; *Ralegh* leaving his galley, took eight musketiers in his barge, and with *Gifford* and *Calfield* in their wherries, having eight musketiers more, enter'd the mouth of that river; but rowed till ſun-ſet, and ſaw no ſign of the town even till they were forty miles diſtant from the galley, and the rowers were ready to give up the ghoſt. They had certainly hang'd this pilot, but that their neceſſities were his ſecurity; for it was quite dark, and they knew not their way back again; but as they proceeded, the river grew ſo narrow, and was ſo over-ſpread with trees from ſide to ſide, that they were all forc'd with their ſwords to cut a way for their oars, being ſtill in hopes of a ſupper that would make amends for their breakfaſt. About one a-clock after midnight they diſcern'd a light, and heard the barking of dogs; ſoon after they found the village, and there they were ſtored with proviſions, according

Enters the *Great Amana*.

In five degrees.

In great diſtreſs.

Relieved.

[a] Sir *Walter Ralegh* afterwards made ſome very judicious philoſopical obſervations on the birds and beaſts that have been diſcover'd in ſtrange lands; tending to prove that the difference of colour or magnitude in many of them made not a difference of ſpecies. See his *Hiſt. of the World*, lib. 1. cap. 7. ſect. 9.

to

to the promiſes of the old pilot. In the mean time, the company in the galley mann'd out a boat in ſearch of them; but next day they return'd, and continu'd their courſe, after they had made this hungry and hazardous voyage for fourſcore miles in that river; which, beſides other ſtrange fiſhes of marvellous bigneſs, abounded with thoſe ugly ſerpents call'd *Crocodiles*; whence the people nam'd it the river of *Lagartos*. *Ralegh* had a very proper young negro attending upon him in his galley, who, leaping out to ſwim in the mouth of this river, was, in the ſight of them all, inſtantly devour'd by one of theſe amphibious animals. Not long after, being again in want of victuals, they took two canoes laden with excellent bread, being run aſhore by the *Indians* in them call'd *Arwacas*, who fled to hide themſelves in the woods; fearing, through the prepoſſeſſions of the *Spaniards*, that *Ralegh* and his company were *Canibals*. *Ralegh* purſuing them, in hopes of ſome intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the buſhes, a refiner's basket, there being in it quickſilver, ſaltpetre, and divers other materials, for the trial of metals; and alſo the duſt of ſome ore that had been refin'd: but in two other canoes which eſcaped them, they heard of a good quantity of ore and gold. *Ralegh* then landed more men, and offer'd five hundred pounds to any of his ſoldiers who ſhould take one of the *Spaniards*, whom they thought to have alſo landed in theſe laſt canoes; but they eſcaped while he was purſuing the former: however, while he was in ſearch of the *Spaniards*, he found the *Arwacas* hidden in the woods, who had been pilots for the *Spaniards*; of which *Ralegh* kept the chief for his pilot, and carried him to *Guiana*; by whom he underſtood in what parts the *Spaniards* labour'd for gold, which he divulged to few of his company, knowing both the ſeaſon of the year and other conveniences would be wanting to work any mine himſelf. Therefore he haſted away from this place, his purpoſe being at that time rather to diſcover what he could of the country, and win over the people to ſubjection. Here *Ralegh*'s own words are: "To ſtay "and dig out gold with our nails, had been *opus laboris*, but not *ingenii*. Such a quantity as "would have ſerved our turns we could not have had; but a diſcovery of the mines to our "infinite diſadvantage we had made; for thoſe mines (defended with rocks of hard ſtone, which "we call *white ſpar*) are not eaſily broken or open'd in haſte; and I could have return'd a good "quantity of gold ready caſt, if I had not ſhot at another mark than preſent profit." Beſides this reſtraint from all greedineſs after their gold, there was another virtue he no leſs ſtrictly obſerv'd, which highly advanced him in the eſteem of all thoſe *Indians*. For, whereas the *Spaniards* were wont to ſatisfy their luſts without controul upon their wives and daughters, *Ralegh* ſuffer'd not a man of his ſo much as to touch any of their women. "I proteſt (ſays he) be- "fore the majeſty of the living God, that I neither knew, nor believe that any of our com- "pany, one or other, by violence or otherwiſe, ever knew any of their women; and yet we "ſaw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of thoſe very young and excellently "favour'd, which came among us without deceit, ſtark naked." And becauſe he found it a very troubleſome work to keep the meaner ſort from pilfering and ſpoil, when they went to any of the *Indians* houſes, *Ralegh* cauſed his interpreter at every place, when they departed, to enquire after, and know the loſſes or wrongs that had been done; and if he found any thing had been ſtolen or taken by violence, either the ſame was reſtor'd, and the party puniſh'd in their ſight, or elſe it was paid for to their utmoſt demand.

In the river of *Crocodiles*.

His continence.

And juſtice.

AFTER he was recruited as aforeſaid with bread and other proviſions, which greatly encourag'd his men, who now cry'd out, *Let us go on, we care not how far*; *Ralegh* ſent back in one of the canoes the old *Ciawan*, and *Ferdinando*, his firſt pilot; giving them ſuch things as they deſir'd for their voyage, and wrote a letter to his ſhips, which they deliver'd, and then he went on under the pilotage of one of thoſe *Arwacas* he had taken, whom the *Spaniards* had chriſten'd *Martin*. But the next or ſecond day after, they run a-ground again with their galley, and ſhe was very near being caſt away with their new ſtore of victuals: they lay on the ſand one whole night, and were in far greater deſpair of diſengaging her than before, becauſe they had no tide of flood to help them. In the midſt of their fears, they bethought them of faſtening an anchor upon the land, and with main ſtrength drew her off. So the fifteenth day (of their abſence from their ſhips) they diſcover'd at a diſtance, to their great joy, the mountains of *Guiana*; and towards the evening were brought by a northerly gale in ſight of the great *Orenoque*,[a] which they ſoon after enter'd; a river of vaſt extent and magnitude, lying moſtly eaſt and weſt even from the ſea to *Quito* in *Peru*, thought to be three hundred miles wide at the mouth, a thouſand miles navigable for ſhips, two thouſand for leſſer veſſels, and diſcharging it ſelf by ſixteen arms into the ſea, whereby many parts of the *Spaniſh Indies* might moſt eaſily

Enters the grand *Orenoque*.

[a] In the language of *Trinidad*, *Oronuie* ſignifies water. See Mr. *Duddely*'s voyage in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 578.

be invaded. From other obſervations, it appears in many places of the channel to be twenty fathom deep; and in few that are ſhoally, leſs than two and a half. It was called by the ſucceeding voyagers to this place, in honour of Sir *Walter*, after his name. One of them gives his reaſon for it in theſe words: "Of the worthineſs of this river becauſe I cannot ſay enough, "I will ſpeak nothing; we have preſumed to call it by the name of RALEANA, becauſe your ſelf "was the firſt of our nation who ever enter'd the ſame."[a] Now when *Ralegh* had procur'd of one of the bordering princes, named *Toparimaca*, a skilful old pilot, who was his brother, and who perfectly knew this river, he ſail'd up a branch thereof, having on the left hand a great iſland which they call *Aſſapana*; and thence along the banks of ſeveral other iſlands, which they choſe rather to anchor at than by the main land, becauſe of the tortoiſes eggs, which they found there in abundance, to their great relief; and for the convenience of caſting their nets from the rocks, of a blue metalline colour, which looked like ſteel ore. So keeping always weſtward up the river, there open'd after a while a land on the right ſide, which appear'd a ſpacious champain, and the banks perfectly red. *Ralegh* ſent captain *Gifford*, *Thynn*, *Calfield*, his couſins *Grenvill* and *Butſhead Gorges*; alſo his nephew *John Gilbert* and ſome others, with a guard of ſoldiers, to march over the banks, and diſcover what proſpect it afforded; and finding it a level of an unbounded ſpace, it proved, as their pilot inform'd them, the plains of *Saima*, reaching to *Cumana* and *Caracas* in the *Weſt-Indies*, which are a hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and inhabited by four principal nations, whereof one were the *Aroras*, as black as negroes, but of ſmooth hair; a deſperate people, uſing the ſtrongeſt and moſt deadly poiſon of all others on their arrows. *Ralegh* was moſt curious to know the compoſition of this poiſon, and what remedies could be had againſt the dreadful effects of it. For, beſides the mortality of the wound, the patient is afflicted with moſt inſufferable torment, and accompanied with ſuch irkſome ſymptoms, that the phyſician cannot abide the cure. None of the *Spaniards* could ever extort this ſecret either by kindneſs or cruelty; and indeed but few of the *Indians*, beſides their prieſts and ſoothſayers, knew it.[b] *Ralegh* was therefore more beholden to the *Guianians* than any body; for *Antonio de Berrio* told him, that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof. "And yet they taught me (ſays *Ralegh*) the beſt way of healing as well "this, as all other poiſons." Then he tells us thoſe medicines which are vulgar, and ſerve for the ordinary poiſon, are made of the juice of a root call'd *Tupara*,[c] which alſo marvellouſly quenches the heat of burning fevers, and heals inward wounds; and that thoſe of common poiſon'd arrows were wont to be heal'd by ſome of the *Spaniards* with the juice of garlic. But this he commuicates as a general rule for all men that ſhall hereafter travel the *Indies* where poiſon'd arrows are uſed, that they abſtain from drink; for if they take any liquor into their body, whereunto they will be exceedingly provok'd by drought, and drink before the wound is dreſs'd, or immediately upon it, there is no relief but preſent death.

Call'd *Raleana*.

His skill in the cure of poiſons.

AFTER having paſs'd the mountain *Aio*, and a great iſland, which he mentions, he reach'd on the fifth day of his entering the great river aforeſaid, as high as the province of *Aromaia*, and anchoring at the port of *Morequito*, which is ſome three hundred miles within the land, upon the ſaid great river *Orenoque*, he ſent a meſſenger to the old king of *Aromaia*, named *Topiowary*, who came the next day before noon on foot from his houſe, and return'd the ſame evening, being twenty-eight miles backwards and forwards, tho' himſelf was one hundred and ten years of age. He had many attendants of both ſexes, who came alſo to wonder at the *Engliſh*, and brought them great plenty of fleſh, fowl and fiſh, with divers ſorts of fruits, and among them abundance of *pinas*, the moſt excellent of all kinds,[d] eſpecially thoſe of *Guiana*;

[a] Relation of the ſecond voyage to *Guiana* by captain *Laurence Keymis*. *vid. Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 681, 682.

[b] Whether the poiſon they uſed in *Guiana* was the ſame with that in ſome other parts of the *Weſt-Indies*, *Ralegh* has not told us; but Sir *John Hawkins* informs us, that about *Cumana*, where they are very expert archers, "their "poiſon is of ſuch force, that a man being ſtruck there-"with, dies in twenty-four hours: and, that in his judg-"ment, there can be no ſtronger; uſing thereunto apples, "which are fair and red of colour; but are a ſtrong poi-"ſon (perhaps the *Manchineil*) of which with venomous "bats, vipers, adders, and other ſerpents, they make a "medley, and anoint their arrows." See *Hawkins*'s voyage to *Guinea* and the *Indies* of *Nova Hiſpania*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 508.

[c] Captain *Robert Harcourt*, in his voyage to *Guiana* before quoted, ſays the juice of the leaf *Uppee* cures the wounds of their poiſon'd arrows. See *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. 4. fol. 1276.

[d] Whether *Ralegh*, at his return, brought of this fruit into *England*, which is otherwiſe call'd the *Ananas*, and vulgarly the *pine-apple*, from ſome reſemblance it bears in ſhape to the *cones* of the *pine-tree*; or any of that moſt delicious wine made thereof, which he there alſo taſted, has rather been ſuggeſted than confirm'd; but afterwards, when, a ſpeedy voyage, ſome of the fruit was brought over and by preſented to king *James*, in greater perfection than we can conceive from taſting what is forced out of hot beds here, he diſcover'd one of the noble maxims in his *king-craft*, by declaring, *It was a fruit too* delicious, *for a ſubject to taſte of*. See a book call'd, *Advice to the planters of both Indies*, 8vo. without date. But had he known the profuſeneſs which the *Engliſh* have ſince been at to eat them, how imperfectly ſoever, of their own raiſing, he might perhaps have more juſtly ſaid, *It was a fruit too* extravagant, *for a ſubject to taſte of*.

beſides

beſides bread, wine, and a ſort of parroquites no bigger than wrens. And one of them preſented *Ralegh* with a little beaſt, which the *Spaniards* call *Armadilla*, having his body ſcal'd or plated over like the *Rhinoceros*, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts as big as a hunting horn. This horn is recommended in medicine,[a] and the fleſh for food, ſince *Ralegh* ſoon after made a feaſt of it.

His conference with the king of *Aromaia*.

When the old king had reſted himſelf a while in a tent which *Ralegh* had cauſed to be pitch'd for him, they enter'd, by the interpreter, into diſcourſe about the murder of *Morequito*, his predeceſſor, and the other violations of the *Spaniards*. Then *Ralegh* acquainted him with the cauſe of his coming thither, whoſe ſervant he was, and that it was his queen's pleaſure he ſhould undertake this voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the *Spaniards*; dilating at large (as he had done before at *Trinidad*) on her majeſty's power, her juſtice, and her clemency towards all oppreſſed nations: all which, being with great reverence and attention receiv'd, he began to ſound the old man touching *Guiana*; as what ſort of commonwealth it was, how govern'd, of what ſtrength and policy, of what extent; with whom in alliance or enmity; laſtly, the diſtance and way to enter the heart of the country? The king gave ſuch ample and perfect account of theſe particulars, that *Ralegh* wonder'd to find a man of ſuch gravity, judgment, and good diſcourſe, without the help of learning or breeding. After his departure, *Ralegh* ſailed weſtward to view the famous river *Caroli*, both becauſe it was ſo wonderful in it ſelf, and led to the ſtrongeſt nations of all the frontiers, who were enemies to the *Epuremei*, ſubjects to the *Inga*, or emperor of *Guiana* and *Manoa*. Even when he was ſhort of it, or lower down than the port of *Morequito*, he heard the roaring falls of this river; but when he enter'd it with his barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up ſome forty miles to the *Caſſipagotos*, he was not able with a barge of eight oars to row one ſtone's throw in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the *Thames* at *Woolwich*. Therefore encamping on the banks, he ſent off an *Indian* to acquaint the nations upon the river of his arrival, and his purpoſe; and that he deſir'd to ſee the lords of *Canuria*, who dwelt in that province. Then one of the princes came down, named *Wanuretona*, with many of his people, and brought great ſtore of proviſions, as the reſt had done. By him *Ralegh* found, the *Carolians* were not only enemies to the *Spaniards*, but moſt of all to the *Epuremei*, who abounded in gold; and that there were three mighty nations at the head of that river which would join him againſt them. He was further inform'd by one captain *George*, whom he had taken with *Berreo*, that near the banks of this river there was a great ſilver mine; but the rivers were all now ſo riſen, that it was not poſſible for the ſtrength of man with any boat to row againſt the ſtream. Therefore he diſpatched a party between thirty and forty to coaſt the river by land, while himſelf, with two or three officers and half a dozen ſhot, marched over-land to view the ſtrange and wonderful overfalls of the ſaid river *Caroli*, which roar'd at ſuch a diſtance, and the plains adjoining, with the reſt of the province of *Canuri*. When they had got to the top of the firſt hills over-looking the river, they beheld that prodigious breach of waters which pour'd down *Caroli*, and how it ran in three ſtreams for twenty miles together. No leſs than ten or a dozen of theſe ſteep cataracts appear'd in ſight, each as high above the other as a church-tower; which ruſhed down with ſuch violence, that the very rebound of the waters made the place ſeem as if it had been all over cover'd with a great ſhower of rain; and in ſome places they took it at firſt for a thick ſmoak which had riſen out of ſome great town, till they drew nearer down in the valley to this thunder of waters, where they better diſcern'd and diſtinguiſh'd the effects of it. And here *Ralegh* ſays, he never ſaw a more beautiful country, nor more lively proſpects; the hills ſo raiſed up and down about the valleys; the waters winding into ſuch various branches; the plains ſo clear of buſh and ſtubble, and cover'd all with fair green graſs; the ground of hard ſand, and eaſy for the march either of horſe or foot; the deer croſſing in every path; the birds, towards the evening, ſinging on every tree a thouſand ſeveral tunes, with cranes and herons of white, crimſon and carnation, pearched along the river banks; the air refreſh'd with gentle eaſterly breezes; and every ſtone they ſtoop'd to take up, promiſing either gold or ſilver by its complexion. His company, at their return, brought ſeveral of theſe ſtones home; which they rather found colour'd outwardly like gold, than any of that metal fixed in them; for thoſe who had leaſt judgment or experience, kept only ſuch as glitter'd, and would not be perſuaded but they were rich, becauſe they ſhone, thereby bred an opinion, that all the reſt were no better. Yet ſome of theſe ſtones *Ralegh* ſhewed afterwards to a *Spaniard*

And with *Wanuretona*.

Views the wonderful cataracts of *Caroli*.

And the beautiful plains of *Canuri*.

[a] *Monardus* writes, that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cures deafneſs. See his treatiſe of the virtues of herbs, trees, animals, &c. in the *Weſt-Indies*, tranſlated by *I. Frampton*, and call'd, *Joyful news from the new world*, 4to. 1577, and 1596.

of

of the *Caracas*, who told him it was *El madre del oro*, that is, *the mother of gold*; and that the mine was further in the ground.

His report of the *Ewaipanoma*.

AMONG the goodly rivers beyond the *Caroli*, there is one named *Caora*. Upon this branch, it was atteſted to *Ralegh* by the moſt intelligent and credible chiefs of the adjacent parts, there dwelt a nation of people whoſe heads appear not above their ſhoulders; which, becauſe every body in the provinces of *Aromaia* and *Canuri* alſo affirm'd, he was inclin'd to believe. They are call'd *Ewaipanoma*, and reported to have their eyes in their ſhoulders, and mouths in their breaſts (or in a level with them.) It was further avouch'd to him, they uſed bows, arrows, and clubs thrice as big as any of the *Guianians*; and that one being taken priſoner the year before, was brought into *Aromaia*. When *Ralegh* doubted of ſuch a race to the prince, hereafter men-tion'd, who came with him into *England*, he anſwer'd, it was no wonder among them; for they had lately ſlain many hundreds of his father's people. *Ralegh* obſerves, "That *Mandevill* "had before written of ſuch a nation;[a] and that, ſince the *Eaſt-Indian* diſcoveries, we find "many of his relations true, which were before held incredible." Further, that when he after-wards arriv'd at *Cumana*, he ſpoke with a *Spaniard* eminent for his travels, and withal for his credit and veracity; who, hearing that *Ralegh* had been as far in *Guiana* as *Caroli*, immediately ask'd him if he had ſeen thoſe people, and declar'd he had ſeen many of them. Then *Ralegh* names ſome *French* merchants of *London*, who were there preſent, and heard what this *Spaniard* had thus aſſerted. "Whether it is true or no (ſays he) the matter is not great, neither can "there be any profit in the imagination; for my own part, I ſaw them not; but am reſolv'd, "that ſo many people did not all combine or fore-think to make the report." After all, whe-ther the obſervation of any garment looſely riſing above the ſhoulders of theſe people, or the crouching poſture in which they were ſo much ſeen, by their conſtant exerciſe of archery, might not firſt give ſome riſe to this report, I leave for others more largely to explain;[b] and how far the ſame perſon ſhould here be condemn'd for an implicit faith, who was, as we have read, cenſur'd for the want of it. This conſideration may be further offer'd for what *Ralegh* alſo repeats, not only from the writers of all nations, concerning the modern

And of the *Amazons*.

Amazons in theſe parts,[c] but from their very neighbours. For having told us, that *Orellana* firſt diſcover'd *Marannon*, which is call'd the river of *Amazons*,[d] and alſo after the ſaid diſco-verers own name, *Ralegh* was inquiſitive to know whether there were any of thoſe warlike women, from whom this river ſhould be ſo call'd, in theſe *American* parts, who are ſo fam'd in ancient hiſtories to have been in *Aſia* and *Africa*; and was aſſur'd by an ancient *Caſique*, that there was ſuch a nation of women on the ſouth of the ſaid river, in the provinces of *Topago*, whoſe manners and cuſtoms, as they deſcrib'd to him, did ſomewhat conform with what is recorded of the ancient *Amazons*: as, that they cohabited with men but one month in the year; ſent them the male children, and kept only the females; "but that they cut off their right breaſt (ſays "he) I do not find to be true." He was further told, they ſcrupled not to accompany with the priſoners they took in war at any time; but in the end conſtantly put them to death: and that, as others of the bordering nations, theſe women wore certain plates of gold, which they had

[a] Sir *John Mandevill*'s words, according to the old *Latin* copy of his travels, are (ſpeaking of ſome *ſouthern* iſlands) "*Alia inſula habet homines aſpectu deformes, nihil autem* "*colli aut capitis oſtendentes; unde* & Acephali *nuncupantur:* "*oculos autem habent ante ad ſcapulas,* & *in loco pectoris os* "*apertum, ad formam ferri quo noſtri caballi frænantur.*" See alſo the late *Engliſh* edition of his *voyage* and *travel*, &c. 8vo. 1727. printed from a MS. in the *Cotton* library three hundred years old; where it plainly appears, his deſcrip-tion of theſe *headleſs* people, p. 243. is copied out of *Pliny's Nat. Hiſt.* lib. 7. cap. 2. and lib. 5. cap. 8. But the no-tion of ſuch a people did now ſo prevail, captain *Keymis* bringing freſh aſſurances of men with mouths in their breaſts, exceeding wide, from *Guiana* the year after, that *Shake-ſpear*, in his *Tempeſt*, tells us every adventurer would now bring good warrant of them. He repeats the deſcription again of thoſe people; where *Othello* relates the wonders of his travels, to charm the attention and concern of his *Deſdemona:* and this, as 'tis thought, in compliment to Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s authority; for *Shakeſpear* had certainly read his diſcovery of *Guiana*, as by other paſſages in his plays might be proved.

[b] Mr. *Theobald* thinks, we may be able to account, in a few lines, for the myſtery of theſe ſuppoſed headleſs peo-ple: for *Olearius* ſpeaking (ſays he) of the manner of cloathing of the *Samojeds*, a people of north *Muſcovy*, ſays, "Their garments are made like thoſe call'd *Coſaques*, open "only at the necks. When the cold is extraordinary, "they put their *Coſaques* over their heads, and let the "ſleeves hang down, their faces being not to be ſeen but "at the cleft, which is at the neck; whence ſome have "taken occaſion to write, that in theſe *northern* countries, "there are people *without heads*, having their *faces* in "their *breaſts*." *Theobald's Shakeſpear*, 8vo. 1733. vol. VII. p. 393.

[c] *Vid. Fran. Lopez Hiſt. de las Ind.* par. 1. cap. 28. Alſo *Andrew Thevet*, in his *Antarctick.* tranſl. by *J. Hacket*, 4to. 1568, and dedicated to Sir *H. Sidney*, cap. 63. Alſo *Lopez Vaz*, in his diſcourſe of the *Weſt-Indies* and the *South-Sea*; where he confirms the account of theſe *Indian* women, who fought in the wars with bows and arrows to aid their husbands, but not without them; and who, ſhewing them-ſelves more valiant than their husbands, againſt the *Spa-niards*, they therefore call'd the river, upon parts whereof theſe women dwelt, the river of *Amazons*.

[d] Of this river, ſee the accounts in *Mart. Fern. de Enciza*, before mention'd. Alſo *Joſeph de Acoſta*, in his *Nat. and Mor. Hiſt. of the Weſt-Indies*, lib. 3. cap. 20, and 25. Alſo an hiſtorical and geographical deſcription of the great country and river of the *Amazons*, *Lond.* 8vo. 1661. Which book, however ſet down by *A. Wood*, in the liſt of Sir *W. Ralegh*'s writings, perhaps becauſe ſaid in the title-page to be the place he intended to conquer, was writ-ten originally in *French* by the count of *Pagan*, who dedi-cated it to cardinal *Mazarine*; and this tranſlation is made by *W. Hamilton*. At the 129th page of this book, there is a chapter on the *Amazons* of *America*.

ſometimes exchang'd with other countries for *ſpleen-ſtones*, which are of a green colour; and whereof (ſays *Ralegh*) I ſaw divers in *Guiana*; for every king or caſique commonly has one, which their wives chiefly wear, and eſteem as great jewels. Theſe ſtrange reports, however difficultly digeſted by thoſe who had only travell'd at home; which made *Ralegh* afterwards produce many learned authorities, both ancient and modern, to juſtify himſelf from impoſing any inventions of his own;[a] foreigners, it ſeems, thought not ſo extravagant, being more familiar and current among them; and *Hugo Grotius*, intimates as if *Ralegh* ſhew'd no more regard to theſe accounts than any other traveller would have done; where, mentioning this his diſcovery of *Guiana*, he ſays, "That as to the *Amazons*, and thoſe who had their faces in "their breaſts, having only heard talk of them, he left it for others to find them out."[b] But to return:

WHILE *Ralegh*, with his company, lay at anchor on the coaſt of *Canuri*, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of the *Caroli*; had found out many tribes who were enemies to the *Epuremei* and the new conquerors, having now ſail'd and wander'd for the ſpace of near a month, diſtant from his ſhips above four hundred miles; beſides the long digreſſions up many arms and branches on every ſide by the way, they found the winter-ſeaſon advance apace,[c] and the *Orenoque* threaten them with greater fury every day than other; the time they ſpent at *Trinidad*, and the company they there in vain waited for, being both wanted here to compleat their enterpriſe. For the moſt violent ſtorms of thunder and lightning which now ſo frequently broke out, pour'd down ſuch floods of rain, as made all the rivers riſe and rage moſt fearfully; ſo that if they waded them over-ſhoos in the morning outward, homeward they could not come, even the ſame day, without wading to their necks, or ſwimming before they could reach their boats. Beſides, they all grew very uneaſy to themſelves and one another for want of ſhifting, no man having room to beſtow any other apparel than what he wore on his back; and that was waſh'd through to his skin often ten times a day. Theſe inconveniences, with thoſe of having no inſtruments to try any mines, or men ſufficient to ſecure them againſt the guarded nations nearer the imperial city of *Manoa*, captain *Preſton* having fail'd them, as was before ſaid, made *Ralegh* conclude there was now no advancing thither, or ſtaying longer here; but that he might well content himſelf for this voyage with the various diſcoveries of the ſituation, products and riches of the country, which he had thus far made; with the intereſt and friendſhip he had thus ſpaciouſly procur'd; and which no adventurer to thoſe regions ever had in a much larger ſpace of time, with much greater aids and proviſions, the diligence and dexterity to equal.

As he return'd therefore to the eaſt, he ſpent ſome time in diſcovering the river towards the ſea which he had not ſurvey'd, and which he thought alſo neceſſary to do. In a day's time he arriv'd again at the port of *Morequito*; for, gliding down the ſtream, he went without labour, tho' againſt the wind, little leſs than a hundred miles a day. When he came to anchor, he was very deſirous of ſome further conference with old *Topiowari*, who ſoon, upon notice, came, with a multitude of his people, flocking down to *Ralegh*'s tent upon the ſhore, every one loaded with preſents. When the old king was refreſh'd, and the crowd retir'd, *Ralegh*, by his interpreter, enter'd into a long conference with him; telling him that as both the *Epuremei* and the *Spaniards* were his enemies; the one having conquer'd *Guiana* already, and the other endeavour'd to get it from both, he deſir'd to be inſtructed both in the beſt ways to the golden parts of *Guiana*, and the civiliz'd towns, or apparell'd people of *Inga*. The king anſwer'd, he could not perceive *Ralegh* meant to proceed to the great city of *Manoa*, becauſe neither the ſeaſon of the year nor the ſtrength of his company would enable him; for he remember'd that in the plains of *Maqureguarai*, the firſt civil town of *Guiana*, where all the gold plates were made which were ſcatter'd over the neighbouring nations, and about four days journey from his own, three hundred *Spaniards* were deſtroy'd, who had no friends among the borderers; therefore adviſed *Ralegh* never to invade the ſtrong parts of *Guiana*, without the help of all thoſe nations which were their enemies. *Ralegh* ask'd, if he thought the company he had with him were ſufficient to take that town: the king thought they were, and proffer'd to aſſiſt him with all his borderers, if he would leave him a guard of fifty men upon his departure; but *Ra-*

His laſt conference with the king of *Aromaia*.

[a] See Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 4. cap. 2. ſect. 15.

[b] *Hugo Grotius*, having ſpoken of Sir *Francis Drake*'s death, ſays, *Quo tempore Anglus alter* Walterus Ralegus *reginæ ſatillitio præpoſitus, Orenocum flumen ingreſſus, Guianam nunquam Hiſpanis perdomitam adiit, ac notitiæ tradidit, ex vero quæ vidit; de Amazonibus, & his queis vultus in pectore, audita tantum & aliis plenius indaganda. Hiſtor. de Rebus Belgicis*, lib. 4.

[c] "The winter and ſummer here, as touching cold and "heat (ſays *Ralegh*) differ not; neither do the trees ever "ſenſibly loſe their leaves, but have always fruit either "ripe or green; and moſt of them, both bloſſoms, leaves, "ripe fruit, and green at one time: but their winter con-"ſiſts of terrible rains and overflowing of the rivers, with "many great ſtorms and guſts, thunder and lightnings; "of which we had our fill ere we return'd.

legh knowing if they ſhould eſcape the *Guianians*, the *Spaniards* expecting ſupplies, would repay upon them his treatment at *Trinidad*, very plauſibly excus'd himſelf. Hereupon the king deſir'd he would forbear him and his country at this time; for if the *Epuremei* ſhould know he had given *Ralegh* any aid or intelligence, he ſhould ſoon be over-run by them; nor could he avoid the *Spaniards*, if they ſhould return, who had before led him ſeventeen days in a chain like a dog, till he paid a hundred plates of gold and ſeveral chains of ſpleen-ſtones for his ranſom: but if *Ralegh* would return in due ſeaſon next year, he would engage all the borderers in the enterpriſe; for that he could not more deſire to make himſelf maſter of *Guiana*, than they to aſſiſt him; having been plunder'd in their wars by the *Epuremei* of their women, whom to recover they would willingly renew the war, without hopes of further profit; for the old king complain'd of it as a matter of grievous reſtraint, that now they were confin'd to three or four wives apiece, who were wont to enjoy ten or a dozen; while the lords of their enemies had no leſs than fifty or a hundred. But they ſeem to have had a political reaſon for this recovery, to ſtrengthen their alliance and increaſe their forces, theſe frontiers having been much depopulated between the ſubjects of *Inga* and the *Spaniards*. *Ralegh*, after further conſultation, finding it abſolutely improper either to leave any of his company, or attempt war upon the *Epuremei* till the next year, apply'd himſelf now only to learn how theſe people wrought thoſe plates of gold which were diſpers'd about, and how they divided it from the ſtone. The king told him, that moſt of their plates and images were not ſever'd from the ſtone; but that on the lake of *Manoa*, and many other rivers thereabouts, they gather'd the perfect grains of gold, and mingling a proportion of copper, the better to work it, put it in a great earthen pot, under which they increas'd the fire by the breath of men, through long canes faſten'd to the holes round the ſaid pot, till the metal diſſolv'd, which then they caſt into moulds of ſtone and clay, and ſo made thoſe plates and images; whereof *Ralegh* brought two ſorts into *England*, more to ſhew the manner of them than their value: for he gave more pieces of gold of the twenty ſhilling coin, with the queen's effigies upon them, among theſe people, to wear in honour of her majeſty, and to engage them in her ſervice, than he receiv'd; ſo little did he make his deſire of gold known to them. He alſo brought over ſome gold ore of their mines, "whereof I "know ſome is as rich (ſays he) as any the earth yields, and of which I know there is ſuffi-"cient, if nothing elſe were to be hop'd for;" but they wanted time, hands and inſtruments to break the ground, without which there could be no working of mines. "We ſaw (adds he) "all the hills with ſtones of the colour of gold and ſilver, and we try'd them to be no *Mar-"queſite*; and therefore ſuch as the *Spaniards* call *El madre del oro*, or, the mother of gold, "which is an undoubted aſſurance of the general abundance thereof; and my ſelf ſaw the out-"ſide of many mines of the *Sparre*, which I know to be the ſame that all covet in this world; "and of thoſe, more than I will ſpeak of." Now *Ralegh*, beſides having learn'd the riches of the country, having alſo won the affections of the people, and receiv'd a faithful promiſe of the chiefs in thoſe provinces of *Aromaia* and *Canuri* to become ſervants to her majeſty, took his leave of old *Topiowari*, and receiv'd his ſon prince *Cayworaco* as a pledge betwixt them, whom he brought into *England*, where he was chriſten'd *Gualtero* with great ſolemnity, leaving with the old king two of his own people in exchange; the one named *Francis Sparrow*, who being a good draughtſman, and could deſcribe a country with his pen, deſir'd to be left for that purpoſe, whom *Ralegh* inſtructed to travel as far as he could to *Manoa* with ſuch merchandiſe as he committed to his care; the other was a boy, who waited upon him, named *Hugh Goodwin*, for whom he left orders to be taught the language of the country. This done, he weigh'd anchor, and coaſted the river on *Guiana*-ſide, becauſe he came towards it on the north-ſide by the lawns of *Saima*.

Diſcovers the gold mines.

Brings the king's ſon into *England*.

THERE was a powerful caſique named *Putijma*, who accompanied *Ralegh* and his men from *Aromaia*, with promiſes to lead them to a mountain call'd *Iconuri*, which contain'd a mine of gold; and which (ſays *Ralegh*) he perform'd. *Ralegh* travell'd a great way towards it himſelf along the river *Mana*, till, through wearineſs, he was forced with ſome of his attendants to reſt on the banks of a lake in the delightful valley of *Oiana*; where one of his guides kindling a fire with two ſticks,[a] they ſtay'd a while to dry their ſhirts, which, with exceſſive heat, were very wet and heavy upon them; ſending captain *Keymis* the while with a party under that *caſique* to take cognizance of the ſaid mine, and promis'd to meet him at the river *Cumaca*, in

[a] Succeeding voyagers have obſerv'd of the *Karaguata Guacu*, a *Braſilian* tree about fourteen or fifteen foot high, with yellow flowers on the top, and large long thick leaves, which yield an unctuous liquor ſerving for ſoap, and ſtrings for fiſhing-nets; that with the wood thereof, and of another call'd *Imbauba*, the inhabitants kindle their fires by ſtriking them together, as we by a flint and ſteel. See *Nieuhoff*'s voyages, vol. 2. fol. 141; alſo Sir *Tho. Brown*'s *vulgar errors*, fol. 131.

his

his way to *Emeria*, the province of *Carapana*, one of the greateſt lords of the *Orenoqueponi*, with whom he ſought to eſtabliſh a league. And as *Ralegh* return'd by the river *Mana* towards the ſaid province, he ſaw himſelf many rocks like gold ore, and on the left hand a round mountain of mineral ſtone. From hence returning down the ſtream, he coaſted the province of *Parino*; but the branches of the rivers he here paſſed, with *Aio* and other mountains, he reſerv'd to the repreſentation in his map; which, for the numerous and diſtant rivers and countries therein occaſionally refer'd to, appears to have been a very accurate and comprehenſive performance.[a] In the river of *Winicapora* he ſaw what they call'd the mountain of cryſtal, which look'd at a diſtance like a white church-tower of exceeding height, over the top of which a mighty river ruſh'd down with prodigious noiſe. *Berreo* told him, there were diamonds and other ſtones of great value thereon, which blaz'd at a great diſtance. Upon this river *Ralegh* reſted a while, and marched to a town of the ſame name, where he found the natives all as drunk as beggars, it being the time of their feſtival. Here *Ralegh* refreſh'd himſelf with the proviſions of the place, and the delicate wine of *Pinas*, which the people brought him and his company in great plenty. But underſtanding that *Carapana* was retir'd from *Emeria*; and imagining, becauſe he was an old ſubtil prince, it was to wait till he ſhould return next year, then join him, if the *Engliſh* were ſtrong enough to tempt his alliance; if not, that he might excuſe his retirement to the *Spaniards*, as tho' it were in fear of theſe new viſitors; *Ralegh* ſpent no more time in ſeeking after him; but making to the river *Cumaca*, he met with *Keymis*, and took his leave of *Putijma*, who, of all others, moſt lamented his departure; for the *Orenoque* was now ſwoln moſt dreadfully, ſo that it was impoſſible to return by the way he enter'd, for the river of *Amana* could not be ſailed back by any means, the breeze and current of the ſea were ſo outragious: therefore he follow'd the branch of *Capuri*, which enter'd into the ſea eaſtward of his ſhips, that he might bear with them before the wind; and great need there was ſo to do, having by that way as much to croſs of the main ſea, in their little boats, after they came to the river's mouth, as between *Gravelin* and *Dover*. But when they arriv'd at the ſea-ſide, and anchor'd in the mouth of *Capuri*, they were in a moſt deſperate condition; for there aroſe a mighty ſtorm, and the river's mouth was at leaſt a league broad, ſo that they run before night cloſe under the land with their boats, and brought the galley as near as they could, which had much ado to live, and was often near ſinking with all her men. *Ralegh* was in the utmoſt doubt what courſe to take; either to venture in the galley through ſix foot water on the ſands for two leagues together, and that in the channel, when ſhe drew five; or truſt in ſuch a raging wind and ſea to croſs over in his barge. At laſt, ſeeing the tempeſt increaſe the longer he tarried, he took *Gifford*, *Calfield*, and *Grenvil*, in his barge; and about midnight thruſt into the ſea, leaving the galley to come by day-light. "Thus faintly chearing one another in ſhew of courage (ſays "*Ralegh*) it pleas'd God by nine a-clock the next morning we diſcover'd the iſle of *Trinidad*." So they kept along the ſhore to *Curiapan*, where they found their ſhips at anchor; "than "which (ſays he) there was never to us a more joyful ſight;" eſpecially when they found, upon meeting together, they had loſt but one man (before-mention'd) through ſo many extremes of wet, heat, hunger, want of reſt, ſleep, lodging, and ſuch like violent hardſhips in this toilſom and dangerous adventure, as drove them to many unuſual and unhealthy ſhifts, eſpecially in their diet; ſuch as feeding upon many ſtrange and corrupted fruits; upon freſh fiſh without ſeaſoning; *crocodiles*, *ſea-cows*,[b] *anta's*, and *armed hogs*; upon all ſorts, of the land or water; good and bad; without order or meaſure: and yet no *calenture* befell them, or other peſtilent diſeaſes which are wont to infect all regions ſo near the *line*; ſo wholeſom was the country, or ſo happily ſuited to their conſtitutions. The many praiſes which *Ralegh* further beſtows upon the plenty and other felicities of *Guiana*, I muſt leave to the noble *deſcription* he has writ of it, having here only extracted ſuch parts as more chiefly reſpect our preſent endeavour at the perſonal hiſtory of its author.

Draws a general map of the country.

In a dreadful ſtorm.

[a] This large and general map of *Guiana* and the neighbouring countries, *Ralegh* often mentions; and where he is ſpeaking of the *Orenoque*; how far it is navigable; what conſiderable parts of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* are to be invaded thereby; to what other regions it leads, the deſcent of its branches; and where it falls into the ſea, he tells us, theſe particulars, that he may not be tedious, ſhall better be perceiv'd in the general deſcription of *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Nuevo Reyno*, the kingdom of *Popayan* and *Roidas*, with the province of *Veneçuela*, to the bay of *Uraba*, behind *Cartagena* weſtward; and to *Amazones* ſouthward. Whether the little map, which I think is prefix'd to the *Latin* edition of *Ralegh's diſcovery of Guiana*, hereafter mention'd, is a contraction of this large and general map; I do not remember, when I had that tract in my hand, to have obſerv'd by any inſcription there may be thereon.

[b] Of theſe *ſea-monſters*, otherwiſe call'd *manati* by the *Spaniards*, *Ralegh* ſays he had ſeen as big as a wine-pipe; others deſcribe its fleſh to be like beef, and to yield an excellent oil; the hide, being dreſs'd, makes good buff; and dried, good targets or armour; wherefore, we are told, Sir *Walter Ralegh* brought ſeveral of theſe hides into *England*. See captain *Harcourt*'s voyage in *Purchas* (before-mention'd) fol. 1275.

Fires ſome *Spaniſh* towns.

In his return homewards he touch'd at *Cumana*, to ſtore and refreſh himſelf with ſuch proviſions as he wanted; but the *Spaniards* refuſed to ſupply him, at which he threatned the town; and upon their refuſing alſo to ſave it by ſuch reaſonable ranſom as they had juſt before offer'd captain *Preſton*, he ſet it on fire: the like he did at *St. Mary*, and at *Rio de la Hach*, as we are informed by *Camden* and others; ſome of whom affirm, he got not only great glory hereby, but riches; the latter of which will be thought doubtful to thoſe who have read the *Spaniards* had removed their effects to the mountains, before they entered into a capitulation with *Preſton*. On the 13th of *July*, when the ſaid captain *Preſton*, with the reſt of his company, were under *Cape St. Anthony*, the weſtermoſt part of the iſle of *Cuba*, "we met (ſays the "writer of his voyage) with the honourable knight Sir *Walter Ralegh*, returning from *his* "*painful and happy diſcovery of Guiana*, and his ſurpriſe of the iſle of *Trinidad*: ſo with glad "hearts we kept him and his fleet of three ſhips company (for he mentions no more) till the "twentieth day at night, at which time we loſt them."[a]

Writes a diſcourſe of his *Guianian* diſcoveries.

When *Ralegh* was arrived in *England*, he ſoon applied himſelf to digeſt the obſervations he had made in his diſcoveries, and they were, not many months after, committed to the preſs.[b] Several authors have beſtowed characters in praiſe of this *diſcourſe*, which manifeſts ſuch a wonderful genius in compaſſing the knowledge of ſo many places, productions, and people, with ſo ſmall a power, and in ſo ſhort a time. The honourable Mr. *Duddely*, natural ſon of the earl of *Leiceſter*, and afterwards a knight alſo of great renown for his writings and adventures, ſpeaking of a diſcovery into *Guiana*, which had been communicated to him, ſays it was in the ſelf-ſame manner almoſt *ſuch as Sir Walter Ralegh hath very diſcreetly written.*[c] *Camden* refers thoſe who would know more of this enterprize, to an ingenious book of *Ralegh*'s writing, wherein he gives *a moſt accurate deſciption of the countries, as if he had been born and bred there.*[d] And a later author mentions this treatiſe as one of thoſe written by *Ralegh*, which is *full of proper, clear and courtly graces of ſpeech.*[e] The action it ſelf has alſo had many juſt encomiums beſtowed upon it by Mr. *Hakluyt*, captain *Harcourt*, and others; the latter of whom, ſpeaking of the *Great Orenoque* (at a time wherein he will not be ſuſpected guilty of flattery to the firſt of our nation who explored that river) adds, *wherein Sir* Walter Ralegh *performed his worthy and memorable diſcovery.*[f] Nor could the muſes forbare to celebrate ſuch a glorious exploit, as well by the pens of thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of his toils and travel, as thoſe who were no ways concerned in them: for captain *Keymis*, who bore him company, as we have obſerved, wrote this year a *Latin* copy of verſes in praiſe of the *Guianian* expedition, deſcribing the ſituation of the country, with its riches, and *Ralegh*'s unparallel'd dexterity, for performing that diſcovery in a month, which ſo many brave *Spaniards* had in vain attempted many years.[g] And another learned poet, whom I take to have been Mr. *George Chapman*, wrote at the ſame time a *heroic poem* in *Engliſh* upon the ſame ſubject. Thoſe who have read this whole poem attentively, which contains near two hundred lines, and obſerved what lofty ſtrokes of praiſe the author beſtows upon this enterprize, as well as the cordial inſtigations wherewith he animates his country to perſevere in it, may conceive, I have had ſome conſtraint upon my ſelf, through a regard to that proportion which is here neceſſary, in tranſcribing no more from it, than thoſe parts wherein *Ralegh* is directly mentioned, when the whole redounds ſo much to his glory. And firſt, the poet, after having invoked his muſe to ſing the atchievement of that hero's ſword, which is conſecrated to his queen; and told us, the ſubject of his ſong is riches with honour, and conqueſt without blood; enough to ſeat univerſal monarchy, like the bird of *Jove*, upon *Eliza*'s hand; and deſcribed the wealthy *Guiana* bowing her mighty breaſt, and making every ſign of ſubmiſſion to become both the ſiſter and the daughter of that ſacred maid; he goes on thus:

[a] See *Robert Davie*'s vict. voyage of captain *Amias Preſton* and captain *George Sommers* to the *Weſt-Indies*, begun *March* 1595, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 582.

[b] Under the title of, *The diſcovery of the large, rich and beautiful empire of* GUIANA; with *a relation of the great and golden city of* MANOA, call'd by the *Spaniards El Dorado*, &c. performed in the year 1595, by *Sir* W. RALEGH knight, *captain* of her majeſty's *guard*, *lord-warden* of the *ſtanneries*, and her highneſs's *lieutenant-general* of the county of *Cornwall*. Imprinted at *London* by *Robert Robinſon*, 4to. 1596. reprinted in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 627. conſiſting of about nine ſheets. It was alſo tranſlated into *Latin* (and perhaps other languages) with the title of *Brevis & Admiranda Deſcriptio Regni Guianæ &c. per Dn. Gualt. Ralegh Equit. Angl. delectæ; Tabulâ Geographicâ Jodoc. Hondii &c. Norimb. impenſ.* 4*to* 1599.

[c] See his voyage to *Trinidad* in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 576.

[d] Annal. *Eliz. Anno* 1595.

[e] *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 438.

[f] Captain *Harcourt* in *Purchas* (as before) fol. 1270.

[g] *Ad Thomam Hariotum Matheſeos, & univerſæ Philoſophiæ peritiſſimum, de Guiana carmen. Dat. Anno* 1595. *vid. Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 672.

Then

Then moſt admir'd ſoveraign, let your breath
Go forth upon the waters, *and create*
A golden world in this our iron age;
And be the proſp'rous fore-wind to a fleet,
That ſeconding your laſt, may go before it.
In all ſucceſs of profit and renown:
Doubt not but your election was divine;
As well by fate, *as your high judgment order'd,*
To raiſe him with choice bounties who cou'd add
Height to his height; *and like a liberal vine,*
Not only bear his virtuous fruit aloft,
Free from the preſs of ſquint-ey'd envy's *feet,*
But deck his gracious prop with golden bunches;
And ſhroud it with broad leaves of rule *o'er-grown,*
From all black tempeſts of invaſion.

THEN having exhorted the queen not to let the courſe of her reign be like thoſe great winds, which in the morning of their power tear up forreſts by the roots, raiſe the ſeas to the ſkies, and make the earth tremble, yet, bury their waſtful bravery in the evening; but rather like a river that flows from the mountains, and grows greater the further it runs, till, mixing with the main, it takes his titles and command: having alſo expoſed thoſe politicians, who would be wiſe in ſpight of wiſdom; who think nothing can be right but certainty, and place their faith in incredulity; that coward's caſtle, ſluggard's cradle, and only wit of fools, which ſlovenly defaces all things fair: and laſtly, having bewail'd the corruptions of *nature* in our greateſt nobility, whoſe bodies have choak'd their minds, which are bereaft of ſenſe through exceſſive ſenſualities, till the effects of their luſts have like lightning wounded her *ſoul* through her fleſh unwounded; ſo that ſhe muſt need incitements to her recovery even from the part ſhe hurts; the poet finely continues in theſe words:

——————————*O how moſt like*
Art thou, heroic author of this act;
To this wrong'd ſoul *of* nature! *that ſuſtain'ſt*
Pain, charge, and peril, for thy country's good;
And ſhe much like a body numb'd with ſurfeits,
Feels not thy gentle applications
For the health, uſe, and honour of her powers!
Yet ſhall my verſe through all her eaſe-lock'd ears
Trumpet the nobleſs of thy high intent;
And if it cannot into act proceed,
The fault, and bitter penance of the fault,
Make red ſome others eyes with penitence,
For thine are clear — and what more nimble ſpirits,
Apter to bite at ſuch unhooked baits,
Gain by our loſs, that, muſt we needs confeſs,
Thy princely valour would have purchas'd us;
Which ſhall be fame eternal to thy name,
Though thy contentment, in thy grave deſires
Of our advancement, fail deſerved effect.
O how I fear thy glory which I love,
Leſt it ſhould dearly grow by our decreaſe!
Natures, that ſtick in golden-gravel'd ſprings,
In muck-pits, cannot ſcape their ſwallowings.

YET the poet confiding in the *Patrician* ſpirits of the nation to encourage this ſublime endeavour at ſuch imperial enlargements of the *Britiſh* dominion, and eſpecially in the temptations of the country it ſelf, Gold, like fate, giving life and law to all our actions; preſages they ſhould all go to *Guiana*; that *Britiſh* colonies ſhould be planted, churches and palaces built there; and that the whole world, by this heroic conqueſt, ſhould pay homage to the queen of *England:* but it cannot be ſo juſtly deſcribed as in the lines themſelves.

Then in the Theſpiads *bright prophetic ſont,*
Methinks I ſee our liege riſe from her throne,
Her ears and thoughts in ſteep amaze erect,
At the moſt rare endeavour of her power.
And now ſhe bleſſes with her wonted graces,
Th' induſtrious knight, the ſoul of this exploit;
Diſmiſſing him to convoy of his ſtars.
And now for love and honour of his worth,
Our twice-born nobles bring him bridegroom-like,
That is eſpous'd for virtue to his love,
With feaſts and muſick raviſhing the air,
To his Argolian *fleet; where round about*
His bating colours, Engliſh *valour ſwarms*
In haſte, as if Guianian Orenoque,
With his full waters fell upon our ſhore.
And now a wind as forward as their ſpirits,
Sets their glad feet on ſmooth Guiana's *breaſt;*
Where, as if each man were an Orpheus,
A world of ſavages fall tame before them,
Storing their thriſt-free treaſuries with gold.
And there doth plenty *crown their wealthy fields;*
There, learning *eats no more his thriftleſs books;*
Nor valour, oſtridge-like, his iron arms:
There, beauty *is no ſtrumpet to her wants,*
Nor Gallique *humours putrify her blood;*
But all our youth take Hymen's *lights in hand,*
And fill each roof with honour'd progeny:
There, makes ſociety *Adamantine chains,*
And joins their hearts with wealth, whom wealth diſjoin'd:
There healthful recreations *ſtrew the meads,*
And make their manſions dance with neighbourhood,
Which here were drown'd in churliſh avarice:
And there do palaces *and* temples *riſe*
Out of the earth, and kiſs th' enamour'd ſkies;
Where New Britannia *humbly kneels to heaven,*
The world *to her, and both, at* her *bleſt feet,*
In whom the circles of all empire meet. [a]

But the poet was no prophet in this reſpect; for *Raleigh*, with all his zeal and aſſiduity for the honour and advantage of his country, of which he could not give more ſincere proofs than he did, by his continual forwardneſs to venture his fortune, and his life therein, could never induce the ſtate to proceed in the plantation of *Guiana*; not ſo much through any real incredulity of the emoluments that would accrue from it, the ſuperficial cauſe of its neglect; as through that malignant jealouſy which ſo eternally biaſs'd the domeſtic competitors for royal favour, to curb the foreign ſervices of enterpriſing men, leſt the atchievements of the one ſhould outſhine the adminiſtrations of the other: and this reaſon we may have further occaſion hereafter more expreſly to confirm out of *Raleigh*'s own words; whence we may here obſerve, that he, whoſe engaging qualities had gain'd him ſuch influence, ſuch an aſcendency over the moſt ſavage and unciviliz'd nations, found no diſpoſitions ſo barbarous and intractable among thoſe ſtrangers, as he did in his own country; like *Hercules* himſelf, who having, by his glorious labours, ſhewed his power of ſubduing and taming all other monſters, found envy and detraction invincible at laſt. That *Raleigh*'s labours were attended with the ſame fate, himſelf has ſufficiently diſcover'd in that *dedication*, which, with ſo much eloquence, modeſty, and generoſity, he made of his *diſcourſe* upon *Guiana* aforeſaid, to the lord-admiral *Howard* and Sir *Robert Cecyl*. For notwithſtanding the difficulties and dangers of the voyage, "It appears (ſays *Raleigh* therein) that I "made no other bravado of going to ſea than was meant, and that I was never hidden in *Corn-*

[a] De Guiana Carmen Epicum, Authore G. C. *in* Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 663.

wal

" *wal* or elſewhere, as was ſuppos'd. They have groſly belied me, that fore-judged I would Traduc'd.
" rather become a ſervant to the *Spaniſh* king than return; and the reſt were much miſtaken,
" who would have perſuaded that I was too eaſeful and ſenſual to undertake a journey of ſo
" great travel: but (as he generouſly continues) if what I have done receive the gracious con-
" ſtruction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchaſe the leaſt remiſſion, I ſhall think all too little;
" and that there were wanting to the reſt many miſeries." And as he had juſt before obſerv'd, in a delicate reflection upon the ungrateful cuſtom of making one failing eclipſe the merit of many virtuous actions, where he ſays, " If ought might have been deſerv'd in former times to have
" counterpois'd any part of offences, the fruit thereof, as it ſeems, was long before fallen from the
" tree, and the dead ſtock only remain'd." So here he goes on; " But if both the times paſt;
" the preſent, and what may be in the future, do all by one *grain of gall* continue in eternal
" diſtaſte; I do not then know whether I ſhould bewail my ſelf either for my too much travel
" and expence, or condemn my ſelf for doing leſs than that which can deſerve nothing.
" From my ſelf I have deſerv'd no thanks, for I am return'd a beggar and wither'd; but
" that I might have better'd my poor eſtate, it ſhall appear by the following diſcourſe, if I had not
" reſpected only her majeſty's future honour and riches. It became not the former fortune in
" which I once liv'd, to go journeys of picory; and it had ſorted ill with the offices of honour
" which by her majeſty's grace I hold this day in *England*, to run from cape to cape, and from
" place to place, for the pillage of ordinary prizes." The inſignificancy of theſe purſuits alſo in our other *Engliſh* adventurers to diſtreſs the king of *Spain*, he lays open a little further, in the following manner: " This undertaking hath another ground and aſſurance of riches and
" glory than the voyages of the *Weſt-Indies*; an eaſier way to invade the beſt parts thereof
" than by the common courſe. The king of *Spain* is not ſo impoveriſh'd by taking three or
" four port-towns in *America*, as we ſuppoſe; neither are the riches of *Peru* or *Nueva Eſpanna*
" ſo left by the ſea-ſide, as to be eaſily waſh'd away with a great flood or ſpring-tide, or left
" dry upon the ſands at a low ebb. The port-towns are few and poor in reſpect of thoſe
" within the land; are of little defence, and only rich when the fleets are to receive the trea-
" ſure for *Spain*: and we might think the *Spaniards* very ſimple, having ſo many horſes
" and ſlaves, if they could not upon two days warning carry all the gold they have into the
" land, and far enough from the reach of our foot-men, eſpecially the *Indies* being ſo moun-
" tainous, ſo full of woods, rivers and marſhes." Here he goes on to give a large variety of examples, naming, beſides the ports of *Cumana* and *St. Joſepho*, which he took himſelf, and found not therein one rial of plate, many other towns and cities which are wealthy, but of difficult acceſs through our want of good footing in the neighbourhood of them. And leaves many more iſlands, ports, cities and mines in *Peru* and other parts unnam'd with the reſt, both that the grandeur of thoſe territories might not ſeem incredible, and for this further reaſon;
" Of all which (ſays he) becauſe I have written a particular *treatiſe* of the *Weſt-Indies*,[a] I His treatiſe
" will omit the repetition at this time; ſeeing that in the ſaid treatiſe I have anatomiz'd of the *Weſt-*
" the reſt of the ſea-towns, as well as of *Nicaragua*, *Jucatan*, *Nueva Eſpanna*, and the *Indies*.
" *iſlands*, as thoſe of the *inland*; and by what means they may be beſt invaded, as far
" as any mean judgment can comprehend." But *Ralegh* was in hopes it would appear there was now a way found out to anſwer every man's longing; a richer *Indies* than any the king of *Spain* enjoy'd, which if the queen would patronize, he was willing to end the remainder of his days in reducing it to a total ſubjection. Whatever he further advanced of this kind, diffidence and detraction were ſo predominant, that becauſe ſome of *Ralegh*'s company brought over *marcaſite* for gold, as he informs us a little further,[b] there were ſome who would not believe the real gold ore which he brought, and which he had helped to dig out of the rocks with his own dagger, was of greater value. Nay, when many trials had been made of this ore,[c] wherein ſome quantities were proved by one *Weſtwood*, a refiner in *Wood-ſtreet*, to hold after the rate of twelve or thirteen thouſand pounds a ton. His trial of
Other parcels, by Mr. *Bulmar* and *Dimock*, aſſay-maſter, found alſo to hold after the rate of the *Guianian*
twenty-three thouſand pounds the ton; and a third ſort tried by Mr. *Palmer*, comptroller of ore.
the *Mint*, and Mr. *Dimock* in *Goldſmiths-Hall*, holding after the rate of twenty-ſix thouſand nine hundred pounds the ton; who tried alſo ſome gold duſt of the ſame mine, which held eight pound ſix ounces weight of gold in the hundred, and an image of copper made in

[a] This treatiſe, was I think never printed, at leaſt under Sir *Walter*'s name; nor has it ever been taken notice of by any of thoſe writers of his life, who have attempted to give us a catalogue of his writings.

[b] Sir *W. Ralegh*'s preface to the diſcovery of *Guiana*.

[c] Some of the ore which Sir *W. Ralegh* brought from *Guiana*, and probably of this which he brought at this time, has been ſo careſully preſerv'd in his family, that it is now in the poſſeſſion of captain *William Elwes*; who, among other communications relating to Sir *W. Ralegh*, has courteouſly oblig'd me with a ſight thereof.

Guiana,

Guiana, which held a third part of gold: when all this was prov'd, there were thoſe who would not yet believe it gold of *Guiana*; but that *Raleigh* purchas'd it upon the *African* coaſt, and carried it over thither. " Surely, the ſingularity of that device (ſays *Raleigh*) I do not " well comprehend: for my own part, I am not ſo much in love with theſe long voyages, as " to deviſe thereby to couſen my ſelf; to lie hard, to fare worſe, to be ſubject to perils, to " diſeaſes, to ill ſavors, to be parch'd and wither'd, and withal, to ſuſtain the care and labour " of ſuch an enterpriſe; except the ſame had more comfort than the fetching of *marcaſite* " in *Guiana*, or buying of gold ore in *Barbary*. But I hope the better ſort will judge me by " themſelves, and that the way of deceit is not the way of honour or good opinion. I have " herein conſumed much time and many crowns, and I had no other reſpect or deſire than to " ſerve her majeſty and my country thereby. If the *Spaniſh* nation had been of the like belief " with theſe detractors, we ſhould little have fear'd or doubted their attempts wherewith we now " are daily threaten'd. But if we now conſider of the actions both of *Charles* V, who had the " maidenhead of *Peru*, and the abundant treaſures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affairs of " the *Spaniſh* king now living; what he has added to the acts of his predeceſſors; how many " kingdoms he has endanger'd; how many armies, garriſons and navies he maintains; the " great loſſes he has repair'd, as in *eighty-eight*, above a hundred ſail of great ſhips, with " their artillery; and that no year is leſs unfortunate, but that many veſſels, treaſures and peo- " ple are devour'd; and yet that he begins again, like a ſtorm, to threaten ſhipwreck to us " all; we ſhall find that theſe abilities ariſe not from the trades of *ſack* and *Seville-oranges*, nor " from ought elſe that either *Spain*, *Portugal*, or any of his other provinces produce; it is his " *Indian* gold that endangers and diſturbs all the nations of *Europe*; it creeps into councils, " purchaſes intelligence, and ſets bound loyalty at liberty in the greateſt monarchies thereof: " if the *Spaniſh* king can keep us from foreign enterpriſes, and from the impeachment of his " trades; either by offer of invaſion, or by beſieging us in *Britain*, *Ireland*, or elſewhere, he " has then brought the work of our peril in great forwardneſs: for thoſe princes, who abound " in treaſure, have great advantages over the reſt, if they once conſtrain them to a *defen-* " *ſive* war, where they are driven, once a year or oftener, to caſt lots for their own gar- " ments." [a] For theſe and other ſubſtantial reaſons which *Raleigh* produces, he declares, he has labour'd all his life, both to the utmoſt of his own power and perſuaſion of others, in the promotion of thoſe attempts which promis'd either an enlargement of our own national intereſt, or an abatement of the encroaching greatneſs of the *Spaniard*, who, in his judgment, is not to be more eaſily reduc'd than by *ſuch a war*; from ſo many weak nations are his treaſures gather'd, and ſo far ſeparated from mutual ſuccour. But becauſe he thought ſuch reſolution and preparations were not to be hoped for in haſte, he doubted not, if her majeſty would embrace the offer of thoſe provinces, and that empire now by him diſcover'd, before they were engroſs'd by the enemy; but it would yield greater quantities of treaſure than all the king of *Spain* poſſeſſes from the *Indies*, both *Eaſt* and *Weſt*; and he would be contented to loſe her good opinion for ever, and his life withal, if the country ſhould not be found to exceed whatever had been promis'd in his diſcourſe of it. [b] Tho' he has therein written, he doubts not after the firſt or ſecond year that the ſame ſhould be coloniz'd, but to ſee in *London* a contractation-houſe of more receipt for *Guiana*, than that in *Seville* for the *Weſt-Indies*. And is poſitive, " That if there " was but a ſmall army a-foot in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa*, the chief city of *Inga*, he " would yield to her majeſty, by compoſition, ſo many hundred thouſand pounds yearly, as " ſhould both defend us from all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home; and that " he would beſides pay a garriſon of three or four thouſand ſoldiers very royally to defend him " againſt other nations: for he cannot but know how his predeceſſors were beaten out by the " *Spaniards*, and that they have ever ſince, with the greateſt cruelties, ſought the entry of his " country, wherefore he would doubtleſs be brought to tribute; if not, having neither " ſhot nor iron weapon in his empire, he might eaſily be conquer'd." [c] And in another part of the ſaid diſcourſe, he has theſe words, " If it be my lot to proſecute the ſame, I will wil- " lingly ſpend my life therein; and if any elſe ſhall be enabled thereto, and conquer the ſame, I " aſſure him thus much, he ſhall perform more than ever was done in *Mexico* by *Cortez*; or in " *Peru* by *Piçarro*, whereof one conquer'd the empire of *Mutezuma*, the other of *Guaſcar* " and *Alabalipa*; [d] and whatſoever prince ſhall poſſeſs it, that prince ſhall be lord of more " gold and of more beautiful empire, and of more cities and people, than either the king of

Diſcredited.

[a] Sir *W. Raleigh*'s preface as before. [b] Idem. [c] His diſcovery of *Guiana*, 4to 1596. p. 100.
[d] *Vide Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1493. & 1590

Spain

" *Spain* or the Great Turk."[a] Concluding his whole treatiſe of *Guiana* with " his truſt, in " him who is the King of kings and Lord of lords to put it into her heart who is the Lady " of ladies to poſſeſs it; if not, I will judge thoſe men worthy to be kings thereof, ſays he, " who by her grace and leave will undertake it of themſelves."

ALL this, and much more, would not do to raiſe the ſaternine, or rather malignant genius of the ſtate to purſue this action; and upon this occaſion we might obſerve, as *Ralegh* did afterwards upon another[b] from a poet of his own time,[c] That *ſome great men cloathing their private envy in the fair colours of the publick good, curbed the moſt needful and noble undertakings with diſtruſt, through a ſpecious care for the ſervice of the ſtate.* Among theſe ſage and ſceptical politicians, we may diſcern Sir *Robert Cecyl* to be one, who, in his conferences with ſome of the ſpeculative geographers of his time, would ſhew how careful he was not to be overtaken with any partial affection to the planting of *Guiana*, as we are told by one of them, whom he would conſult about the matter; and who, perhaps therefore, admires, in a dedication to him, as the manner is in this ſort of writing, with no ſmall joy, the exact knowledge he had acquir'd in matters of *Indian* navigation.[d] Nevertheleſs, *Ralegh*'s advice was not wholly diſregarded. For that part of it before-mention'd, propoſing to drive the *Spaniards* to a defenſive war, but upon their own proper coaſts or harbours, was approv'd of; and *Ralegh* himſelf choſen, with other commanders, as we ſhall ſoon find, to put it in execution. In the mean time, however diſcourag'd in his new diſcovery, he would not relinquiſh it; but within ſix months after his return, that is, in the latter end of *January* following, he fitted out captain *Keymis* with a couple of ſhips, the *Darling* and *Diſcoverer*; but provided, rather to continue the correſpondence and peaceful traffic with the *Indians*, than to ſtrengthen them in a warlike manner with forces and accoutrements, which was what they moſt deſir'd and expected. When *Keymis* arriv'd at *Guiana*, he found his friends much diſperſed, but yet enquiring what was become of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, whom they had been prepar'd ſome months to join? were mighty joyful to hear he was not ſlain at *Cumana*, as the *Spaniards*, now much increas'd among them, had atteſted; but ſadly diſappointed that he had not ſent a larger fleet to expel them, and conquer their neighbouring enemies up to the imperial city. *Keymis* further learnt, that *Berreo*, being left at *Cumana*, and lodged in the houſe of one *Faſhardo*; the governors of the *Caraccas* and *Margarita*, conſpiring together, had ſent into *Spain* to inform king *Philip*, that *Berreo*, being retired to ſpend the remainder of his declining days in privacy and eaſe, was utterly unable to purſue the enterprize; yet of what importance his majeſty's regard thereto was, ſince ſo eminent an *Engliſh* cavalier, as Sir *Walter Ralegh*, had, by a vigorous progreſs and moſt artful addreſs, made ſuch conqueſts and diſcoveries in ſome parts, and render'd himſelf ſo extenſively engaging in all where-ever he came, that unleſs they had power given them to undertake the charge, all their paſt endeavours and future hopes in thoſe parts would come to nothing.[e] But *Berreo*'s camp-maſter having been long before ſent into *Spain*, with gold enough gotten out of *Guiana*, to levy and furniſh five hundred men, ſo effectually ſollicited *Berreo*'s cauſe, that preſent order was given for the victualling and manning of ten ſhips to be ſent him; ſo well worth his care did the *king of Spain* think this undertaking. And further, this gold bore ſuch weight, that the king commanded eighteen ſhips more to ſtop at *Trinidad*, and not follow their other directions, before they ſaw that place ſecur'd from enemies. But *Berreo* himſelf ſuſpecting that ſpeedy diſpatch, return'd to *Carapana*'s port with fifteen men, the ſcatter'd remnant that *Ralegh* had left him. Thoſe governors follow'd him, and anticipating the authority they promis'd themſelves from *Spain*, enter'd *Guiana* with their men, and deter-

The ſecond voyage to *Guiana*.

[a] Diſcovery of *Guiana*, 4to. p. 9.

[b] *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 4. cap. 2. ſect. 17.

[c] *Sam. Daniel*'s tragedy of *Philotas*. Act 3. in the chorus. Which play being writ not long after the death of the earl of *Eſſex*, the town fancied that favourite characteriz'd therein; but the poet, in his apology at the end thereof, endeavours to clear himſelf from any ſuch intention

[d] *Hakluyt*'s dedication to Sir *R. Cecyl* of his ſecond volume of voyages, fol. 1599.

[e] How much alarmed *Spain* was at this attempt of *Ralegh*'s, Count *Gondomar* is introduced thus confeſſing to his ghoſt, in a pamphlet, writ not long after his death. " The tottering ground whereon my king's title to the " *Indies* ſtood, that it was nothing but violence and force, " tyranny and Uſurpation; and that if a ſtranger or more " gentle army ſhould enter, how eaſy it was to ſet us be- " ſides the cuſhion: this I know thou kneweſt, and what " not beſides which belongeth to ſo great an attempt and " Triumph." And a little further, " I dare not (for the " honour of my nation) unfold the woeful perplexity in " which *Spain* ſtood during this tedious voyage; how ſhe " quaked to think of the general view which thou hadſt " taken, without impeachment of all the *Weſt-Indies*; " but moſt of all, when ſhe was advertis'd of thy long " and laborous paſſage upon the river *Orenoque*, the diſtinguiſhments which thou haſt made betwixt it and the " river of *Amazons*, and the intelligences which thou hadſt " gotten for thy aſcent to the great city of *Manoa* and " kingdom of *Guiana*: *Deſigns, which if they had been " purſued, according to thy willingneſs and knowledge, we " had not at this day acknowledged one foot of earth for ours " in all the* Weſt-Indies." Sir *W. Ralegh's Ghoſt*; or *England's Forewarner*: diſcovering a ſecret conſultation newly held in the court of *Spain*; together with his tormenting of Count *Gondomar*, &c. *Utrecht*, 4to. 1626. p. 14, 16.

min'd to murder *Berreo*, who fled towards *Caroli*, expecting his ſon *Antonio de Ximenes* with ſuccours from the new kingdom of *Granada*. And now *Topiowary*, who had fled to the mountains, being dead, where the *Engliſh* boy, *Ralegh* left, was devour'd by a tyger, *Sanjago*, a *Spaniard*, in the faction of the governors aforeſaid, took *Francis Sparrow* priſoner, who was alſo left by *Ralegh*, as has been related; but having gather'd great plenty of gold, he ranſom'd his life therewith, yet was kept in captivity by the *Spaniards* ſome years, as we may hereafter learn. After this, the faction return'd to *Trinidad*, and begun to rebuild their town, where, unhappily to theſe new lawleſs rulers, the twenty-eight ſail of ſhips arriv'd from *Spain* in *February* following, and took *Sanjago*, one of the buſieſt among them, priſoner, whom *Keymis* found in chains, expecting to be put to death. The other actors in this interlude vaniſhing in canoes, recover'd *Margarita*, and *Cumana* again. When eighteen of thoſe ſhips had left all things in good order, they departed according to their inſtructions, leaving the other ten to fortify at *Conquerabia*, for the reception of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s fleet. Nor was it above four months after the arrival of thoſe ſhips from *Spain*, that the king had prepared ſeveral others, it being in *June* 1596, to tranſport a new ſupply of whole families, to the number of ſix hundred perſons, for *Guiana*; ſo little did this prince miſtruſt that the planting thereof would not turn to account. But theſe ſhips not ſailing before *Ralegh* himſelf viſited the coaſt where they lay; what work he made among them, and the reſt of the *Spaniſh* navy, will now in a little ſpace demand our attention.

His account of the gold mines in *Guiana* confirmed.

When *Keymis* was advanced to *Topiowary*'s port, he found the *Spaniards* under *Berreo* had planted a village there, and that a rocky iſland againſt the mouth of *Caroli* was their fort or refuge; but now leaving both town and iſland, they gather'd at the mouth of that river, and had ſent for cannon to defend the paſſage to "thoſe mines, ſays *Keymis* to *Ralegh*, from whence "your ore and white ſtones were taken the laſt year:" adding, "we all, not without grief, "to ſee our ſelves thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made void, were witneſſes of this their "remove." Then *Keymis* reſolved to ſeek out *Putiima*, who, with ſome friends, was retir'd to the high lands, not far from the mountain *Aio*; intending, if the *Indians* ſhould think themſelves too weak with his help to diſplant the *Spaniards*, to ſet ſome of them to work, for hatchets and knives, to return him grains of gold and white ſtones from ſuch places as they ſhould be directed to. But when he came to the place of their abode, they were fled, apprehending him and his company perhaps to have been a party of *Spaniards*. "Here, as *Key*-"*mis* goes on, *Gilbert* my pilot offer'd to bring us either to the mine of white ſtones near "*Winicapora*, or elſe to a gold mine which *Putiima* had ſhewed him, being but one day's jour-"ney over-land from the place where we now ſtaid at anchor. I ſaw far off the mountains adjoin-"ing to this gold mine; and, having meaſured their paths near the ſame place this laſt year, could "not judge it to be fifteen miles from us. I do well remember, how coming that way with "*Putiima* the year before, he pointed to this ſame mountain, making ſigns to have me go with "him thither. I underſtood his ſigns, and *marked the place*, but miſtook his meaning; ima-"gining that he would have ſhew'd me the over-fall of the river *Curwari* from the mountains. "My *Indian* ſhewed me in what ſort, without digging, they gather the gold in the ſand of "a ſmall river named *Macawini*, which ſprings and falls from the rocks where this mine is. "And further told me, that he was with *Putiima* when *Morequito* was to be executed by the "*Spaniards*, and that then the chief of *Morequito*'s friends were in conſultation to ſhew this "mine unto them, if it might redeem their captain's life; but upon better advice, ſuppoſing "them in this caſe to be implacable, and that this might prove a means to loſe not only their "king, but their country, they have to this day conceal'd it from them, being of all others "the richeſt and moſt plentiful." And a little further, among the reaſons he gives for his not bringing proofs away from this mountain of his having known the contents of it, this is one, "Forethinking withal that there being no means but our ſelves to make known our diſ-"covery, if we return'd not; in our misfortune, the hope of following this voyage would be "buried." And further ſtill, he ſays, "I could promiſe hope of gold mines, and certain "aſſurances of pieces of made gold; of ſpleen-ſtones, kidney-ſtones, and others of better "eſtimate: but becauſe our belief ſeems to be mated in theſe greater matters, and a certainty "of ſmaller profits is the readieſt inducement to quicken our weak hopes, I go not ſo far, "ſays he, as my own eyes might warrant me." Theſe teſtimonies, and others which may be produced,[a] will both ſhew, that *Ralegh* was not more ſanguine in his golden hopes and promiſes

[a] *Francis Sparrow*, above-mention'd in the body of the work, confirms this account of the mines in theſe words: "Within ſix weeks after I departed out of the river "*Orenoque*, I came to the rich country of *Curaa* in "*Guiana*, where are the *mines of white ſtone, in which* "*is much natural and fine gold*, which the *Indians* call *Callicurii*.

miſes, than the experience of other men, as well as his own, would juſtify; and withal, from the authority of theſe profeſſions, that his choice was rationally grounded in making *Keymis* his agent for the further diſcovery of theſe mines many years afterwards; when, becauſe he was not ſo ſucceſsful as a prejudic'd and greedy government expected, the whole undertaking was, with the moſt flagrant ingratitude, branded as a fictitious project to impoſe upon his country, ſince indeed there was no impoſition, unleſs where it is moſt unlikely there ſhould be any, none being ſo great a ſufferer thereby as *Ralegh* himſelf. But more of this in its due place.

When *Keymis* was arriv'd at the port of *Carapana*, this caſique ſent ſome of his people in *canoes* to aſſure him he would come down next day and have a conference with him; but not coming in five or ſix days, he at laſt ſent one of his aged attendants to excuſe the fatigue of ſuch a journey, ſo unfavourable were the ways, and himſelf ſo diſabled with years and infirmities. This old envoy then enlarged upon the inconveniences they felt in uſing the *Spaniards* aſſiſtance againſt their enemies, eſpecially when he compared their conduct with that of the queen of *England*'s ſubjects under her *great commander*: "For, ſaid he, the laſt year, "we doubted not but that he, being able, would have perſecuted us as the ſupporters of "your adverſaries; would have taken our towns, and have made us ranſom our wives and "children: but we found it far otherwiſe; and that none of your well-govern'd company "durſt offer us any wrong; no, not when undiſcover'd they might have done it. We then "believed to be true, what your *grand captain* reported of his princeſs; took this for a good "proof of her royal authority and wiſdom, that had framed her ſubjects to ſuch obedience; "and of your happineſs, who enjoy'd the benefit thereof: wherefore *Carapana*, weighing the "friendly courſe of theſe proceedings, doth humbly crave of her majeſty, for himſelf and his "people, that with the reſt of the *Indians*, who wholly depend on her princely regard, he "alſo may enjoy her favourable protection; not as a man forſaken by the *Spaniards*, but one "that, knowing their injuſtice, hates their cruelties, and takes it for the beſt courſe utterly to "diſclaim their friendſhip." Here *Keymis* breaks off, to conſider it as a matter worthy of obſervation, how this precedent of *Ralegh*'s moderation and good order, which, among them, his countrymen, who knew him, was but his cuſtomary comportment, or ordinary practice, therefore of ſmall regard with them, had yet both alienated the *Indians* hearts altogether from the *Spaniard*, and ſtirred up in them true love and admiration thereof. After this, he diſcloſes his further knowledge of the *Indian* wealth aforeſaid in theſe words: "This old man ſhewed "whence moſt of their gold cometh which is formed in ſo many faſhions; whence their "ſpleen-ſtones, and others of all ſorts, are to be had in plenty; where gold is to be gather'd "in the ſands of their rivers; from what part the *Spaniards*, both by trade and otherwiſe, have "returned much gold;" and doubts not but all this was divulged with the conſent of *Carapana*, as an invitation to the further aid and protection he expected from the *Engliſh*.

The effects of his noble conduct among theſe *Indians*.

Accordingly *Keymis*, finding it was in vain to hope for a conference with that well-wiſhing, but wary *caſique*, and, having ſent him a preſent of iron, gave aſſurance to all the *Indians* who repaired to him of his ſpeedy return with ſuccours; promiſing to make them all rich in hatchets, knives,[a] and beads, if they would only reſerve good ſtore of their *caſſavi* (which they

"*Callicurii*. The gold in this place runs between the "ſtones like veins, *of which gold I had ſome ſtore*; but "now the *Spaniard* is the better for it. In *Curaa* is "alſo gold in ſmall grains, which lie in the ſands in the "little rivers or brooks: I always took thoſe grains for "the fineſt gold. In theſe rivers where gold lieth are "many Aligartos or Crocodiles." See the deſcription of the iſle of *Trinidad*, the rich country of *Guiana*, and the mighty river of *Orenoque*, written by *Francis Sparrey* (as my author writes him) left there by Sir *W. Ralegh* 1595, but taken by the *Spaniards*, and ſent priſoner to *Spain*, who, after long captivity, got into *England* by great ſuit 1602. In *Purchas*'s *Pilgr.* vol. 4. fol. 1249.

Captain *Harcourt* alſo gives this evidence to the ſame purpoſe; "As I daily convers'd among the *Indians*, it "chanced that one of them preſented me with a half "moon of metal which held ſomewhat more than a third "part gold, the reſt copper. Another alſo gave me a "little image of the ſame metal; and of another, I "bought a plate of the ſame, which he call'd a ſpread "eagle for an axe. All which things they aſſur'd me "were made in the high country of *Guiana*, which they "ſaid did abound with images of gold, by them called "*carrecoory*. Theſe things I ſhewed to my company, to "ſettle their troubled minds, which gave much content-"ment to the greater part of them, and *ſatisfied us all "that there was gold in* Guiana. Shortly after that, my "*Indian*, *Anthony Canabre*, brought me a piece of a rock "of *white ſpar*, whereof the high country is full; and if "the white ſpars of this kind, which are the pureſt white "of all others (for every ſort of mine hath a ſpar, and "for the moſt part white) be in a main rock, they are "certainly mines of gold or ſilver, or of both. I made "trial of a piece of ſpar which the ſame *Indian* diſcover'd "to me, and I found that it held both gold and ſilver; "which, altho' it was in ſmall quantity, *gave me ſatisfac-"tion that there be richer mines in the country to be found*; "but the beſt lie deeper in the earth, and we had not "time nor power to make ſearch for them." See the ſaid captain *Harcourt*'s voyage to *Guiana*, *Anno* 1608, dedicated to prince *Charles*, in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1277.

[a] Theſe inſtruments were ſuch preferable commodities among ſome of thoſe *Indians*, that *Francis Sparrow*, in his deſcription of *Guiana* before-mention'd, tells us he bought at *Camalaha*, to the ſouth of the *Orenoque*, eight young women, the eldeſt whereof was not eighteen years of age, for one red-halfted knife, which in *England* coſt him one halfpenny.

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uſed for bread) and ſome plates of gold, for exchange. And having further ſpent ſome time in the diſcovery of above fifty ſeveral rivers, tribes or nations of people, towns and caſiques in this voyage, of all which he has given us a very accurate table, he directed his courſe homewards, and arrived at *Portland* in the latter end of *June* aforeſaid; having ſpent five months in going, ſtaying, and returning. As ſoon as he got home, he found *Ralegh* had been gone upon a grand expedition out of the nation near a month. Therefore he had time to draw up his account of this voyage (whence the paſſages which more immediately relate to our ſubject are extracted) ready to preſent him with at his return into *England*; which he did, and dedicated it *To the approv'd, right valorous, and worthy knight Sir* Walter Ralegh, *lord warden, &c.* In this dedication, he expreſſes himſelf in a moſt reſpectful manner, and highly to Sir *Walter*'s honour for the great coſt and travel which he had beſtowed upon this diſcovery; telling him "the fervent zeal and loyalty of your mind, in labour with this birth of ſo ho-"nourable expectation, as it hath deſerved a recompence far different (from what he had been "deſcribing) ſo needeth it not my poor ſuffrage to endear the toil, care and danger you have "willingly undergone for the good and advancement of our weal publick: the praiſe-wor-"thineſs thereof doth approve itſelf; and is better read in your living doings, than in my "dead unregarded papers," *&c.* Subſcribing himſelf, *Your lordſhip's to be commanded in all ſervice.* And in his preface *To the favourers of the voyage for Guiana*, among the ſenſible motives he uſes to remove all fig-leaves from our unbelief, and the examples he urges to exprobrate our remiſneſs, one (which *Ralegh* had before touch'd upon with that modeſty wherewith he always alludes to himſelf) is given by our author *Keymis* in theſe words: "If we "ſhould ſuppoſe our ſelves now to live in the days of king *Henry* VII, of famous memory, "and the ſtrange report of a *Weſt-Indies*, or new world, abounding with great treaſure, ſhould "entice us to believe it; perhaps it might be imputed for ſome blame to the gravity of wiſe "men, lightly to be carried with the perſuaſion and hope of a new-found *Utopia* by ſuch a "one as *Columbus* was, being an alien, and many ways ſubject to ſuſpicion: but ſince the "penance of that incredulity lies even now heavy on our ſhoulders; the example ſore-threat-"ning I know not what repentance: and that we have the *perſonal trial of ſo honourable and "ſufficient a reporter, our own countryman*; let it be far from us to condemn our ſelves in that, "which ſo worthily we reprove in our predeceſſors,[a] and to let our idle knowledge content it "ſelf with naked contemplation, like a barren womb in a monaſtery." But in his relation of the *voyage* itſelf, which he concludes with many cogent and ſtrenuous arguments, drawn from the juſtice, profit and neceſſity of proſecuting it, he introduces that concluſion with a paragraph which ſets *Ralegh* forth ſo ſtrongly, in his principal point of light; having perſiſted more inflexibly, through greater diſcouragements, in more exalted purſuits than any other of his contemporaries, by ſeeking, not a private, ſo much as a national benefit; not a tranſient, but perpetual aggrandiſement of his country, that this author's grateful acknowledgment thereof demands an undeniable admiſſion; which therefore take as follows.

"Thus have I emptied your purſe, ſpending my time and travel in following your *lord-"ſhip's* directions for the full diſcovery of this coaſt and the rivers thereof. Concerning the

[a] Yet has our nation been reproached for our many neglects of this kind even to this day: a modern author obſerves, "That none of all our late *bubble-projectors* ſo "much as ever propos'd one ſubſcription for making any "diſcoveries like Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s in *Virginia* and *Guia-"na*. Where, ſays he, was the ſet of men who offer'd "to ſubſcribe to a fund for ſearching out the *north-weſt* "paſſages to navigate to the pole, and ſolve the difficulty "which all the proficients in *geography* ſpeak of only by "conjecture, *viz.* whether *Europe* and *America* join, or "the *Tartarian* ocean is to be travers'd or no? Have any "men yet ſubſcrib'd to a company for diſcovering the con-"tinents or iſlands of the ſeas, more truly call'd the *South-"Seas*, I mean due ſouth of the cape *de Bona Speranza*, "or due ſouth of the *Terra del Fuogo?* Do we think there "are any lands worth poſſeſſing in all the vaſt ſouthern "tracts from forty or fifty degrees ſouth to the other pole "of the world? Why are not theſe parts as well worth "ſearching as the bottoms and deeps of *Hudſon*'s and "*Davis*'s *Straights*, or the icy mountains of the *Waggats* "and *Nova Zembla?* The ſhort is, our *projects* are all "bubbles, and calculated for *Exchange-Alley diſcoveries*, "not for enlarging our commerce, ſettling colonies, and "ſpreading the dominions of our ſoveraign from pole to "pole. Why has no bold adventurer followed the glo-"rious Sir *Walter Ralegh* upon the river of *Amazon*, the "*Rio Parano*, and the *Great Orenoque?* where thouſands "of nations remain undiſcover'd; and where the wealth, "the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, the goodneſs of the climate, "and the infinite numbers of the people, exceed all that "has ever been conquer'd or diſcover'd in the *American* "world: but all is owing to the mercenary low humour "of the times we live in, who, groveling in the baſer "methods of getting money by fraud and bite, by de-"ceiving and over-reaching one another, ſcorn the glo-"rious ways by which our anceſtors grew rich, when they "purſued, together with their private advantages, the ho-"nour and intereſt of their native country and of their "poſterity. If our *ſubſcriptions* had been for ſuch things "as theſe, and the management had appear'd to be as "fair, as the deſign was honourable, we had never had "an act of parliament to ſuppreſs them as public nuſances "and a ſcandal to a Chriſtian government; but the *Bri-"tiſh* nation would have been encourag'd to exert itſelf to "the utmoſt in them: whereas now we are all degene-"rated into *bubble* and *bite*, and the *Exchange* as well as "*Exchange-Alley* is become a mere gaming-ſtage, where, "inſtead of merchants carrying on uſeful commerce, we "ſee throngs of *ſetters* and *cullies* ſharping and cheating "one another." See the *Humouriſt*, being eſſays upon ſeveral ſubjects, vol. 2. 8vo. 1725. p. 40, 41.

"not

" not making of a voyage for your private profit, I pretend nothing. Sorry I am, that where " I ſought no excuſe, by the *Spaniard*'s being there, I found my defect remedileſs. And for my " own part, I do proteſt, that if the conſideration of the public good which may enſue, had " not over-pois'd all other hopes and deſires, I would rather have adventur'd by ſuch ſmall " and weak means as I had, to do well with danger, than to return only with ſafety. Now " altho' in a cauſe not doubtful, my allegation is no way needful, yet becauſe the weightineſs " thereof, and the expectation of others, ſeems of right to claim ſomething to be ſaid by me, " whom your eſpecial truſt and favour have credited and grac'd with this employment: par- " don it, I beſeech your honour, if where my lamp had *oil*, it borrow *light* alſo, and my " ſpeech, which is altogether unſavory, ſeaſon itſelf with ſome of the leaven of your own " *diſcourſe* touching this diſcovery. The particular relation of ſome certain things I have re- " ſerved as properly belonging to your ſelf, who only, as knowing moſt, can make beſt uſe " thereof. So much in general is here touch'd, as may ſerve, I hope, to refreſh the memory of " this worthy enterprize in thoſe it may concern, and teſtify your care and expence in follow- " ing the ſame: That in a ſecond age (when in time truth ſhall have credit, and men, won- " dering at the riches and ſtrength of this place, which nature it ſelf hath marvellouſly forti- " fied as her chief treaſure-houſe, ſhall mourn and ſigh to hold idle ſickles, whilſt others reap " and gather in this harveſt) it be not ſaid, SIR WALTER RALEGH *was, of all men* " *living in his days, moſt induſtrious in* ſeeking, *moſt fortunate in* attaining to *the fulneſs of an* " *ineſtimable public good:* if, *knowing that for* envy *and* private reſpects, *his* labours *were* leſ- " ſened, *his* informations miſtruſted, *his* proffers *not* regarded, *and the due* honour *of his de-* " *ſerts imparted to* others: if (I ſay) *ſeeing, knowing, and hearing all this, he with patience* " *had* perſiſted *in ſo good a way in doing his princeſs and country ſervice, and had but perfected* " *his* firſt *diſcovery by ſending* a ſhip or two *for that purpoſe; for then ſurely all lets and doubts* " *being removed, and ſo large a kingdom, ſo exceeding rich, ſo plentiful of all things as this by* " *his diſcourſe appeared to be, being offer'd; no devices and vain ſurmiſes could have taken place;* " *no illuſions could have prevail'd; it had been blindneſs and deafneſs in thoſe who, being near her* " *majeſty, do ſpend their days in ſerving the commonwealth, not to ſee and know in ſo weighty a* " *matter; it had been malicious obſtinacy, impotence of mind, and more than treaſon to the com-* " *monwealth; the matter ſtanding only upon acceptance, to ſeek either to foreſlow ſo fit an occaſion,* " *or forſake ſo general a bleſſing:* but this IF is now cut off, through a ſingular and incompa- " rable temper, in overcoming *evil* with *good*." [a]

His perſeverance applauded.

WHEN *Keymis* return'd into *England*, *Ralegh*, as we obſerv'd, was abroad, being ſent upon that enterprize which proved the moſt victorious and renowned of any the *Engliſh* undertook in thoſe days againſt the *Spaniards*. For the queen having heard they had received encouragement from *Tir-Oen*, the *Iriſh* rebel, to threaten her with a new invaſion; that becauſe ſhe had ſtrengthned their enemies, they would take the ſhorteſt courſe, and begin with *England*. [b] Therefore had made great naval preparations, to which they might not be a little embolden'd both by the death of her two brave old commanders, *Drake* and *Hawkins*; and again by their late ſucceſs, no further from her own coaſts than *Calais*; which taking by ſtorm, under cardinal *Albert*, archduke of *Auſtria* and governor of the *Netherlands*, the thunder of the *Spaniſh* artillery alarmed her majeſty's ears in her palace at *Greenwich*. This poſture of affairs made the queen determine, with the advice of her council, to uſe the moſt effectual means for preventing the miſchiefs of an aſſault, by taking the ſtart of them, and ſending a force ſufficient to deſtroy the *Spaniſh* ſhipping in their own harbours. [c] Accordingly, a powerful fleet was fitted out to the number of a hundred and fifty ſail, according to *Camden* from *Stow*, and *Speed* from both. But in the old manuſcript liſt of this fleet, which *Camden* followed as to the number of men, it appears there were no more than ninety-ſix ſhips of the *Engliſh* navy, [d] which were afterwards join'd by twenty-four ſail of *Hollanders*, as I gather out of *Grotius* and their other hiſtorians. As to the number of men; the general calculation at the end of that liſt aforeſaid, was taken upon truſt by *Gamden*, or he would not have given it us without doubt; for it neither does agree with the erroneous ſums under the particular heads of ſhips, mariners, captains, and ſoldiers, nor with the true ones which have ſince it was printed, been ſubjoin'd; and if it did, it would not give ſatisfaction; the liſt it ſelf being manifeſtly defective in omitting the

[a] See a relation of the ſecond voyage to *Guiana*, perform'd and written in the year 1596, by *Laurence Keymis*, Gent. and dedicated to the approved right victorious and worthy knight Sir *Walter Ralegh*, *&c.* in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 683.

[b] Earl of *Eſſex*'s *Apology*, the laſt edition, 8vo. 1729. p. 10.

[c] *Camden*'s *Annals*, 1596.

[d] *Cotton* library. *Julius* F. VI. fol. 278.

land-companies which went over in the capital ſhips: ſo that not to be too ſcrutinous, the account which will beſt correſpond with all variations is, that this *Engliſh* fleet contain'd about fourteen thouſand men, whereof one thouſand were voluntiers. For as yet the *Engliſh* nobles and gentry had not learnt to live lazily and looſely at home, while their countrymen were fighting abroad for the ſafety and glory of the nation.[a] Now if to this number of men, we add alſo that in the *Dutch* ſhips, which according to their own computation was near twenty-ſix hundred men, there might be enough to leave the whole fleet furniſh'd with ſufficient hands to guard and work it, and allow of ten thouſand three hundred and ſixty men to land upon the *Spaniſh* coaſt, as it is propos'd in the concluſion of the liſt before-mention'd.

The lord-admiral *Howard* and the earl of *Eſſex* were joined in commiſſion generals of this enterprize; but the queen conſidering what there might be wanting to keep an old head and a young one, a cool and a warm one in due temper and harmony, allotted them a council of war in theſe words. "For the better and more orderly execution of this your commiſſion, "and of thoſe former articles compriſed in theſe our inſtructions, we do ordain, that there "ſhall be two perſons ſerving for the ſeas, and two that are appointed to ſerve with the forces
Choſen of the *council of war*, "for land-ſervice, to be as counſellors to you in our name, that is, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, "and Sir *Walter Ralegh*; Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *Coniers Clifford*; and to theſe four, we "do add Sir *George Carew*, lieutenant of our ordnance, to make the number of five; whom "alſo we charge by theſe preſents, that they will, as they will anſwer before God, give their "counſels to you both, without any private reſpect to either of you, for love or fear, in all "actions to be put in queſtion or taken in hand; and the ſame deliberately to debate, as the "weight of the matter ſhall require, before any reſolution be made, and before the putting "of the matter in action."[b] There is further to be underſtood by thoſe *two perſons ſerving for*
And admiral. *the ſeas*, that the Lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Walter Ralegh* were alſo conſtituted admirals in this expedition. Hence was the whole *Engliſh* fleet divided into four ſquadrons, and ſo it appears in the liſt aforeſaid, wherein we find that which was commanded by *Ralegh* conſiſted of twenty-two ſhips, thirteen hundred fifty-two mariners, and eighteen hundred ſeventy-five ſoldiers. The *Dutch* ſqundron was commanded by the admiral of *Holland*, named *John Duvenvord*, Lord of *Warmondt*. How *Eſſex* reliſh'd the diviſion of authority, may be ſomewhat gueſs'd at by the queen's anſwer to one of his letters it ſeems, which ſhe thought very ſtrange. "You mention, ſays ſhe, firſt a danger to commit authority to any other, becauſe "you are referr'd to your commiſſion and inſtructions formerly ſent you, which hath no power "of deputation; as who ſhould ſay, that if you did follow the directions of our *hand*, our "great *ſeal* in this matter ſhould be brought to diſpute the validity of your warrant." A little further it appears, that he had been impatient to be gone for fear he ſhould be detain'd, for the queen had perſuaded him to ſtay behind; but not prevailing, ſhe now gave him liberty to depart, and told him, "Tho' we meant to drive it to the laſt conſiderations and utmoſt debates "as much as could be, yet we compared times ſo ſufficiently, as a prince who knows what "belongs to ſuch a matter, that nothing ſhould be done to retard you (being ready) one hour: "for as we know *Ralegh* not to be arriv'd, ſo we know after it, ſome time to embark ſuch an "army muſt be required."[c] But *Ralegh* joined the fleet, and the whole army was embark'd within ten days after the writing of this letter, for on the firſt of *June* before-mention'd the fleet ſet ſail from *Plymouth*.[d] When they came to the north cape of *Spain*, they called a ſelect council, by hanging out the flag of arms; and then had the maſter and captain of every ſhip his ſealed inſtructions given him, or letters of rendezvous, which were not to be open'd till they were paſt *Cape St. Vincent*, unleſs ſeparated by bad weather; but to be thrown overboard
In the voyage to *Cadiz*. in caſe of danger from the enemy; and by which it appear'd the voyage was determin'd for *Cadiz*. They had a fortunate progreſs, both as to the wind, and the taking of every ſhip which

[a] *Lives Engliſh and Foreign*, vol. 1. p.

[b] See the queen's Inſtructions to the generals in the *Cotton* library. *Otho* E. IX. Alſo *Rymer's Fœdera*, *Anno* 1596. And Mr. *Lediard's Naval Expeditions* in that year.

[c] See the queen's ſaid letter, dated *May* 21. 1596, in the volume of the *Cotton* library before-cited; alſo lately printed in Mr. *Lediard's Naval Expeditions*, fol. 324.

[d] Sir *Francis Vere*, who was now marſhal of the land-forces, and who would incline us to think nobody's ſervices even at ſea in this expedition, were ſo conſiderable as his own, tho' "he was not allotted to any ſignal ſervice, ha-"ving (as he owns) till now been a ſtranger to actions at "ſea, ſays further, "During this ſtay of the army about "*Plymouth* (which, by reaſon of the contrariety of winds, "was near a month) it pleaſed my lord of *Eſſex* to give me "much countenance, and to have me always near him, which drew upon me no ſmall envy; inſomuch as ſome open "jars fell out between Sir *Walter Ralegh*, then rear-admiral "of the navy, Sir *Coniers Clifford*, ſergeant-major-general "of the army, and my ſelf; which the general qualified *for* "*the time*, and ordered, that in all meetings at *land*, I ſhould "have the precedence of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and he of me "at *ſea*." *Vere*'s commentaries, fol. *Cambridge*, 1657. p. 30, and 26. But thoſe jars could not ſpring from ſuch envy in *Ralegh*, who never coveted that favour which *Vere* courted.

could give the enemy intelligence of their approach. On the twentieth of *June* the fleet came to anchor in the bay of *St. Sebaſtians*, ſhort of *Cadiz* half a league. The lord-admiral, being careful of her majeſty's ſhips, had reſolved, with the earl of *Eſſex*, that the town ſhould be firſt attempted, to the end that both the *Spaniſh* galleons and galleys, together with the forts of *Cadiz*, might not all at once beat upon the *Engliſh* navy. *Ralegh* was not preſent at this reſolution, as himſelf has declar'd in that account of this action, which he diſpatched ſoon after it was over to a miniſter of ſtate in *England*;[a] which being the cleareſt I have met with, and eaſieſt to be confirmed, not only by the more indifferent pens of foreigners, but the moſt partial ones of our own country, thoſe of his competitors themſelves for honour in this engagement, will here be our beſt guide. Hence therefore we learn the reaſon of *Ralegh*'s abſence at that reſolution of firſt landing the army to have been, becauſe he was engaged the day before outward on the ſeas in ſtopping ſuch *Spaniſh* ſhips as might paſs out from *St. Lucar* or *Cadiz* along the coaſt.[b] When he return'd, two hours after the reſt, he found the earl of *Eſſex* diſembarking his ſoldiers, having put many companies into boats, with intention to make his deſcent on the weſt ſide of *Cadiz*; but the billows were ſo raging, that the boats were ready to ſink at the ſtern of the earl, and divers were loſt with ſome armed ſoldiers in them;[c] but becauſe this courſe had been reſolved on, and that doubting, now in the danger, might look like dreading of it, the earl continued his purpoſe of landing; when *Ralegh* came aboard his ſhip, and, in the preſence of all the colonels, proteſted againſt the reſolution; giving him many reaſons and apparent demonſtrations, that, to the utter overthrow of their armies, themſelves, and her majeſty's future ſafety, he was running the way of a general ruin. The earl excuſed himſelf, and laid it upon the lord-admiral, who would not conſent (he ſaid) to enter with the fleet till the town was firſt poſſeſſed. All the commanders and gentlemen preſent beſought *Ralegh* to diſſuade the attempt,[d] for they all perceived the danger, and were convinced that the greateſt part muſt periſh ere they could ſet foot on ground; and if any reached the ſhore, yet would they ſurely have their boats caſt on their heads; and twenty men, in ſuch a deſperate deſcent, might defeat them all. The earl hereupon prayed *Ralegh* to go and perſuade the lord admiral, who being alſo by him made ſenſible, that certain deſtruction would be the conſequence of purſuing the former reſolution, conſented to enter the port. When *Ralegh* brought *Eſſex* the news of this agreement,[e] and call'd out of his boat *entramos, entramos*, as he return'd towards him, the earl threw his hat into the ſea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. The day was now far ſpent, and it required much time to return the boats of ſoldiers to their own ſhips. So as that night they could not attempt the fleet, "Altho' many, ſeeming deſperately "valiant, thought it a fault of mine, ſays *Ralegh*, to delay it till morning,[f] tho' we had nei-"ther agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed who ſhould lead, and who ſecond; "whether by boarding or otherwiſe; neither could our fleet poſſibly recover all their men in "before ſun-ſet. But both the generals being pleaſed to hear me, and many times to be ad-"viſed by ſo mean an underſtanding, came again to anchor, and in the very mouth of the

Diſſuades the *generals* from their raſh courſe.

[a] Sir *Walter Ralegh's Relation of the action* at *Cadiz* in the year 1596, publiſh'd by *Philip Ralegh*, Eſq; his only grandſon, among the *genuine remains* at the end of an *abridgment of Sir* Walter's *hiſtory of the world*, 8vo. 1700.

[b] In a *foreign hiſtory* we have this circumſtance thus further confirm'd and enlarg'd. "*Ralegh* was diſpatch-"ed before with certain ſhips to ſet upon ſome great "veſſels, which, as they heard, were ready to ſail out of "*St. Lucar*'s bay; but they lay ſo near the ſhore, that "he could not approach them, and was further hinder'd "by a miſt in which they eſcap'd; but they were by *Ra-*"*legh* ſo nearly chaſed to the land, that his own ſhips "were in danger to have run on ground." See *The Triumphs of Naſſau*, fol. 1613. p. 187. tranſlated by *W. Shute*, gent. from the *French* book call'd, *Les Lauriers de* Naſſau: *ou deſcription & repreſentation* (en taille douce) *de toutes les victoires gagnées par les eſtats ſouz la conduite & gouvernement du prince* Maurice *de* Naſſau, fol. *a* Leyden; *par* Jean Jeantzoon Orlers, & Henry *de* Haeſtens, 1612.

[c] An author who was in the engagement, obſerves, that in this haſty attempt of the earl's, a barge was ſunk, having fourſcore ſoldiers in her, and that eight of them were drowned. See the *Cadiz* voyage in *Hakluyt*, and the abridgment in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1929.

[d] Sir *W. Monſon*, who was captain in the earl's ſhip, ſays, he alſo diſſuaded him from landing. See his *Naval Tracts* in *Churchil*'s collection of voyages.

[e] Sir *Francis Vere*, who was a commander of the land-forces, was one of them who was for landing with the earl at the *Caletta*, as plainly appears from his own words; and having no command in the fleet, it is no leſs viſible he envied thoſe who had, the honour of a naval victory. For how maliciouſly has he diſguis'd and diſparag'd this ſignal ſervice of *Ralegh*'s! where he ſays, "This day the "generals met not together, but the lord-admiral had "moſt of the ſea-officers aboard with him, and the lord "of *Eſſex* had thoſe for land-ſervice, and Sir *Walter Ra-*"*legh was ſent to and fro betwixt them with meſſages*; ſo "that in the end, it was reſolved and agreed upon to put "the next tide into the bay." See *Vere*'s commentaries, fol. 27, 28; but not one word, *who* it was that diſſuaded them from their firſt raſh attempt; and *who* brought them to this agreement; when even foreigners have given us more of the arguments wherewith the earl was perſuaded by *Ralegh* alone, than *Ralegh* himſelf has done. See the *Triumphs* of *Naſſau*, fol. 187.

[f] *Ralegh* himſelf was the firſt who complain'd of delay, by that indiſcreet attempt of landing, both againſt the ſtorm and the enemies ſhips, between them and the ſhore; but now the delay was neceſſitated, not only by the diſtance of the *Spaniſh* fleet up the bay, but the danger of being benighted, and then fighting in a ſtreight and among the rocks. See the *Triumphs of Naſſau*, as before; but *Ralegh* himſelf has given the beſt reaſon for their delay this night, which is, their having as yet agreed on no ſcheme or method of engagement; which muſt have brought all to confuſion.

"harbour.

Lays down the order of fight.

" harbour. So that night, about ten a-clock, I wrote a letter to the lord-admiral, declaring " therein my opinion, *how the fight ſhould be order'd*; perſuading him to appoint to each of " the great galleons of *Spain*, two great fly-boats to board them, after the queen's ſhips had " batter'd them; for I knew that both *St. Philip* and the reſt would burn, and not yield; and " then to loſe ſo many of the queen's ſhips for company, I thought too dear a purchaſe, and " what would be term'd but a *lamentable victory*." This method being agreed on, and both the generals perſuaded to lead the *body* of the fleet, the charge of the *van*, for putting it in execution, was, upon *Ralegh*'s requeſt, granted and aſſigned to him. The ſhip himſelf was in, called the *Warſpite*, was one of the queen's, and carried about two hundred and ninety mariners. The reſt, appointed out of her navy to ſecond him, were, the *Mary-Roſe*, commanded by Sir *George Carew*, the *Lion* by Sir *Robert Southwell*, the *Rainbow* by Sir *Francis Vere*, the *Swiftſure* by captain *Croſs*, the *Dreadnought* by Sir *Coniers* and *Alex. Clifford*, the *Nonpareil* by Mr. *Robert Dudley*; beſides twelve *Londoners* and certain fly-boats.[a] Thus the lord *Thomas Howard*, becauſe the *Mer Honeur*, which he commanded, was one of the greateſt ſhips, was alſo left behind with the generals; but being impatient thereof, he preſſed them to have the ſervice committed to him, and to that end exchang'd his ſhip with Mr. *Dudley*. Hereupon *Ralegh* obſerves, " For my own part, as I was willing to give honour to my lord *Thomas*, having both " precedency in the army, and being a nobleman whom I much honour'd; ſo I was yet reſolved " to give, and not to take example for this ſervice, holding my own reputation deareſt." Therefore with the firſt peep of day he weigh'd anchor, taking the ſtart of all others a good diſtance,[b] and bear with the enemy, who was in the following diſpoſition to receive him.

UNDER the walls of *Cadiz* were ranged ſeventeen galleys, which lay with their prows to flank his entrance. There was alſo a fort call'd *Philip*, which beat into and commanded the harbour, beſides the ordnance, which lay all along the curtain upon the wall towards the ſea, and divers other pieces of culverin which ſcour'd the channel. Notwithſtanding, as ſoon as the enemy perceived an *Engliſh* admiral under ſail approaching, ſeveral of their galleons and other ſhips of war, with forty great veſſels beſides bound for *Mexico* and other parts, alſo ſet ſail. Of all which, the *St. Philip*, *Matthew*, *Andrew* and *Thomas*, being four of the capital galleons of *Spain*, came again to anchor under the fort of *Puntal*, in a ſtreight of the harbour which leads over to *Puerto Real*. On the ſtarboard ſide of them, they placed three frigats of war; at their back, two great galleons of *Lisbon*, beſides two well furniſh'd argoſies; and the ſeventeen gallies by three and three, were to interlace them as occaſion ſhould be offer'd. The admiral, vice admiral, and rear admiral of *New Spain*, with the body of the fleet,[c] were ranged behind them towards *Puerto Real*, hoping with this great ſtrength to defend the entrance, the place being no broader from point to point, than that their line did in effect ſtretch over the ſtreight as a bridge, and had beſides the fort of *Puntal* for their guard.

Leads the van.

RALEGH, as aforeſaid, advancing in the van, was firſt ſaluted by fort *Philip*,[d] next by the cannon on the curtain, and laſtly in good order by the ſeventeen galleys which lay near the town with all their prows bent againſt him as he enter'd. *Ralegh* anſwer'd the firing of their

[a] The *Triumphs of Naſſau* having told us, that every commander ſtrived to have the *vanguard*, further add, " The " council, reſolving not to hazard the queen's great ſhips " but upon urgent neceſſity, thought fit that Sir *Walter* " *Ralegh*, with eight of the queen's leſſer ſhips (inſtead " of ſeven) ſix *Hollanders*, and twelve *Engliſh* merchant-men " ſhould have the vanguard." fol. 187. The reaſon why *Ralegh* mention'd not the *Hollanders*, and the *Engliſh* merchants but ſlightly, is, becauſe they were made little uſe of.

[b] The *Triumphs of Naſſau* obſerve, " the reſolution of " giving *Ralegh* the *van* being oppugned by the lord *Thomas* " *Howard*, who ſaid that honour belong'd to him (as vice-" admiral) it was concluded that both of them ſhould go " together; but *Ralegh*, as ſoon as it was day, to loſe no " time in weighing anchor, let ſlip, and thereby had the " advantage of ſailing firſt." fol. 188.

[c] The number of ſhips in the bay of *Cadiz* is not ſo exactly agreed upon as their ſituation, by thoſe who ſaw them, which *Ralegh* has deſcrib'd the beſt of any, becauſe ſome take more notice, ſome leſs, of the *Spaniſh* merchant-men. Sir *Francis Vere* only ſays, " In the " mouth of the bay, thwart the rocks called *Los Puercos*, " there lay to our judgment forty or fifty tall ſhips, where-" of were four of the king's greateſt and warlikeſt gal-" leons, eighteen merchant-ſhips of the *Weſt-Indian* fleet " outward-bound and richly laden, the reſt private mer-" chants." *Comment.* fol. 27. So that he ſaw but four men of war. Another who was there, ſays, " Between five " and ſix a clock in the morning our ſhips, with all ſpeed, " courage and alacrity, ſet upon the *Spaniſh* ſhips then " under ſail, and making up the bay of *Cadiz* towards " *Puente de Suazo*, being in number fifty-nine tall ſhips, " with nineteen or twenty galleys attending on them, " ſorted in ſuch good order and reaſonable diſtance, as " might ſtill annoy us, and relieve themſelves inter-" changeably." *Vid.* the *Cadiz* voyage in *Hakluyt*, and the *Abridgment* in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1929: ſo he mentions no merchant-men. But another having mention'd fifty-ſeven great ſhips, beſides twenty galleys and a few other veſſels of war, diſtinguiſhes alſo a fleet of thirty-five ſail richly laden for the *Weſt-Indies*, with as much wine, oil, lace, cloth of gold, and other precious merchandize, as was worth eleven or twelve millions of ducats. *Triumphs of Naſſau*, fol. 186. This was the fleet abovemention'd in *Ralegh*'s account, and near the number, bound for *Mexico*.

[d] Sir *Walter Ralegh* afterwards, exemplifying how little a reſolute and experienc'd man of war will fear to paſs by the beſt appointed fort of *Europe*, with the help of a good tide and a leading gale of wind; and how hard a matter it is to ſtop a good ſhip without another as good to encounter it, ſays, " The fort *St. Philip* terrify'd not us in " the year 1596, when we enter'd the port of *Cadiz*; " neither did the fort at *Puntal*, when we were enter'd, " beat us from our anchoring by it; tho' it play'd upon " us with four demi-cannons within point-blank from ſix " in the morning till twelve at noon. *Hiſt. of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. ſect. 10.

ordnance

ordnance with a flouriſh of his trumpets, and ſtill kept driving forwards, that he might draw up a ſufficiency of the *Engliſh* fleet into play, and to engage thoſe he paſſed by, while he was in action upon the body of the enemy.[a] Accordingly the ſhips that followed beat upon the galleys ſo thick, that they ſoon betook them to their oars, and got up to join with the galleons in the ſtreight, as aforeſaid;[b] then as they were driven to paſs near him, he beſtow'd his benediction from ſeveral broadſides among them; but ply'd *St. Philip*, the great and famous admiral of *Spain*, moſt conſtantly, as being moſt worthy of his fire, accounting the galleys but as waſps in regard of that ſea-monſter; and being now reſolved to repay the enemy's former treatment of the *Revenge*, or to ſecond her loſs with his own life, he came to anchor by the great galleons, whereof the *Philip* and the *Andrew* were the two which boarded that brave *Engliſh ſhip*. Here he fell to battering of them very briskly, expecting, after a while the flyboats to come up, that he might board and take them. And now began the engagement to be very deſperate. The lord *Thomas* came to anchor on one ſide of him, tho' pretty much behind,[c] with Sir *Robert Southwell*; Sir *George Carew* and the *Cliffords* on the other, and Sir *Francis Vere* was towards the ſide of *Puntal*. At laſt the thunder of the ordnance grew ſo great about ten a-clock in the morning, that *Eſſex*, impatient to abide far off, thruſt up through the fleet, heading all thoſe on the left hand, and on that ſide, anchor'd next to *Ralegh*; aftewards came in captain *Croſs* as near as he could; but *Ralegh*, to his great honour, held always ſingle in the head of all.[d] Now after they had beat, as at two buts, one upon another almoſt three hours; ſo that the volleys of cannon and culverin came as thick as if it had been a ſkirmiſh of muſketeers, till *Ralegh*'s ſhip was in danger of ſinking in the place, he made away to *Eſſex* in his ſkiff, to deſire that he would inforce the promiſed flyboats to come up, that he might board; for, as he rid, he could not long endure ſo great a battery. *Eſſex* was then coming up himſelf; to whom *Ralegh* declared, *That if the flyboats came not, he would board in the queen's ſhip; for it was the ſame loſs to burn or ſink, and one he muſt endure.* Then the earl promis'd him, *That whatever he attempted, he would ſecond him in perſon upon honour.* In the mean while, the lord-admiral *Howard*, being alſo at firſt diſpoſed to advance, but the river was ſo choaked, that he could not paſs in the *Ark*, came with the lord *Thomas* in the *Nonpareil*; and while *Ralegh* was ſpeaking to *Eſſex*, "the marſhal (*Vere*) who thought it ſome "touch, ſays *Ralegh*, to his great eſteemed valour, to ride behind me ſo many hours, got up "a-head of my ſhip; which lord *Thomas* perceiving, headed him again, myſelf being but a quar-"ter of an hour abſent. At my return, finding my ſelf from being the firſt to be but the third, "I preſently let ſlip anchor, and thruſting in between the lord *Thomas* and the marſhal, went "further a-head than all of them before, and thruſt myſelf athwart the channel, ſo as I was "ſure none ſhould outſtart me again for that day." *Eſſex* thinking his ſhip ſtronger than

A ſharp engagement.

[a] The *Triumphs of Naſſau* ſays, "the *Spaniſh* gallies "diſcharged all their ordnance upon *Ralegh*; but he made "not one ſhot, leaving it to thoſe that follow'd him, and "ſo went directly towards the galleons which lay in the "deepeſt part of the river, and with two other very great "ſhips took up the whole breadth of it," fol. 188.

[b] Sir *William Monſon*, deſcribing the ſituation of the enemy, or manner of riding in their harbour at his firſt ſight of them, agrees very well with this part of *Ralegh*'s account, where he ſays the four *galleons* ſingled themſelves from out of the fleet as guards of their merchants. The *gallies* were placed to flank us with their prows at our entry; but, when they ſaw our approach the next morning, the merchants run up the river, the men of war to *Port-Royal*, and brought themſelves into a good order of fight, mooring their ſhips a-head and ſtern to have their broadſides upon us. The *gallies* then betook themſelves to the guard of the town, which we put them from, before we attempted the ſhips. See his *Naval Tracts*. But *Vere* takes this ſervice entirely to himſelf in theſe words: "As the *Spaniſh* ſhips looſed from their anchors and made "from us, their *gallies*, ſeventeen in number, under the "favour of the town made towards us, ranged in good "order. My ſhip was floaty, and ſtored with good ord-"nance, which made me haſten towards them without "ſtaying for any company, *&c.* So as I entered fight "with them alone, and ſo galled them with my ordnance, "that they gave back, keeping ſtill in order and fight "with me, *&c.*" At laſt, ſays he, "I put them from "under the town, and took certain ſhips which rode there "at anchor forſaken of her men, and followed continuing "in fight till they came under the fort of the *Puntal*, "where thwart the bottom of the *bay* lay their four great "ſhips with a diſtance betweem them; and, ſpreading the "breadth of the channel, were now in hot fight of ord-"nance with our fleet." *Vere*'s *Comment*. fol. 30, 31.

[c] Tho' this paſſage of lord *Thomas*'s being now far behind is not mention'd by *Ralegh*, in the *letter* he then wrote of the *Cadiz action*, which we here chiefly follow; yet I, have it from his own hand-writing, in the printed book called *Les Lauriers de Naſſau*, before-mention'd, a copy of which hiſtory falling into his hands ſoon after it was publiſh'd, Sir *Walter Ralegh* has, in the language it is writ in, made ſhort *notes* with a black-lead pencil throughout this whole action, where himſelf is mention'd, which are not only ſtill legible, but demonſtrable to be his own writing, both from the ſenſe and form of the characters. In the margin of this copy againſt the words that ſignify, "The lord *Thomas* to have *come up* "to Sir *Walter Ralegh* with ſix of the queen's ſhips *as near* "*the galleons as poſſible*, diſcharging all their ordnance; "and fighting from ſix a-clock in the morning till noon;" *Ralegh* has written with his pencil, *Mais bien Arriere.* This curioſity is in the poſſeſſion of *Thomas Brian* Eſq; of the *Inner-Temple*, who has favoured me with the uſe of thoſe notes; the better to illuſtrate this part of their author's ſtory.

[d] Hence might it be, that *Ralegh*'s ſhip loſt moſt men, and yet very few, in compariſon of the length and heat of the engagement; and alſo might be one of thoſe which was ſhot through two and twenty times, ſince none ſeems to have been ſo much diſabled, as may appear a little further. *Vide* Abridgment of *Hakluyt* in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1930.

the reſt, thruſt *Clifford*'s aſide, and ſtill got next to *Ralegh*, on the left hand, a-head of all that rank, but lord *Thomas*; while *Vere* ſecretly faſtned a rope on *Ralegh*'s ſhip-ſide towards him, and drew himſelf up equal with him; but ſome of his company advertiſing him thereof, he cauſed it to be cut aſunder, ſo *Vere* fell back into his place, whom *Ralegh* guarded all but his prow from the ſight of the enemy.[a]

But now *Ralegh* having no hopes of his flyboats, and *Eſſex* with the lord *Thomas* having promiſed to ſecond him,[b] he laid out a warp by the ſide of the *Philip* to cloſe, the wind hindering him otherwiſe to board her; and when the admiral thereof, with the commanders of the other three wooden apoſtles, found that *Eſſex* and the lord *Thomas* began to do the like, they all ſlip'd anchor, and ran aground; heaps of ſoldiers and mariners tumbling into the ſea like coals out of a ſack, ſays *Ralegh*, into many ports at once; ſome drowning, ſome ſticking in the mud. He alſo tells us, the *Philip* thereupon burnt herſelf; and another author more particularly in theſe words: "As *Ralegh* thought to have boarded the great galleon "*St. Philip*, a negro gave fire to the powder, and eſcaped by ſwimming; it gave ſo great a "crack, that the maſt was blown up into the air, as if it had been an arrow. A pinnace that "lay near it was burnt, but the men eſcaped in boats. The other galleon, called *St. Thomas*, "was likewiſe blown up, but did no harm to the *Engliſh*." He alſo mentions "two eaſter-"lings which ran aſhore, and were burnt; but, ſays he, the *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew*, "of ten or twelve hundred ton apiece, were ſaved from running aground, and carried "away."[c] However, he does not inform us particularly by whom; and others ſeem to have done *Ralegh* more wrong, in nominating other perſons, and omitting him in the performance; ſince it appears under his own hand-writing, that he took them both himſelf."[d] And this agrees with the manner his letter of this action in print has expreſſed it, where he ſays, "thoſe galleons were recover'd with our boats ere they could get out to fire them." Here he obſerves upon the enemies running to the ſhores, and thus firing their ſhips, that the ſpectacle was very lamentable on their ſide; for many drowned themſelves; many half burnt, leaped into the water; very many, hanging at the ropes-ends by the ſhip's-ſide under the water, even to the lips; many ſwimming with grievous wounds, till ſtruck under water, and put out of their pain; and withal ſuch huge fires, and ſuch tearing of the ordnance, in the *Great Philip* and the reſt, when the flames came to them, that *Ralegh* thought there was here to be ſeen the moſt lively figure of hell it ſelf.

The *Spaniſh* galleons deſtroy'd.

And taken by him.

Thus the victory was obtained by ſea, and the bay reſign'd by two, ſome ſay, by four a-clock in the afternoon;[e] tho' no more of the *Engliſh* were conſtantly and cloſely engaged, than the ſhips and commanders before-mention'd, againſt the ſix great galleons, ſeventeen gallies, with the fleet of *New Spain*, argoſies, and frigats, to the number of fifty-five, or fifty-ſeven, as *Ralegh* himſelf reckons them, beſides the fort of *Puntal* playing upon them all the while. After the victory, "Ourſelves ſpared the lives of all, ſays *Ralegh*; but the *Flemings*, who did "little or nothing in the fight, uſed mercileſs ſlaughter; till they were by myſelf, and after-"wards by my lord-admiral, beaten off."[f]

Then did they haſten to land the army, and attempt the town[g]; in which there were of all ſorts about five thouſand foot, one hundred and fifty ſoldiers in pay, and about eight hundred

[a] This contention of Sir *Francis Vere*'s for precedency again, he owns in theſe words: "Sir *Walter Ralegh*, very "little a-head of me, caſt his anchor, as did alſo the ge-"nerals, and as many of the fleet as the channel would "bear; ſo as the ſhooting of ordnance was great, and "they held us good talk, by reaſon their ſhips lay thwart "with their broadſides towards us, and moſt of us right "a-head, that we could uſe but our chaſing-pieces. I "ſent my boat aboard Sir *Walter Ralegh* to faſten an "hauſer to wind up my ſhip, which was looſed ſoon after "my boat was put off." *Vere*'s *Comment*. fol. 32.

[b] The *Triumphs of Naſſau* ſeem to explain the reaſon of the flyboats not coming up, where we find thoſe of *Lubeck* and *Dantzick* fell into conteſt with the *Engliſh* ones about that ſervice. After which, the commanders being aboard the general, they reſolved to aſſail the galleons, *commanding*, ſays this hiſtory, *the lord* Howard *and Sir* Walter Ralegh *to begin*. See fol. 188. Againſt which laſt aſſertion *Ralegh*, in that which was his own *French* copy of this book, has written, *A Moy ſeul*; as much as to ſay, that deſperate charge was committed *to him alone*. Mr. *Brian*'s copy of *Les Lauriers de Naſſau*, p. 138. And as much is implied above, in the text, from *Ralegh*'s own epiſtolary account, which ſays, the lord *Thomas* promiſed to ſecond him.

[c] *Triumphs of Naſſau*, fol. 189.

[d] *J'ay pris tous deux*, are *Ralegh*'s own words in the margin of his *Lauriers de Naſſau*, even with that period which expreſſes the taking of theſe two galleons, but not the perſon who took them.

[e] I meet with no author but Sir *William Monſon*, who prolongs the victory by ſea to four a-clock.

[f] An author, who was preſent at this victory, ſpeaking of the proclamation that was publiſhed by the generals and council, to prevent all further bloodſhed after the ſurrender by the *Spaniards*, ſays, this honourable and merciful edict was, I am ſure, ſtrictly and religiouſly obſerv'd by the *Engliſh*; but how well it was kept by the *Dutch*, I will neither affirm nor yet deny; for I perceive between them and the *Spaniards* there is an implacable heart-burning. And therefore, as ſoon as the *Dutch* ſquadron was eſpied in the fight, immediately both they of *Seville*, *St. Lucar*, and other places, did not only arreſt all ſuch *Dutch* ſhips as dealt with them friendly by the way of traffick and merchandize, and confiſcate their goods, but impriſon'd the merchants and owners of the ſame; and, by report, treated many of them with extream cruelty. *Vide Hakluyt*, and *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1931.

[g] *Cadiz* was a large and beautiful city, and being the chief ſee of the biſhop, had a good cathedral church, abbey, nunnery,

hundred horſe[a] of the gentry and cavaliers of *Xeres* gather'd together upon the diſcovery of the *Engliſh* fleet two days before, as they lay becalm'd off *Cape St. Mary*. The horſemen ſallied but to reſiſt their landing, but were ſo vigorouſly aſſail'd and overpower'd by the *Engliſh*, that the greateſt part made away to the bridge which leads to the main, called *Puente de Suaço*; the reſt retreated to the town, and were ſo eagerly purſued, that they were driven to forſake their horſes at the gate, which the inhabitants durſt not open to admit them; ſo that they were forced to leap down an old wall into the ſuburbs, which the *Engliſh* vanguard, cloſe at their heels, perceiving, with *Eſſex* at their head, followed them; and ſo the town was carried with a ſudden fury,[b] in a ſhort ſpace of time,[c] and with very little loſs.[d] *Ralegh*, tho' he had received a grievous wound in his leg, being much torn and deformed with a ſplinter-ſhot in the fight; yet, willing to encourage the army with his preſence, and deſirous of ſeeing the actions and diſpoſitions of the enemy, he was carried aſhore on the ſhoulders of his men, where the lord-admiral, out of his care and regard, ſent him one of his horſes; but his own being recover'd in due time, was made ready for him. The torment he endur'd, and the fear he was continually in of being ſhoulder'd by the tumultuous ſoldiers, abandon'd to ſpoil and rapine, without any reſpect of perſons, made him unable to abide above an hour in the town.[e] The ſame night therefore he return'd, chiefly becauſe there was no admiral on board to order the fleet, or indeed few mariners left in the navy; *all*, to uſe his own words, *running headlong to the ſack*; and alſo becauſe he was fit for nothing but reſt and retirement at that time: otherwiſe he might, like the reſt of the commanders, have rewarded himſelf for his ſervices. But leaving them in ſafe poſſeſſion at his departure, they promiſed to preſerve for him his ſhare of the booty, and to give him a good quarter of the town; of which, as we have it under his own hand, they defrauded him.[f] He had deſired the conſent of the generals, that he might go and ſecure or deſtroy the *Indian* fleet, which was ſaid to be worth twelve millions, and lay in *Puerto-Real* road; but they deſired to conſider on it till next morning. At break of day, *Ralegh* ſent his brothers, Sir *John Gilbert*, and Sir *Arthur Throgmorton*, as alſo Sir *Henry Leonard*, to know their reſolution; but the generals ſent back to deſire he would come aſhore into the town.[g] *Ralegh* very favourably imputes theſe evaſions to the great confuſion, in which it was almoſt impoſſible for them to order many things at once. In the afternoon of the ſame day, the merchants of *Cadiz* and *Seville* offer'd the generals, by the Committee of the contractation-houſe, with the purveyor, corrigidor, and other officers, two millions of ducats to ſpare that

Wounded.

nery, and fine college of Jeſuits; was ſtrongly ſituated both by nature and art; the buildings of hard ſtone, all flat-roof'd, after the *Turkiſh* manner; ſo that having lodged heaps of great ſtones on the tops of their houſes, every woman could endanger the paſſengers in the ſtreets, which were very narrow, perhaps to avoid the great heat. All the houſes had fair window-frames, and large folding ſhutters; but were barr'd with iron, and none glazed, except the churches. They had few chimneys, but in ſome lower out-rooms for neceſſary uſes; ſeeming to be more careful of keeping themſelves from roaſting, than to have much of any thing roaſted. *Abridgment* of the *Cadiz* voyage in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1932.

[a] *Purchas* alſo adds, the town had above four thouſand fighting men, and ſix hundred horſe, well furniſh'd, no doubt, ſo many ſhips being always at hand, and ſo well ſtored with ammunition. Another author writes, the number of men and women might be eight or nine thouſand. *Triumphs of Naſſau*, fol. 192.

[b] *Vere's Commentaries*, fol. 39.

[c] Before eight a-clock that night, the *Engliſh* were maſters of the market-place, forts, town, and all but the caſtle, which held out till break of day.—Thus was this notable victory, as well by ſea as land both begun, and in effect perform'd within the compaſs of fourteen hours. *Purchas*, as before, fol. 1931, 1932.

[d] In all the terrible fight by ſea, not much above one hundred *Engliſh* men were ſlain and hurt; one pinnace of Sir *R. Southwell's* fired with the *Philip* aforeſaid, and one *Flemiſh* flyboat, with a hundred men, blown up by her own powder, as *Purchas* obſerves. By land, Sir *Walter Ralegh* mentions Sir *John Wingfield*, who was ſlain in the market-place, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, captain *Bagnol*, and captain *Metherke*, as the *Dutch* hiſtorians call him. Theſe two laſt were knighted with Sir *Arthur Savage* the 21ſt or 22d of *June*, by the earl of *Eſſex*, who the *ſunday* following very royally beſtow'd the like honour upon at leaſt threeſcore more, moſt of them his friends and followers, and many, mere creatures and flatterers. The earl thought he ſhould ſtrengthen his party and intereſt thereby, and has warmly juſtify'd himſelf in his *apology* for ſhewing them that diſtinction; but it weaken'd him in the queen's opinion to ſee him ape her prerogative, or play king *Robert* ſo extravagantly. And what may we think ſhe ſaid of this number? when for his having before made twenty-four knights at the ſuccour of *Rhoan*, none of whom were in meaner circumſtances than many of theſe, the queen ſaid, *My lord might have done well to have built his almſhouſe before he made his knights.* Lord *Bacon's Apophthegmes*, p. 17.

[e] *Ralegh* entered the town with the *lord-admiral*, lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *W. Paget*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, *Leviſon*, *Woodhouſe*, *Manſell*, and the mariners; Sir *Edward Hobby*, carrying the colours before them, about the time of the great ſkirmiſh in the market-place, ſoon after which the *Spaniards* retir'd and capitulated; agreeing to pay five hundred and twenty according to *Camden*; or, according to *Stow*, ſix hundred and twenty thouſand duckets (which is five times more than foreign authors mention) for the ranſom of their lives, and to give forty hoſtages for the payment. After the ſurrender, order was given to tranſport the religious men and women, merchants wives, *&c.* to *Port St. Mary*, that no violence might be offer'd them. They had alſo liberty to take as many of their cloaths or goods as they could carry with them; which produced a remarkable example in a beautiful young *Spaniſh* lady, who, leaving all that was precious and valuable, bore away her old and decrepit huſband upon her back, whom before ſhe had hidden from the danger of the enemy; herein imitating the piety of the *Bavarian* women, after the conqueſt of their country by the emperor *Conrade* III. See *Sandys*'s notes on *Ovid's Metam.* lib. 13. fol. 449.

[f] *En laquelle ils m'ont trompé*, as himſelf has written over-againſt this promiſe in Mr. *Brian*'s copy of *Les Lauriers de Naſſau*. fol. 139.

[g] *Lauriers de Naſſau.*

fleet;

fleet; neither could this bring them to any reſolution, ſo that advantage was loſt.[a] *Ralegh* might poſſibly inſiſt upon a larger compoſition, by ſaying, *They ought firſt to be maſters of the fleet, and ranſom it afterwards; for if they offer'd two millions already, they would give four when it was taken*; becauſe he has not denied this ſpeech where he had read it aſcrib'd to him.[b] But it appears plain enough to me, from the ſame author, that *Eſſex* was not for having the fleet ſeiz'd upon, unleſs by Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Edward Conway*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and other land-officers, which *Ralegh* would not conſent to for the honour of the ſailors; as it does appear from *Camden*, that the lord-admiral would not conſent to any compoſition. *For we came*, ſaid he, *to conſume them, and not compound with them.* But they ſaved him the trouble; for the next morning, being the 23d of *June*, the duke of *Medina* cauſed all that fleet of merchant-men to be ſet on fire, becauſe he was convinced, from their being beſet ſo vigilantly by *Ralegh*, who had the charge of them, that they muſt needs fall into his hands. Thus both galleons, frigats, argoſies, with the fleet of *Nueva Eſpana*, and all except the gallies, which it ſeems eſcaped, were conſumed to aſhes. Good ſtore of the enemy's ordnance was recover'd out of their ſhips, and great quantities of merchandize, plate, jewels and money, out of the town: their whole loſs being computed at twenty millions of ducats.[c] Many rich priſoners were given to the land-commanders, "ſo as that ſort were very rich, ſays *Ralegh*; ſome "had for their priſoners ſixteen or twenty thouſand, ſome ten thouſand ducats,[d] beſides great "houſes of merchandize. What the generals have gotten I know leaſt (concludes he;) they "proteſt it is little: for my own part, I have gotten a lame leg, and a deformed; for the "reſt, either I ſpoke too late, or it was otherwiſe reſolved. I have not been wanting in "good words, or exceeding kind and regardful uſage; but have poſſeſſion of nought but "poverty and pain."

Forces the *Spaniards* to fire their *Indian* fleet.

THUS have we related this action chiefly from *Ralegh*'s letter before-mention'd, the credit whereof is the leſs obnoxious to any doubt, in that it either here is, by our endeavours, or might be by thoſe of an able pen, ſufficiently corroborated out of other writers upon the ſame ſubject. But there is one letter more, written by another ocular witneſs of all his behaviour in this victory, at their leaving of *Cadiz*, early enough for the perfect memory thereof; to the lord *Burghley*, a man dangerous to deceive with miſrepreſentations; and further, written by an old land-commander, under the earl of *Eſſex*, who even never ſaw Sir *Walter Ralegh* before this voyage: therefore a teſtimony, that carries many marks of truth, and none of partiality in his favour. For which reaſon, and becauſe it has never yet ſeen the publick light, I ſhall here tranſcribe all that is ſaid, being conciſe, not only of one, but every commander mention'd therein, that my reader may, unbiaſs'd by me, diſtinguiſh what a principal ſhare of honour is paid to the merit of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s councils and courage throughout the whole engagement: but theſe are my author's words. "My lord, this I muſt ſay, that never prince of *England* hath "receiv'd more true glory and reputation than our ſoveraign in this, wherein theſe two *nobles* "have commanded with ſuch valour, love and good intelligence, as we, that have been under "them, received thereby ſingular comfort; and truly, my lord, they deſerve as much honour "as may be heap'd on them. We ſurpriz'd the enemy, whereby this mighty and rich *Indian* "fleet of forty-five ſail of good, and ſome of them mighty ſhips, have been conſumed to "aſhes; a ruin to this king, not to be recover'd in all his days; beſides the cutting off this "year's voyage, and conſequently the next. By this *voyage*, if no other gain, this only hath "much ſatisfied me, that *I have thereby ſeen and known the men of worth of our nation.* Of the "*earl* I will ſay nothing, but of the lord *Thomas*, the lord marſhal *Vere*, and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, "I muſt ſay, that in no bickering where I have been, I ever ſaw men more forward and valiant

[a] *Par la refuſe nous avons perdue deux millions*, ſays *Ralegh*, againſt this paſſage in the ſame copy of that *French* hiſtory.

[b] In the ſaid book.

[c] The *earl* of *Eſſex*, in a brief *narrative* of the advantages accruing to *England*, and loſſes to the *Spaniard*, by this expedition, ſays, "the *Engliſh* took two galleons, "routed fifteen galleys, with an unequal number of ſhips; "freed many of their countrymen condemn'd to the gal-"leys, and releas'd ſeveral *Spaniards* from impriſonment; "took the beſt fortify'd city in all *Spain*, and ſtayed thir-"teen days in their country; brought home, beſides the "galleons aforeſaid, a hundred braſs guns, with a rich "booty; and the ſailors, but eſpecially the ſoldiers, "great plunder; the enemy loſt thirteen of his moſt ſer-"viceable ſhips, forty *Indian* merchant-men, and four "others, beſides vaſt quantities of ammunition, provi-"ſions, &c. rendering it almoſt impoſſible he ſhould in "ſome time appear again at ſea in a formidable manner." *Vide Camden, Anno* 1596. Tho' ſuch was their loſs, and computed as above; yet the earl wrote a paper of objections hereafter-mention'd, againſt his colleagues, for not doing more.

The *Triumphs of Naſſau* ſums up the *Spaniſh* loſs thus: "Three and thirty great ſhips laden for the *Indies* were "burnt, beſides five ſhips which came from *St. Lucar*, "three of which ran aground. It was the greateſt and "wealthieſt fleet that ever went to the *Indies*." And a little further, "The wealthy town was wholly ſack'd, "and the booty great, which was carried to the ſhips. "'Twas thought the king loſt at the ſame time 5200 "pieces of ordnance, beſides armour ſufficient for five "or ſix hundred men, which was taken out of the arſe-"nal," fol. 191, 192.

[d] Sir *Francis Vere* ſays, "I got three priſoners worth "ten thouſand ducats; one of which was a church-man, "and preſident of the contractation-houſe of the *Indies*; "the other two were ancient knights," whom he names. *Comment.* fol. 42.

"in

" in the matter of combat between our ſhips, and their ſhips and galleys, *wherein ſtood all the* " *ſucceſs of the victory*, which my lord of *Eſſex* did give beginning to by anchoring in the ene- " my's face, Sir *Walter* cloſe by his ſide; and ſo the reſt before-named; alſo the general of " the artillery (Sir *George Carew*) with his *Mary-Roſe*, a proper gentleman, full of good things, " and, above all, of diſcretion. When all theſe aforeſaid had placed themſelves, and the reſt, " as the channel would give us leave, the thunder of the artillery on both ſides began at ten in " the morning, and laſted till two and a half in the afternoon; at which time her majeſty's ſhips " made the enemy give ground, and the three great ſhips of war, the *Philip*, *Matthew*, and " *Andrew*, ran themſelves aſhore; and the *Philip* they fir'd, the other two we bring you " home. *Sir* Walter Ralegh *did, in my judgment, no man better; and his artillery moſt effect:* " *I never knew the gentleman until this time, and I am ſorry for it, for there are in him excel-* " *lent things beſides his valour; and the obſervation he hath in this voyage uſed with my lord* " *of* Eſſex, *hath made me love him.*" A little further he ſays, " In the *Due Repulſe* (*Eſſex*'s " ſhip) we loſt only ſeven men; in the *Warſpite* (which was *Ralegh*'s) fourteen, and " Sir *Walter* cut in the leg with a ſplinter." [a] Laſtly, he mentions his true and faithful " friend, Sir *John Wingfield*, who loſt his life in the town-houſe, and thereby was rid of a " mighty miſcontent which all the way had much afflicted him," having one day told my au- thor, " that he had rather leave his life here, than carry it again into *England*." [b]

It was long diſputed, whether the town ſhould be held or no, ſays Sir *Francis Vere*; who adds, that my lord of *Eſſex* ſeemed to affect to remain there in perſon; as, we may add, *Vere* did too; becauſe, he ſays, he offer'd to defend it with four thouſand men, till her majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known;" [c] when, in truth, the queen's pleaſure, in this particular, was known before they left *England*: for *Eſſex* himſelf informs us, he ſent letters from *Plymouth* (before they ſet ſail) by his ſecretary *Edward Reignold*, to the council at *Greenwich*; wherein he purpoſed " to dwell in a port of the enemy's, and to make a continual diverſion of the " wars;" but, ſays he, " My letters were neither anſwer'd, nor liked of." [d] And much leſs was the ſame propoſal now reliſh'd in *Cadiz*, when ſo many wanted to guard and ſecure the treaſures they had got; and it was computed, they would all ſoon grow in want of proviſions; nay, one of his own knights adviſ'd him to maſter and deſtroy ſhips rather than towns, as what would make the enemy more unable to moleſt them, and procure him wealth and ſolid honour, without riot and ruin of the innocent; beſides, the riches in ſhips could not be ſo eaſily conceal'd and convey'd away, as in towns; alſo they might be brought into *England*, and would be viſible monuments to his glory; but towns, tho' ſoon won, could not be long en- joy'd. [e] For theſe and other reaſons *Eſſex* was prevail'd upon, tho' with great reluctance, to leave *Cadiz*; but they firſt of all cauſed the city to be raz'd, and, with the caſtles and fortifica- tions, fired, all but the churches and religious houſes; together with all the naval tackle and proviſion they could meet with, which they either needed not, or could not conveniently carry away. Their courteſy however to the people, eſpecially of diſtinction, and all who had made no oppoſition, was ſuch, that, at their departure, the *Spaniards* did the *Engliſh* the juſtice to ſay, *Tho' they were hereticks as to religion, yet as to the reſt, they had behaved themſelves with generous bravery.*

The city and naval ſtores fired.

On the 5th of *July* the army embark'd; and in council, it was inſiſted on to lie out at ſea for intercepting the *Weſt-Indian* fleet; " but the ſcarceneſs of our victuals, ſays *Vere*, " overthrew that purpoſe." So reſolution was taken to make for *England*, and viſit the *Spaniſh* coaſts in the way, to deſtroy their ſhipping. The firſt place they made to was *Faro*, a good large populous town, but unfenc'd, and a biſhop's ſee of *Portugal*. Here the *Engliſh*

[a] *Ralegh* afterwards made a very good remark upon *ſhip-building* (which probably the memory of this ſmart might induce him to) in theſe words: " Men may not " expect the *eaſe* of many *cabbins*, and *ſafety* at once in " ſea-ſervice. Two decks and a half are ſufficient to " yield ſhelter and lodging for men and mariners, and " no more charging at all higher; but only one low cab- " bin for the maſter. But our mariners will ſay, that a " ſhip will bear more charging aloft for cabbins; and " that is true, if none but ordinary mariners were to " ſerve in them, who are able to endure, and are uſed to " the tumbling and rolling of ſhips from ſide to ſide, " when the ſea is never ſo little grown: but men of bet- " ter ſort would be glad to find more ſteadineſs and leſs " tottering *cage-work*. And altho' the mariners do covet " ſtore of cabbins, yet indeed they are but ſluttiſh dens, " that breed *ſickneſs*, or ſerve to cover *ſtealths* in peace, " and in fight are dangerous to tear men with their " *ſplinters*." Sir *W. Ralegh*'s *obſervations* upon the *royal navy*, p. 14.

[b] Sir *Anthony Standen*'s letter to the lord high-treaſurer of *England*, dated from *Cadiz*, 5th of *July* 1596; the original. With the uſe of this rarity, among many others in that *ark of literature*, the Harleyan *Library*, where ſomething of *every kind* is preſerved, I have been fa- vour'd by the earl of Oxford, whoſe laudable diſpoſi- tion to recover the unpubliſh'd memorials of our renowned *anceſtors* is only to be excelled by his noble courteſy in communicating them for the benefit of *poſterity*.

[c] Sir *Francis Vere*'s commentaries, fol. 42.

[d] The earl of *Eſſex*'s Apology (as before) p. 12.

[e] Sir *W. Monſon*'s Naval Tracts.

landing, and marching up to the town, the inhabitants deſerted it, and left them in full poſſeſſion; who, after having reſted and refreſhed themſelves five or ſix days, brought good ſtore of proviſions to the ſhips; alſo ſome pieces of artillery, and the valuable library of the late famous biſhop *Oſorius*.[a] There is an author who mentions the taking of this town, and conſequently that library, among *Ralegh*'s victories; deſcribing the buildings to have been left ſo demoliſh'd, as to yield no covering for their idols.[b] But ſince that library is obſerv'd by *Camden* to have been thought by right *Eſſex*'s prize, as if this earl had ſomehow contended to engroſs it to himſelf; it may ſomewhat direct us, to whoſe greater value for the labours of the learned, and more publick ſpirit in this particular, 'tis owing, that it was more commendably beſtow'd; being brought into *England*, ſays *Monſon*, and made (it ſeems) an exemplary foundation of the *publick library* which was begun by Sir *Thomas Bodley* the enſuing year at *Oxford*. What ſhare *Ralegh* had in this diſpoſal, towards the ſaid renowned undertaking of that learned knight, his countryman and acquaintance, authorities are wanting, further than by ſurmiſe from theſe premiſes, to certify. But this we have expreſly enough tranſmitted to us of him by *Bodley* himſelf, even in the next reign, about nine years after this time, when *Ralegh* was under great misfortunes; and therefore, when an act of munificence muſt ſhine with the greateſt ſplendor, that he generouſly contributed towards the improvement of that library the ſum of fifty pounds; "for which, ſays Sir *Thomas Bodley*, I will intreat the vice-chancellor "to move the univerſity for their letters to him (and the other benefactors mention'd with "him) of publick thanks;"[c] which, doubtleſs, they gratefully paid: but to return.

Faro ſacked and demoliſh'd.

A benefactor to the *Bodleian* library.

When the forces were got again on board, they ſailed to the *Groyne*, and looked into the bay; but the wind being unfavourable, they thought it dangerous to enter; therefore, and becauſe their victuals daily grew more ſcarce, ſo that in ſome ſhips there was already extreme want, ſays Sir *Francis Vere*, it was reſolved to make homewards:[d] however, Sir *William Monſon*, in favour of *Eſſex*'s impatience to go on upon freſh exploits, computes they had enough proviſion to ſupply them ſeven weeks. *Monſon* alſo imputes the general declenſion of the officers from any further invaſion of the *Spaniards* at this time, to the covetouſneſs of thoſe who wanted to ſecure the treaſures they had amaſſed.[e] And indeed *Vere* diſcovers not any concurrence now with *Eſſex*'s new ſchemes of adventure, as might have been expected towards a patron who had ſhewn him ſo much *favour and countenance*; but viſibly haſtens home upon the complaint of ſcarcity aforeſaid. And yet that which might be thought *Vere*'s true motive for returning, was never imputed to the lord-admiral nor Sir *Walter Ralegh*, tho', both by ſpeech and writing, they argued for it as much as any; for they had engroſs'd no booty that might be endanger'd by entering upon further engagements abroad. Yet had they other objections to theſe inconſiderate projects, than the want of victuals or ſickneſs of men; for after both theſe inconveniences in *Ralegh*'s ſhip were propos'd to be redreſs'd by *Eſſex*, as *Monſon* tells us, *Ralegh* was as reſolute againſt hazarding the honour, as others the riches that was got at *Cadiz*; and in this entirely agreed with the lord-admiral, who perſuaded them to conſider how ſubject they might be to great loſſes in little enterprizes,[f] which would not add much to

[a] This was *Hieronymus Oſorius*, a native of *Lisbon*, and biſhop of *Sylves* and *Algarva*; characteriz'd by foreigners to have been a man of ſtrict virtue in his morals, and maſter of a florid pen in his writings; which were publiſh'd at *Rome* in four volumes, by his nephew, who alſo wrote his life. See more in *Thuanus*, *Anno* 1580, when he died, aged ſeventy-four years, and in *Anthony Teſſier*'s additions to that hiſtorian's *Eloges des Hommes Scavans*, &c. 8vo. vol. 1. *Utrecht* 1694. p. 502. This biſhop was, for none of his writings, more noted with us, than his *Epiſtolary Admonition to queen Elizabeth*, and his *controverſy* with that learned orator and civilian Dr. *Walter Haddon*; who dying in the year 1571, before he had compleated his laſt book againſt *Oſorius*, it was finiſh'd and publiſh'd by *John Fox* the *martyrologiſt* in 1577, and four years after tranſlated into *Engliſh*; wherein *Fox* charges the biſhop's book againſt the Doctor with being full of lies, calumnies and errors: and the lord *Bacon*, where he notes, among the diſtempers of learning, that luxuriancy of ſtyle which began to prevail in *Luther*'s time, with the cauſes thereof; which introduced an affected ſtudy of eloquence, and grew to ſuch exceſs, that authors regarded a roundneſs of period more than richneſs of invention, ſoundneſs of argument, or depth of judgment; and were charmed rather with ſoftneſs than ſtrength, ſweetneſs than ſolidity, and fulneſs of words than weight of matter; he inſtances, among others then growing into eſteem, the flowing and watery vein of *Oſorius*. *De Augment. Scientiarum*, lib. 1.

[b] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Ghoſt*, 4to. *Utrecht* 1626. p. 17.

[c] Sir *Thomas Bodley*'s letter to Dr. *Thomas James*, the firſt keeper of his library, in *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, publiſh'd (by Mr. *Hearne*) 8vo. 1703. p. 133. 'Tis dated from *London*, *April* 5. and written, as I compute, in 1605; becauſe the ſame letter mentions the progreſs which king *James*, not long after, made in that year to *Oxford*; where he pronounced that brave ſpeech, *If I was not a king, I would be a univerſity-man*, &c. as we have it in Sir *Iſaac Wake*'s *Rex Platonicus*, 4to. 1607.

[d] *Vere*'s Commentaries, fol. 44.

[e] *Monſon*'s Naval Tracts aforeſaid.

[f] One of the lord-admiral's objections to *Eſſex*'s deſire of making a deſcent upon *Lagos* in *Algarva*, is given us by Sir *William Monſon* as aforeſaid; and part thereof, which is to this ſenſe, is in theſe words: "The winning of it, after "ſo eminent a place as *Cadiz*, could add no honour; and "if it ſhould be carried, yet it would be with the loſs of "his beſt troops and gentlemen; who would rather deſire "to die, than receive the indignity of a repulſe:" and the earl, tho' againſt his will, ſays that author, was forced to yield to theſe reaſons. Yet neither *Eſſex*, nor *Vere*, nor *Monſon*, have been ſo particular in *Ralegh*'s reaſons; tho' under his hand he deliver'd them, as well as by word of mouth: but this omiſſion in them is not to be wonder'd at.

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their praiſe if they ſucceeded; but ſurely would to their diſcredit if they fail'd. This being the ſenſe of the greater or the wiſer part, moſt of the fleet return'd with the lord-admiral to *Plymouth* on the eighth of *Auguſt* following; and the reſt, with the earl of *Eſſex*, two days after; who thence took his journey to court, as *Ralegh* probably did at the ſame time. On the thirteenth of the ſame month, we find by a letter from the *council* of ſtate to the lord-admiral,[a] then advanced with the fleet to the *Downs*, that *Ralegh* as well as *Eſſex* had been with them, and probably with the queen; from whom we hear of no objections made to *Ralegh*'s conduct in the whole action: therefore probably he was among thoſe principal actors therein, whom ſhe diſtinguiſh'd with liberal praiſes and rewards. Yet that letter does diſcover her majeſty's diſſatisfaction towards the lord-admiral, that he did not lie in wait for the carracks or the *Weſt-Indian* fleet, as *Eſſex* had intreated him to do. And whereas Sir *Francis Vere* ſays, that when *Eſſex* landed in the weſt, and left orders with him for diſſolving not only the land-forces, but the ſhipping, there aroſe much ſtrife between the ſaid mariners and his *Low-Country* troops at their parting, the ſailors being determin'd to ſhare in the cheſts and packs wherewith the ſoldiers had moſt unproportionably enrich'd themſelves in the late ſpoil; at which *Vere* complain'd to the lord-admiral for redreſs, adding, that *ſome other principal officers of the fleet* took the ſailors part; and, as if they thought them unreaſonably dealt with, who had made way by the ſea-fight, for the ſoldiers to get thoſe riches by land, ask'd him, "whether the mari-"ners ſhould have nothing?" To which he anſwer'd, "their hopes in the *Indian* fleet "were more to be deſired than that traſh (as he calls it) which the land-men had got in the "town; ſo as they had none to blame but their officers, and their bad fortune:" which an-"ſwer, ſays he, was taken to heart, and is not forgotten to this hour, *of which I feel the* "*ſmart:*"[b] If *Ralegh* was one of thoſe principal officers here pointed at, who thus ſtood the ſailors advocate, as he might be, notwithſtanding his expeditious progreſs to court, the indifferent manner wherewith *Vere* has treated him is very accountable to me. But *Vere* has further betray'd his partiality, in not telling us the conſequence of his ſaid application to the lord-admiral, which appears in that letter and others, from the council aforeſaid, to have procur'd the diſpoſal of the *Spaniſh* plunder towards the payment of the *Engliſh* navy; and that *Vere*'s *Low-country* regiments ſhould not return before they were ſearch'd both in ſhips and perſon. As for *Eſſex*, he wrote a *Cenſure of the omiſſions* in this voyage,[c] which he imputes to the diſſenſions of his council and colleague. Whence the common hiſtorians have been led indiſcriminately to arraign the ſetting forth ſuch expeditions under commanders of equal authority, and have ſo much neglected giving theſe their diſtinct commendations for what they did, as to cavil at them for what they left undone; while others more gratefully obſerve, *That never was ſo much riches and renown acquir'd with the like naval ſucceſs*; well juſtifying the honours which were paid to Sir *Walter Ralegh* both by the authors who dedicated books to him this year;[d] the painters

[a] In the *Cottonian* library, and lately printed by Mr. *Lediard*, in his *Naval Expeditions*, fol. 344.

[b] *Vere*'s *Comment.* fol. 44, 45.

[c] An ancient and fair copy whereof I have ſeen in the *Cottonian* library, *Julius* F. VI. Tract. 103. printed in ſecretary *Burchet*'s *Naval Hiſtory*, as I remember, and in Mr. *Lediard*'s, fol. 337; being here about half a ſheet of paper; wherein the earl raiſes four objections to their conduct in this voyage: firſt, that they did not poſſeſs the *Indian* fleet: ſecondly, that they abandon'd *Cadiz*: thirdly, that they did not wait for the carracks and *Indian* ſhips: and laſtly, that they did not aſſail the enemy in their other ports. To all which omiſſions he makes anſwer, laying them to the charge of the other commanders; but names Sir *Walter Ralegh* only in the two laſt articles. Here we may obſerve, Sir *H. Wotton* did either himſelf miſtake the drift of this paper, or, having a courtly pen, would incline his readers to do ſo. For where he is giving a character of the earl's ſeveral employments, and has allowed this at *Cadiz* to have been the moſt *fortunate*, he is further for having it that in which the earl alſo ſhewed the greateſt *modeſty*; becauſe, ſays he, there he wrote with his own hand *a cenſure of* his *omiſſions:* whereas indeed 'tis a cenſure of his aſſociates, for what *Eſſex* imagin'd, how juſtly let others ſay, to have been *their* omiſſions. Which plainly reverſes one of the characters by which that author would diſtinguiſh the earl's ſhare in this expedition. See his Parallel of *Robert* earl of *Eſſex* with *George* duke of *Buckingham*.

[d] Beſides captain *Keymis*'s voyage to *Guiana* before-mention'd, in which he has ſpoken, to *Ralegh*'s honour, of the victory at *Cadiz*; there was another piece printed this year, which I find alſo dedicated to him; and at this time, before *Ralegh* was recover'd of the wound he had receiv'd there, with great propriety, in regard to the ſubject thereof: for it is entitled, *A hundred and fourteen Experiments and Cures* of the famous phyſician *Phil. Aureol. Theophraſtus Paracelſus:* To which are added, ſome profitable works, by *B. G. a Portu Aquitano:* alſo the ſecrets of *Iſaac Hollandus*; and the *Spagiric Antidotary* for *Gunſhot*, by *Joſephus Quercetanus:* Collected by *John Heſter*, printed 4to. 1596. This *Heſter* was the learned chymiſt of *Paul's Wharf*, whoſe preparations were famous in other countries as well as his own for many years, as I find in others of his works. But, as I obſerve in ſome of them, he is ſaid to have been dead two years before the printer's date of this which he dedicated to *Ralegh*; and as the title he herein uſes, is only *To the worſhipful* Walter Ralegh *Eſq*; I conclude the book was dedicated by *Heſter* to *Ralegh* before he was knighted, and now ſeaſonably republiſh'd with a new title-page, or firſt publiſh'd from *Heſter*'s poſthumous Remains, without altering the author's title of his patron. However it is, *Heſter*, in his ingenious dedication upon the motives to the purſuit and improvement of *ſcience*, tells *Ralegh*, "Tho' divinity is bounded "with precepts in the old law, and promiſes in the goſpel, "ſo that obedience to one and faith in the other is fulfil-"ling of either; yet all other faculties tending to the "government or ornament of life do ſo carry a privilege "of more liberty in ſearch, and ſcope in practice, that "*to reſt contented with the inventions of others, is as odious* "*to the learned, as it is for frank hearts to feed at other* "*mens trenchers; or fine wits to be ſet to tell the clock,* "*while groſſer heads are better employ'd:* and not without

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painters and ſculptors, who have appropriated this ſea-fight to his portraits;[a] and thoſe other advancers of the like honorary arts, who, in their diſcourſes of *medals* and *intaglias*, have thought him worthy, for this, among his many other actions and excellencies, of that metallic commemoration, which is more uſually among us confined to princes and crowned heads.[b]

ABOUT two months after *Raleigh*'s return from the conqueſt of *Cadiz*, we find him making a new attempt to continue the intereſt and correſpondence he had ſo hopefully begun in *Guiana*. To this end, he mann'd out and ſtor'd, with all proper conveniences and merchandize for trade and diſcovery in thoſe parts, a handſome pinnace which had been with him in the late engagement, called after his own name, the *Watt*. therefore probably one of his own ſhips. The command of her he committed to captain *Leonard Berrie*; but, through contrariety of winds, and other accidents, they made it the latter end of *December* following before they got out of *Weymouth*. In the beginning of *March* they diſcover'd the coaſt, and fell into the *Wiapouco*, a river almoſt in four degrees north of the line, and about ſixteen leagues in length; but not being able to find the head of its falls, nor meeting with any of the inhabitants to ſupply them with proviſions, they return'd, and made towards the great town called *Aramatto*, where they ſtored themſelves to their deſire. After this, ſeveral of thoſe natives came in canoes, and traded with the *Engliſh* in their ſhips. Then captain *Berrie* hired ſome of them, with a preſent of knives, to go back unto the river *Cawo*, and invite the ruler of that place, named *Ritimo*, on board, who accordingly came to them in the river *Chiana*, where he and his train were feaſted, and traffick'd with the *Engliſh* much to their ſatisfaction: and thither alſo flock'd, from their ſeveral towns, great numbers of a civiliz'd race of *Carribes*, who brought great plenty of victuals and tobacco, which they exchang'd for ſuch commodities as the *Engliſh* were well inſtructed to carry thither. After they had declar'd their unanimous deſire to have the *Engliſh* come and rout the *Spaniards*, take command of the *Orenoque*, and dwell in the bordering nations, they departed; and the *Engliſh* made away to the *Careres*, or triangular iſlands, and kept trading on with the people of the neighbouring towns, who familiarly reſorted to them. Then they paſſed along through the river *Marawin*, to *Quiparia* and *Macirra*, for about forty or fifty leagues upward to the falls of that river, and to the ſight of a rich country above, where the people were of an extraordinary ſtature, and carried bows halfted with gold; but were forced to return without compleating that diſcovery, for want of proviſion; tho' my author, one of the adventurers, thought the palmito's, and other trees in the woods, would have ſupported them till they could have rewarded themſelves with what "might have done us good, ſays he, as long as we had lived." On the 15th of *April* 1597, they returned from that river, and wander'd through ſeveral others; till, about four days after, they fell into the *Coritine*. In this river they met a bark, called the *John* of *London*, commanded by captain *Leigh* (the ſame, I ſuppoſe, who afterwards made other voyages to *Guiana*; and took further poſſeſſion of the country, not by force, the *Spaniards* title, but conſent of the people; tho' for a prince indeed, who deſerved no right there which he had not the ſpirit to maintain.) And falling down ſome five leagues from the mouth thereof, upon in-

The third voyage to *Guiana*.

"cauſe, for by ſuch reſtraint, *wit* on the one ſide ſuſ-
"tains too great an injury, in not ranging o'er the fields of
"nature; and *nature* too baſe a diſgrace, in not being
"ſet forth by wit as ſhe has been; but muſt be accounted
"old, which ſhe refuſes; or barren, which ſhe abhors.
"To avoid this inconvenience, examples of antiquity
"have left ſeveral patterns of emulation for poſterity to
"imitate; wherein our age cannot be condemn'd for neg-
"ligent, as having exceeded the number of writers in
"any age paſt; among whom the undertakers in phy-
"ſick have been ſo numerous, that the bluntеſt wit can-
"not complain of ſcarcity, nor the deepeſt head of the
"want of variety." Then he ſays, out of theſe writers, he has choſen ſome, for their merits held in their own country, very dear, to tranſlate for the benefit of his countrymen: and as heretofore he had ſought the authority of other patrons; ſo now he preſumes, under the comfortable ſhield of *Raleigh*'s favour, to ſhadow this work; beſeeching him, out of that *bountiful courteſy* for which he is ſo generally commended, to pardon his preſumption, and accept of his performance.

[a] Of the pictures and prints which have been drawn of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, more will be ſpoken a few leaves following.

[b] Mr. *Evelyn*, in his book of *Medals*, gives us the ſculpture of a large one that was ſtruck this year, having the arms of *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, in a three-fold knot on one ſide, repreſenting a triple league againſt *Spain* with this inſcription, *Rumpitur haud facile*; and on the *reverſe* a navy of great ſhips at ſea, under the name of *Jehovah*, with this *Epigraph*, *Quid me perſequeris*, 1596. Hence thought by ſome to have been in memory of the victory at *Cadiz*; but, as he tells us, it was ſtruck upon the alarm menacing thoſe three nations on the ſurprize of *Calais* this year. Therefore where he is ſpeaking of thoſe adventurous *Argonauts* in theſe times who deſerved the honour of *Medals* for their exploits at ſea, among whom, he reckons chiefly thoſe who found out *new worlds*, planted *colonies*, and enlarged the *Britiſh empire*: he adds, I know not whether there was any medals of the earl of *Eſſex*'s expedition to *Cadiz*, and of the *heroes* who accompanied him. So recommends Sir *W. Raleigh* to that diſtinction, as being "a perſon of extraordinary merit for "his *learning* and *experience*: and who is he, continues "my author, that deplores not his being ſo unhappily "cut off (and our ſince want of ſuch as *Raleigh* was) to "gratify the crafty and malicious?" Further, where he is ſubſiding from *arms* to *arts*, he mentions *Raleigh* again among the foremoſt of thoſe illuſtrious perſons, of whom he ſays, "How ſhould one rejoice to find in more *laſting* "*matter* than painted cloth, the true *effigies* of ſuch as "were famous for *both*." *Numiſmata*, fol. 1697. p. 99, 160, 161.

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telligence that the *Deſſekebe*, with which that river meets, would lead them within a day's journey of the lake *Perima*, whereon *Manoa* was ſuppoſed to ſtand, they meant to diſcover a paſſage to this rich city. But, having rowed in their boats about fifty leagues from the mouth of the *Coritine* to the falls of the ſaid river, where, having been credibly inform'd that five days journey further there was a fall impaſſable; and, finding withal ſome of the towns bordering thereon ſo importunate to engage them in wars againſt their enemies the *Waccawaes*, which would turn greatly to the diſadvantage of the *Engliſh*, when Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſhould again return thither, becauſe he would have occaſion to paſs that river, which was reported to have gold in it; they therefore were conſtrained to return. So, clearing themſelves of this coaſt, they took their courſe to the iſlands of the *Weſt-Indies*. Here my author, who was a gentleman of the company, after having ſpoke in praiſe of the climate, how temperate and wholſome it is, tho' within the *Tropic*, and ſo near the *Equinoctial*; as alſo how docible the natives, and humane (eſpecially to *Engliſhmen*) tho' a ſavage and uncultivated people; he proceeds to ſpeak of their riches in theſe words. "In the upper countries they go apparel'd, being, as it ſeems, of a "more civil diſpoſition; having great ſtore of gold, as we are certainly inform'd by the lower *In-*"*dians*, of whom we had ſome gold, which they brought and bought in the high country of *Wiana*; "being able to buy no more, becauſe they wanted the things which now we have left among "them."[a] Then, having taken a little further notice of their manners, with the plenty and variety of their proviſions, he ſhews what courſe his company took homewards, and how they arriv'd ſafe at *Plymouth* on the 28th of *June* following.[b]

THUS have we abſtracted, after ſuch manner as in this place may be moſt pertinent to our purpoſe, all the voyages Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſet forth for diſcoveries, as well as the warlike expeditions in which he was engag'd, as far as they have been preſerv'd in *Hakluyt*'s collections. Nor was it without juſt reaſon, that his ſaid naval enterprizes were thus carefully gather'd therein; ſince *Ralegh*'s encouragement was ſuch, of this extraordinary undertaking, to raiſe a grove of laurels, in a manner out of the ſeas, that ſhould overſpread the iſland with glory, and might be ſtill made to ſhoot more ſpaciouſly afreſh, were the author and his work reviv'd in a manner ſuitable to their deſerts,[c] that when even the firſt edition of theſe *Engliſh* voyages was publiſhed,

[a] That there are many rich mines and minerals in *Guiana*, as well as mountains and rivers impregnate with gold, is not only thus conſtantly intimated by the *Engliſh* travellers thither of theſe times, but atteſted by the *Spaniards* themſelves, in their further diſcoveries many years after; as may be ſeen in father *D'Acuna*'s *relation* of the river of *Amazons*, and other *Spaniſh* authors. But as for the rich city of *Manoa*, juſt before ſpoken of, which they had called *El Dorado*, it ſeems now to have been invented by theſe *Indians*, as a gilded bait to draw the *Spaniards* into league with them againſt their enemies; and propagated by the *Spaniards* themſelves, to inhance the merit of their travels, and ſharpen the appetite of their ſucceſſors to purſue the enterprize; for no ſuch city having been found, it has been reputed a kind of *Philoſopher's Stone* in *Coſmography*: yet, like that in *Chymiſtry*, tho' undiſcover'd it ſelf, it was, and may further be the means of many profitable diſcoveries. If ſuch a metropolis had been diſtinctly aſcertain'd by *Antonio de Herera*, and in *John de Laet*'s excellent accounts and maps of theſe parts, and had not appear'd doubtful even to father *D'Acuna* himſelf; I ſee not how Monſieur *Sanſon*, who, in 1680, graved a little map to explain the *French* tranſlation of the ſaid Jeſuit's *diſcourſe*, could have omitted it; and for the new edition, publiſhed in 1715, another map was graved by Mr. *De Liſle*; which, tho' more copious and compleat, is not, as I can hear, more particular in this reſpect.

[b] Mr. *Thomas Maſham*'s relation of the third voyage, ſet forth by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, to *Guiana*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 692.

[c] For the conſiderable intelligence we have receiv'd from this *Collection* of *Voyages*, it may not be improper here, at parting with, to ſhew our gratitude towards the laborious author, in a ſhort obſervation or two, which may ſomewhat amend what has been ſaid by others of him, and recommend his moſt laudable work, long ſince out of print, to a new impreſſion. And, firſt: This *Richard Hakluyt* might be of a *Herefordſhire* family; but whether born there, too doubtful for *Fuller* to ſettle him a native of that county. He was ſent young to *Weſtminſter*-ſchool, and became one of the queen's ſcholars; when viſiting his couſin *Richard Hakluyt* of *Eiton*, in the ſaid county, at his chambers in the *Middle Temple* (but never ſtudying the municipal law there, as *A. Wood* miſtakes of him, inſtead of his ſaid couſin) this relation, a great proficient in coſmography, and promoter of navigation, communicating and explaining certain books and maps to him, wrought ſuch impreſſions in young *Hakluyt*, that he reſolved, if ever he ſhould go to the Univerſity, to proſecute theſe ſtudies. Accordingly, being removed to *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford* about 1570 (ſays *Wood*) he fell to ſearching after, and reading over, in any of ſeven languages, all the voyages and diſcoveries in print or MS. that he could meet with; and became ſo eminent for theſe ſtudies, that he was choſen to read *publick lectures of navigation* in the ſchools, wherein he was the firſt that ſhew'd the imperfections of the old, and improvements of the new maps, globes, and other inſtruments in this branch of ſcience, to the great ſatisfaction of his auditory. By his further enquiries of this nature, he alſo became acquainted with the chief ſea-officers, merchants and mariners of the nation. At length he travelled to *France* with Sir *Edward Stafford*, her majeſty's legier ambaſſador, and reſided there five years; during which time, he heard other nations miraculouſly extoll'd for their diſcoveries and notable enterprizes at ſea; but the *Engliſh*, for their ſluggiſh ſecurity and neglect of ſuch attempts, through their long peace, much condemn'd; and not only in common diſcourſe, but read them alſo more durably branded in the writings of their authors; particularly in *La Poplinere*'s book, called *L'Admiral de France*; all which animated *Hakluyt*, at his return into *England* with the lady *Sheffield* about the year 1588 (after having publiſhed *P. Martyr*, tranſlated the *French* diſcovery of *Florida*, and before them, duly celebrated Sir *W. Ralegh*) to ſtop the mouths of theſe ſlanderers, by collecting together the naval atchievements of his countrymen; which he perform'd ſo expeditiouſly, that by the latter end of 1589, he publiſh'd a fair volume in *Folio* of the *Engliſh* navigations, which he dedicated to that great encourager of them, Sir *F. Walſingham*. The work was ſo univerſally approved, that the author was prevail'd on to enlarge and reprint it, which he afterwards did in three volumes; the firſt two commonly bound together in one book, fol. 1599, and the laſt fol. 1600. "A work of great honour to *England*, "as *Fuller* juſtly obſerves, it being poſſible that many "ports and iſlands in *America*, which are now baſe and "barren, and known only by a bare name at preſent, "may prove rich places hereafter: and then theſe *voyages* "will be produc'd, and pleaded as good *evidence* of their "belonging to *England*, as firſt diſcover'd and denomi-"nated by *Engliſhmen*." The author was made a prebendary of *Weſtminſter* about the year 1605, and rector of *Wetheringſet* in *Suffolk*, as *Wood* tells us; who alſo mentions his other writings, as his edition of *Peter Martyr*'s

His encouragement of Mr. *Hakluyt*'s *Collection* of *Engliſh navigations.*

publiſhed, and before they could receive any luſtre from the *Guianian* diſcoveries, the ſaid author, in his preface, acknowledges Sir *Walter Ralegh* to have been one of thoſe benefactors, *from whom he had received his chief light into the* weſtern *navigations.* Nor did he only oblige *Hakluyt* with communicating divers maritime adventures in which he himſelf and countrymen were concern'd; but procured for him, at no ſmall expence, ſome very ſcarce voyages and diſcoveries of foreigners which were unprinted; and was moreover at the charge of rewarding ſome perſons of learning and leiſure to tranſlate them into *Engliſh*, for the further enrichment of the ſaid collections. One inſtance of this kind he ſlightly mentions himſelf. For in his learned enquiries into the name of the *Red* ſea, he ſpeaks of a voyage made thither by the *Portugal* viceroy of the *Eaſt-Indies*, named *Stephen Gama*, the narrative whereof was written by *Caſtro*, one of his principal commanders; which diſcourſe, ſays he, I gave Mr. *Richard Hakluyt* to publiſh.[a] Now, tho' I remember not to have met with this diſcourſe in *Hakluyt*; yet the author, who, after his death, recover'd ſome of his papers, and continued his undertaking, has given us an abridgment of it, and inform'd us, that the original manuſcript had coſt Sir *Walter Ralegh* threeſcore pounds, who alſo cauſed it to be tranſlated out of the *Portugueſe* tongue; and was at the pains of making ſeveral corrections of the phraſe, and marginal notes upon it, with his own hand.[b] Further, we might expatiate upon this care he had for the preſervation of other mens fame; but here a gallant exploit ſollicits our regard, by which he much increaſed his own.

For the earl of *Eſſex*, grown diſcontented to ſee his party of ſuch little power at court, and the *Cecilians* carry all before them; that he could not advance ſeveral of his friends and followers to certain poſts in the army, nor even Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the office of ſecretary, whom he had perhaps prejudic'd with his prodigal praiſes to the queen, ſhe having prefer'd Sir *Robert Cecyl* to that place, in his abſence at *Cadiz*, whom he had as intemperately traduc'd,[c] reſolved to ſeek, by further ſervices abroad, to ſtrengthen that intereſt at home which he now found ſo weak and unſerviceable; in which, if his experience and diſcretion had been anſwerable to the activity and bravery of his ſpirit, he might not have been diſappointed, nor outſhin'd in martial expeditions, as he was outwitted in court-intrigues. But he had now a fair opportunity to purſue this ſcheme. For the king of *Spain*, enrag'd at the late overthrow and deſtruction of *Cadiz*, had immediately thereupon muſter'd up the naval powers from all his ports, at *Liſbon*, for a new expedition upon *England* and *Ireland*; but his old enemies the winds and the waves ſo ſpeedily diſabled and diſperſed them, that the queen heard of their fate before ſhe had

book *de Novo Orbe*, with notes. Wherein, as we have before obſerved, *Hakluyt* has ſo highly applauded Sir *Walter Ralegh* for his advancements of navigation: beſides ſome other things which are chiefly verſions from the *Portugueſe*. But the notes of certain commodities in requeſt in the *Eaſt-Indies*, &c. by *R. Hakluyt*, among Mr. *Selden*'s MSS. at *Oxford*, I take to be written by the *Templar*, who has other ſuch *diſcourſes*, and, I think, this in his kinſman's *collections*. And whereas the *French* diſſertation on the river of *Amazons*, prefix'd to M. *de Gomberville*'s tranſlation of father *D'Aacuna*'s *relation* above-mention'd, has, among other errors relating to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, ſaid, That the hiſtory of the *ſecond* voyage he made in perſon to *Guiana*, was written and given us by this celebrated compiler Mr. *Hakluyt*, in his ſaid collections; out of which hiſtory the *French* author pretends to quote ſome particulars: We muſt here obſerve, this aſſertion of *Hakluyt*'s writing ſuch a hiſtory, is notoriouſly falſe; for he died in 1616, which was before Sir *Walter Ralegh* went his ſaid laſt voyage to that part of *America*. All we ſhall mention more in this place of him is, Firſt, the wiſhes, that ſome other ſuch able pen would *continue* his *collections*; which may be read in *Robert Aſhley*'s dedication to Sir *Maurice Abbot*, of his *Cochin-China*; a ſcarce tract, printed above a hundred years ſince, and which I have ſeen in a volume of ſuch other choice pieces among the curious collections of the right honourable the lord *Coleraine*. Secondly, ſince to the *continuation* of ſuch collections, a like ſeries of ſuch brave adventures as are the ſubject of them, would be requir'd, which may not, in any proportion, be readily produced, that other wiſh, which may be gather'd from Mr. *Bohun*'s complaint above forty years ago, in his *character* of queen *Elizabeth*, of the ſcarcity of this collection, that it may, after ſo long a neglect, be prefer'd to a ſecond impreſſion; in juſtice to the author, in honour of the heroic examples it commemorates, and for the profit of ſuch imitation as it may inſpire.

[a] Sir *W. Ralegh's Hiſt. of the World*, lib. 2. c. 3. ſect. 8.

[b] See an abridgment of *Don John* of *Caſtro's Ruttier* of a voyage made by the *Portugueſe* from *India* to *Zoez*, dedicated to prince *Luys*; ſhewing the ſtate of *Socatoria*, and the parts on both ſides of the *Red* ſea, as they were in 1540, with the harbours, iſlands, depths, ſhelves, and other particulars pertaining to the hiſtory of that ſea, land and people: in *Purchas*, part 2. fol. 1122.

[c] Sir *Thomas Bodley* informs us, that before he return'd from the united provinces in 1597, and after, the earl of *Eſſex* uſed him ſo kindly, that tho' he meant to ſettle his dependance only on the lord *Burghley*, as beſt able, and moſt willing to work his advancement with the queen; yet the earl, who ſought, by all devices, to divert her liking both from the father and the ſon eſpecially; did often, to withdraw his affection alſo from both, entertain the queen with prodigal ſpeeches of his ſufficiency for a ſecretary; which were accompanied with ſuch words of diſgrace againſt the latter, "That neither ſhe her ſelf took "any great pleaſure to prefer me the ſooner, ſays *Bodley*; "for ſhe hated his ambition, and would give little counte- "nance to any of his followers; and both the lord *Burgh-* "*ley* and his ſon waxed jealous of my courſes." And a little further, "when I had throughly bethought me, firſt "in the *earl*; of the ſlender hold-faſt he had in the queen; "of an endleſs oppoſition of the chiefeſt of our ſtateſmen, "likely ſtill to wait upon him; of his perillous, feeble, "and uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the "cauſes of his friends; and when I had fully conſider'd "how untowardly theſe two counſellors were affected to "me; how ill it became my natural diſpoſition to be- "come a ſtickler in publick faction; and how well I was "able to live of my ſelf, &c. I was reſolved to take "my farewell of ſtate employments, and ſo retire from "court." See the account of his life, written by himſelf, printed 4to, *Oxon.* 1647. reprinted in *David Lloyd*'s *State Worthies*; and again, in *Reliquæ Bodleianæ*, before quoted.

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any advertiſement of their deſign: and as ſhe then took care to fortify ſuch caſtles as lay moſt obvious to any ſuch invaſion; ſo now that ſhe heard the ſtorm was gathering again, by the repair of the ſaid ſhatter'd fleet, and recruits added to it, threatning a new deſcent upon *Ireland*, ſhe reſolved alſo to recollect her forces by ſea. At firſt indeed, before ſhe was well inform'd of the enemy's ſtrength, ſhe had only arm'd and victuall'd ten of her beſt ſhips, and cauſed the *Low-Countries* to provide the like number under admiral *Duvenvord*. But when the lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who were pitch'd upon for the command of this fleet, declared their hopes of doing any great ſervice with it to be weak and uncertain, and the news of the *Adelantado*'s ſtronger preparations at *Feroll* and the *Groyne* were daily confirm'd, a new council was call'd; in which it was reſolved, that this naval force, which the queen had appointed, was too great for a diſcovery, and too little for an attempt; as in the earl of *Eſſex*'s apology is rightly obſerv'd.[a] Therefore, paſſing over the *addition*, ſo unaccountably deficient in the ſaid *apology*,[b] that I cannot think him the author both of one and the other, there were added to the firſt prepared fleet about ten ſhips more of the royal navy; which, with the other men of war, victuallers, tranſports, and many ſtout veſſels belonging to the nobles, knights, and gentlemen, who were adventurers in this voyage, amounted to about one hundred and twenty ſail, as we are informed by Sir *Arthur Gorges*, an officer in this enterprize, whoſe moſt excellent hiſtory thereof we ſhall here principally follow. Theſe ſhips then being all ſufficiently mann'd with ſailors, received an army alſo on board of five thouſand ſoldiers, with ten pieces of artillery for the field, and five hundred volunteers moſt gorgeouſly equipp'd. The proportion of victuals was for four months at large allowance, and double apparel both for the ſoldiers and mariners.[c] The lord-admiral *Howard*, being indiſpos'd, declin'd the command; which therefore was granted in chief to the earl of *Eſſex*; but the lord *Thomas Howard* was made vice-admiral, and Sir *Walter Ralegh* rear-admiral in the expedition; and theſe three, with four others, made up the council of war. Rear-admiral The purpoſe of this grand preparation was, to defeat and deſtroy the *Spaniſh* fleet aforeſaid at *Feroll*, as well as in other ports of the enemy; alſo to ſeize upon ſuch *Indian* fleets of treaſure as they ſhould meet with belonging to the king of *Spain*; but eſpecially to conquer, retain, and engarriſon moſt of the iſles of the *Azores*;[d] and above all the *Tercera*: wherefore this enterprize was called the ISLAND VOYAGE. In the *Iſland Voyage*.

Sir *Francis Vere*, who was marſhal again of the army, diſcovers himſelf much nettled at the queen's having made the lord *Mountjoy* lieutenant-general; and cannot forbear expoſing his patron *Eſſex*'s diſingenuity towards that lord, in retrenching him to the mere title of a ſuperior command, rather than not let himſelf be known to have got the authority of it. And, notwithſtanding this, further betrays ſo much his ſtomach and jealouſy of *Eſſex*'s conſent to that precedency, as to deſire the earl would not uſe him at all hereafter in any action wherein he was to go in chief; yet unreſervedly confeſſes, the earl took theſe ſpeeches of his as proceeding rather from a paſſionate diſcontentment, than a reſolution fram'd in cool blood; and with ſo little ſharpneſs, that when they came to *Weymouth*, the earl thinking there might remain ſome grudge of the laſt year's falling out, cauſed Sir *Walter Ralegh* and Sir *Francis Vere* to ſhake hands: "which we did both, ſays he, the more willingly, becauſe there had nothing paſſed between "us that might blemiſh reputation."[e]

ABOUT the 9th of *July* following, the whole fleet ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, and, for two days, had a fair leading wind; in which time all the ſhips received their directions from the council of war, with the meeting-places from time to time in caſe of ſeparation by tempeſt, fight, chaſe, or any other accident. But being now advanced about ſixty leagues, there aroſe ſuch an

[a] Reprinted under the title of the earl of *Eſſex*'s vindication of the war with *Spain*, in an apology, *&c.* 8vo. 1729. p. 13.

[b] *Idem*, p. 14. where no more than ſix ſhips are mention'd to have been added to the former twenty; yet, three pages further, he mentions thirty ſail of the ſame fleet.

[c] Sir *Arthur Gorges*'s relation of the *Iſland Voyage*, *&c.* in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1938.

[d] Theſe iſlands are ſituate in the *Atlantick*, or weſtern ocean, between thirty-ſeven and forty degrees; and diſtant from *England* about four hundred leagues. They were ſo named by the *Portugueſe*, from a kind of hawks, call'd by them *Aſores*, by the *Romans Accipitres*, and by us *Goſhawks*; theſe iſlands breeding abundance of thoſe birds: tho' *Ortelius* derives the name from a *French* word, ſignifying to *dry* or *wither*, without giving reaſon for his etymology. They are nine in number, and named *St. Mary's*, which is near the coaſt of *Spain*; St. *Michael's*, which is the largeſt of them, being about twenty miles long; the *Tercera*, ſo called, becauſe lying the third from *Spain*, is the ſtrongeſt; *Gratioſa*, from the fertility of the ſoil, and pleaſant temper of the air; *St. George's*, like the two firſt, from the ſaint's name on whoſe day it was diſcover'd; the *Pike*, from the wonderful ſharp mountain thereon, which riſes ſteeple-wiſe three miles high, is ſix or ſeven miles in circuit at the baſe, and reported to have *Vulcano's* in its bowels, diſgorging flakes and ſtones of fire; *Fayall* was ſo call'd from *Faya*, the beech-tree, which grew in plenty there; *Flores*, from the abundance of flowers which overſpread the iſland; and *Cuervo*, from the vaſt flocks of crows or ravens which were obſerved to breed therein. See *Gorges*, as above, alſo more largely in *Linſchoten* and *Hakluyt*, vol. 3.

[e] *Vere*'s Commentaries, fol. 47, 48.

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exceeding high ſtorm fell in their teeth, and continued with ſuch violence for four days together, that all the ſhips were driven, with great detriment to ſeveral, back into *Plymouth*; and many died of the ſickneſs it had brought among them. While they lay here wind-bound for a month, and their proviſions much damaged and conſumed; *Eſſex*, in company, as he tells us himſelf, with Sir *Walter Ralegh*, rode poſt to court.[a] The earl was very forward in his propoſals to ſet out again with the fleet as ſoon as it ſhould be repair'd, or at leaſt one half of it, being ſure the Enemy ſhould have felt the weight and charge of the journey. But her Majeſty not accepting his offer, it was more adviſedly reſolved, to proportion their expedition to the opportunities which remain'd; the ſeaſon being ſo far elapſed, and their proviſions ſo much exhauſted: therefore *Eſſex* had orders from her Majeſty to diſcharge the land-forces, all but the thouſand *Low-Country* ſoldiers, then thought the beſt and moſt experienc'd of this army; whereby, tho' they were diſabled of diſembarking at *Feroll*, and attacking the enemy there by land; yet *Eſſex* offer'd to ſend certain fire-ſhips into the bay, and ſecond them with the two *Spaniſh* galleons laſt year taken, with ſome great flyboats and merchant-men, to deſtroy their ſhipping; and leave the queen's own *Engliſh*-built ſhips at the mouth of the harbour, with a principal commander, to ſecure their retreat; and this was allow'd of, but with ſome limitations, as *Eſſex* confeſſes in one place,[b] which in another,[c] we find to be an abſolute bar to hazard any other of the ſhips, and as abſolute a reſtraint of the earl himſelf from going into the harbour to put this project in practice; but that it ſhould be done by that principal commander he would have left behind; whether through care of his perſon as a nobleman, or to have it attempted by one of the greateſt abilities and experience for ſuch a naval exploit, I cannot ſay; but Sir *Walter Ralegh* was preferr'd to the execution of this ſervice, and, as Sir *Francis Vere* obſerves, the charge of firing the fleet was undertaken by him.[d]

During this abſence of *Eſſex* and *Ralegh* at court, which was not above ſeven days, there fell out ſuch exceeding tempeſtuous weather as very much diſtreſs'd the fleet both in *Plymouth-Road* and the *Catwater*; inſomuch that one of *Ralegh*'s own ſhips, named the *Roebuck*, of three hundred tons burthen, ran aground, and bulged her ſelf, ſo became unſerviceable for that voyage; tho' much pains and care were taken by all hands, and eſpecially the lord *Thomas Howard* himſelf in perſon, to have preſerved her.[e] On the 17th of *Auguſt* following they all weighed anchor, and, with much labour, ſet ſail again, being becalm'd; but the weather growing ſomewhat favourable, they held their courſe for the *North-Cape*. Six days afterwards they fell acroſs the bay of *Aſchaſen*, or *Biſcay*; and at laſt bore full into it, much to the diſlike of *Ralegh*'s pilot, a ſkilful mariner, named *Broadbent*, who thought it very perillous for ſo great a fleet ſo wilfully to imbay there, and upon an enemy's coaſt; yet as it was the *general*'s courſe, they comply'd. The next being *Bartholomew-day*, they were here for ſeveral hours beaten and ſcatter'd about by a prodigious ſtorm, wherein one of the late taken prizes, named *St. Matthew*, falling into a head-ſea, and having her *ſprit-ſail* out, broke her *bolt-ſprit* and *fore-maſt* overboard, cloſe to the *partners*. The fall of her maſts alſo broke two anchors, and carried the third away; and her *main-maſt*, with her rolling and tumbling, had ſo looſen'd it ſelf, that it was in danger of breaking in the *ſtep*, whereby ſhe would ſoon have been ſunk, had not her captain, Sir *George Carew*, with great reſolution and hazard, carried her into *England*, and exchang'd her for another. In the ſame ſtorm the other *Spaniſh* prize, the *St. Andrew*, ſpent her *main-top-maſt*, and loſt company for ſome days; but all the reſt of the fleet kept labouring in the bay, till firſt *Ralegh*, and ſome ſhips of his ſquadron which happen'd to carry the *Low-Country* ſoldiers, clear'd out, and made the beſt of their way to the next rendezvous, as we ſhall hear: and afterwards ſeveral of the earl's loſing him, ſailed thither alſo in ſearch of him. This gave riſe to a miſrepreſentation by *Ralegh*'s adverſaries, that he had deſignedly withdrawn himſelf and that part of the fleet;[f] while *Eſſex* himſelf incurr'd a more juſt cenſure throughout the whole fleet, by making the high land of *Portugal*, and bearing in ſo cloſe to the ſhore, that he alarm'd all the Country to make defence againſt him. Afterwards as the fleet, being join'd again, was paſſing together towards the ſouth, almoſt as far as the iſles of *Bayon*, *Ralegh*'s ſhip, the *Warſpite*,[g] being then in the centre of them, on the 27th of

One of his ſhips bulg'd.

Storm-beaten in the bay of *Biſcay*.

[a] *Eſſex*'s Apology, as before, p. 17. [b] *Idem*.

[c] Relation of the voyage, to the *Azores* by the ſaid *earl* and the other commiſſioners, *viz. Thomas* lord *Howard*, *Charles* lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *Anthony Shirley*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*: in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1935.

[d] *Vere*'s *Commentaries*, fol. 50.

[e] Sir *A. Gorges*, as before, fol. 1944. [f] *Id.* fol. 1946.

[g] Tho' the ſhip *Ralegh* was now in, is every-where called the *Warſpite* in *Purchas*'s edition of Sir *Arthur Gorges*'s Relation of this *voyage*, who ſhould indeed well know its name, being captain thereof under *Ralegh*; yet as I meet not with any ſhip of the *royal navy* ſo named elſewhere, as that which *Ralegh* was in the laſt year, at the conqueſt of *Cadiz*, was called the *Warſpite*; and, as Sir *William Monſon* and others, call that alſo by this name, in which *Ralegh*, this year, perform'd the *Iſland-Voyage*; I conclude the other reading to have been an error of the preſs.

Auguſt

Auguſt, broke her *main-yard* aſunder in the very midſt by the *parrel*. This diſaſter was no ſooner made known, than *Eſſex* diſcover'd a greater in his ſhip, a deſperate leak being broke out in her, by which he had much-ado to eſcape drowning. Here it was agreed, that, till *Ralegh*'s ſhip ſhould be repair'd, he might keep cruiſing about the height of the *Rock*, where they were to unite, and paſs to the *South Cape*; yet the next morning, before that reparation could be made, *Ralegh* had a meſſage to attend *Eſſex* with all ſpeed, that they might put in with the land, which it was impoſſible for *Ralegh* to do, being unable to work upon a wind, as having but a *fore-ſail* and *mizen*, and the wind almoſt of the land; beſides, if he could have made the land with that ſail, it was thought a madneſs to put upon the enemies coaſt in that condition; when, if the wind ſhould change to the weſt, he muſt, in want of his *main-ſail*, have yielded or periſhed: ſo found himſelf neceſſitated to ply up and down for two days, till the ſaid fraction was mended. In this diſtreſs, there was no direction given for any other of the fleet to attend upon *Ralegh*; yet Sir *William Brook* in the *Dreadnought*, out of his friendly diſpoſition, tarried with him; alſo the vice-admiral himſelf, lord *Thomas Howard*, very affectionately offer'd all the aſſiſtance he could give; and ſeveral other of the ſea-captains voluntarily did the like: but *Ralegh* would admit of no more than three or four ſmall men of war to accompany him; and order'd the reſt, even of his own ſquadron, to repair to the *admiral*: ſo far was he from projecting a diviſion of the fleet, by entreating any to forſake *Eſſex* and abide with him, as it was aftewards very falſely repreſented, to incenſe *Eſſex* againſt *Ralegh*, for contriving thereby the fruſtration of their firſt reſolv'd attempt; and as *Ralegh* himſelf, when they met at the *Azores*, ſo ſatisfactorily made evident, that the ſaid imputation turned only to the ſhame of its contrivers.[a] Diſtreſs'd.

When *Ralegh* had repaired the damages of the ſtorm, he bore in with the coaſt, making all the enquiry he could after *Eſſex* and the fleet, but could hear no tidings of them; he ſent into the iſles of *Bayon*, and towards the *South-Cape*, well knowing the earl could not then put into *Feroll* or the *Groyne*, as was afterwards colourably pretended he would have done had they united, the wind being flat againſt him; and the whole fleet having over-ſhot that coaſt near twenty leagues before the main-yard of *Ralegh*'s ſhip was broken; and beſides, that they could not recover it again, both thoſe *Spaniſh* prizes were wanting which only were to have been ventured in the Service. Hereupon *Ralegh* ſhaped his courſe to the *Rock*, which was appointed for the general rendezvous; expecting, not only with good reaſon, to meet *Eſſex* there, but with great deſire; his own force being ſo ſmall, and the enemy, as he heard, out at ſea with a powerful fleet. Yet thoſe who could ſuſpect *Ralegh* would prefer a ſeparation, dangerous and diſadvantageous as it was now, would needs have had it thought there was much more reaſon for that ſuſpicion, when there came to *Ralegh* at the *Rock* near thirty ſail more, moſt of them his own victuallers and tranſports; but the truth is, that having loſt *Eſſex* during the ſtorm in the *bay*, and miſſed him alſo at the *North-Cape*, they came hither according to their inſtructions; where, caſually meeting with *Ralegh*, he held them together, and conducted them to *Eſſex* at the *Iſlands*: otherwiſe they had all return'd home, after they had failed at the *South-Cape*, which was the third and laſt meeting-place, of ſome admiral to command them, and of whom they would have fail'd, ſince none of the fleet went ſo far ſouthward. Divided from the fleet.

Soon after he had determin'd, in ſearch of the fleet, to paſs on towards the *South-Cape*, he was travers'd by an *Engliſh* bark, which aſſur'd him they had learn'd from an *Engliſh* man of war which had lately taken an *India-man*, that the *Adelantado* was gone for the *Iſlands* to convoy the *Indian* fleet ſafe home. This ſeeming very probable, and no one ſuſpecting that any of their countrymen would traiterouſly delude her majeſty's fleet with any falſe informations in a purſuit of this conſequence, *Ralegh* earneſtly beſought the captain of the ſaid bark to hunt after *Eſſex*, and appriſe him of this intelligence: but he anſwer'd, in the hearing of the whole company, that the captain, who had taken that *India* man, had already ſent a letter to *Eſſex* thereof. *Ralegh*, doubting it might have miſcarried, or that none was ſent, commanded one of the ſmall men of war attending upon himſelf with all diligence to ſeek out the fleet, and make report of what they had heard. This ſhip, by good chance, met with the fleet next day, and deliver'd Receives falſe Intelligence.

[a] *Eſſex* himſelf, in his *Apology*, imputes the Defeat of their deſign upon the *Spaniſh* navy at *Feroll*, to the loſing of *Ralegh*'s company by the Miſchances which happened to their ſhips, and to the further ſeparation of the fleet; without any ways inſinuating that it was occaſion'd by any artifice to overthrow the ſcheme they had concerted. But from the moſt accurate hiſtorian of this voyage, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, whom I now chiefly follow, it will appear, a few lines further, there were other accidents beſides, which hindered them from landing at *Feroll*; and theſe alſo are acknowledg'd by *Eſſex*, in that relation of this voyage which is ſubſcribed by himſelf and his council of war before-named: See *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1936. Sufficient, in the whole, to clear *Ralegh*, both from the cenſure of any wilful deſertion, and, conſequently, for not putting in execution the firſt intended aſſault.

the news. Two days after, *Ralegh* received two letters from *Eſſex*, which, ſomewhat taxing his abſence, and not writing, requir'd that he would preſently follow him to the *Iſlands*. "Where-"unto (the earl ſaid) he was haſtening to find the *Adelantado*; not doubting but to give his "miſtreſs a better account of that ſervice, than he ſhould yield his maſter."

In paſſing to the *Iſlands*, *Ralegh* encounter'd many new difficulties, by which he was ſo much in danger of loſing his *main-maſt*, that he was forced to ſend the ſhips in his company before, becauſe he thought *Eſſex* might be in want of them, if he ſhould meet the enemy; and, if they had joined the fleet without *Ralegh*, who was principally depended on, in caſe of any engagement, it would have much ſtrengthned the miſconſtructions that had been nouriſhed againſt him; but *Ralegh* ſo ſpeedily and effectually repaired his crazy maſt, and ſo briſkly ply'd his ſails, that he overtook his conſorts next day, and on the eighth of *September* they all made the iſland of *Tercera*; yet here could they meet with no news of the fleet, tho' they enquired of an *Engliſh* merchant who had traded about theſe *Iſlands* above ſix weeks, and tho' it had paſſed that way but two days before. By this merchant *Ralegh* wrote into *England*, to acquaint the ſtate in what ſituation they were; then paſſed on to *St. George*'s iſland, where they found the weather exceedingly hot, and were vexatiouſly becalm'd for a day or two, before they could get foward to *Gratioſa*. Here, as they coaſted along, on the tenth of *September* about midnight, they ſaw a large and perfect rainbow by moon-light, in the ſhape and bigneſs of thoſe formed more commonly by the ſun, tho' in colours not ſo various, but chiefly inclining to a pale or whitiſh flame: this made the generality of the ſeamen expect ſome extraordinary tempeſtuous weather; but it fell out, on the contrary, to be very calm and hot.[a] The ſame night they alſo eſpied, by the light of the moon, then upon the border of the horizon, ſome ſail of ſhips gliding towards the eaſt of *Gratioſa*; at which *Ralegh* hung out two lights for his company to follow him in chaſe of them; but they not taking his courſe, and the moon being ſoon after quite ſhadow'd and intercepted by the earth, he was left in darkneſs and ſolitude, having loſt all ſight both of the new-diſcover'd ſhips, and thoſe of his own company, till, in the ſpace of four days more, a leiſurely breeze of wind brought him, after all theſe impediments, to the reſt of the fleet, then gather'd at the iſle of *Flores*.

Joins the fleet.

As ſoon as *Ralegh* had deſcry'd the fleet, he took his barge, and, with our author Sir *Arthur Gorges*, as alſo ſome other of the officers and gentlemen in his company, went aboard the earl of *Eſſex*'s ſhip, with whom they all din'd; and "who ſeemed, ſays *Gorges*, to be the joyfulleſt "man living for our arrival;" proteſting, that "he never believed we would leave him, al-"tho' divers perſuaded him to the contrary;" and acknowledg'd, "that he was ſorry for a "letter which he had written, by Mr. *Robert Knolles*, into *England* againſt us;[b] promiſing "preſently to make a diſpatch on purpoſe, contrary to the former." Further, when *Eſſex* had fully ſatisfied himſelf, that all the tranſports and victuallers which returned with *Ralegh*, had not been inveigled away by him; and how commendably he had thus drawn them to the *Iſlands*, againſt their inclinations, being, moſt of them, in great diſtreſs; he open'd himſelf to him in a very amicable and communicative manner. He told him, "how he had ſpent the "time of their ſeparation wholly in ranging the ſeas to meet with the *Adelantado*;" he acquainted him with "the many conjectures and ſurmiſes that had been vented of his abſence, and, "withal, named to him ſome of thoſe men who had taxed him ſecretly with ſtrange reports, "yet pretended to love him; which he proteſted he never believ'd, but thereby the better ob-

[a] This *rainbow* by the light of the moon, is the rather to be obſerved, becauſe *Pliny*, in his *Natural Hiſtory*, ſpeaking of *meteors*, denies any rainbow to be ſeen, but oppoſite to the *ſun*, and never in the night-ſeaſon; yet tells us, *Ariſtotle* reports, for a rarity, that in his time there was a nocturnal rainbow ſeen; but, withal, that it could only be at the full of the moon. Nevertheleſs, in theſe parts, they are very ordinary, as well when the moon is not at full, as otherwiſe: for no longer than a week after this time, *Ralegh* and his company obſerved another lunary rainbow, as they rode at anchor before *Flores*; and there could not be two full moons in ſeven days, which makes it probable theſe *iſlands* were not known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, or thoſe *meteors* not ſufficiently obſerved by them.

[b] Tho' Sir *Arthur Gorges* does a little further both repeat the ſending of this *meſſage* into *England*, as if it was, in very ſtrong terms, againſt Sir *Walter Ralegh*; and alſo *Eſſex*'s promiſe to him, that he would now ſend another of Recantation; which promiſe giving ſome ſatisfaction to *Ralegh*, and the meſſage into *England* being perceptibly ſent to colour over the diſappointment of his promiſe to the queen; "wherefore we ſtrove the leſs to publiſh our "*Apologies*, ſays *Gorges*, or to conteſt with a man of *Eſſex*'s "place and credit; but left him to his beſt excuſe and our "apparent innocence." Yet in the copy of that *meſſage*, or *inſtructions* to Mr. *Knolles*, which my ſaid author exhibits *verbatim*, this abſence of *Ralegh*'s (and conſequently that omiſſion againſt the enemy) is no ways laid to his charge, or mention'd as any fault or contrivance of his; all the words that expreſs the ſame, being theſe: "If her "majeſty ask you, why there was no attempt upon the "fleet at *Feroll*? You may ſay, I neither had the *St. Ma-"thew*, the principal ſhip for that execution, nor the "*St. Andrew*, till my own ſhip was almoſt ſunk; and I, "not able to make ſail, till Sir *Walter Ralegh* with his "own ſhip, the *Dreadnought*, and very near twenty ſail, "were gone." So that the meſſenger was further inſtructed, it ſeems, to expound this part of his meſſage to *Ralegh*'s diſadvantage, by word of mouth; for this ſuppoſition will render *Eſſex*'s promiſe to *Ralegh* requiſite, of ſending another advertiſement how they were all met again, and had been formerly *ſever'd by Misfortunes* only, *and not by any wilful default in the* rear-admiral, *as was doubted.*

"ſerv'd

"ſerv'd their ſcandalous and canker'd diſpoſitions." In this manner did the earl of *Eſſex* receive and welcome Sir *Walter Ralegh* with the greateſt kindneſs and familiarity, as well as all the gentlemen of his company; to the great diſlike and heart-burning of ſome, who much envied that liking, which, of his own diſpoſition, *Eſſex* bore to *Ralegh*: *For tho' the* earl *had many doubts and jealouſies buzz'd into his ears againſt* him; *yet I have often obſerv'd* (ſays *Gorges*) *that both in his greateſt actions of ſervice, and in the times of his chiefeſt recreations, he would ever accept of his counſel and company, before many others who thought themſelves more in his favour.* How much eſteem'd by *Eſſex*.

'Tis true, the earl, of his own unperverted nature, was a man, prone to gracious and generous principles; but no leſs eaſily blown up to prejudice and indignation againſt his real friends, by his pretended ones; whence we may conceive, as Sir *Arthur Gorges* has well obſerv'd, upon giving an inſtance of his moderation and bounty to ſome of theſe iſlanders, *Tho' he was endowed with many good gifts*, how it came to paſs, that *he at laſt fail'd in the uſe of them.*

HERE, as they lay before the iſle of *Flores*, they held a council of war, to conquer and poſſeſs, or lay waſte ſome of theſe iſlands; they being the chief places of retreat and refreſhment for the king of *Spain*'s *Indian* fleets, by the treaſures whereof his boundleſs ambition ſo much diſturbed and tyranniz'd over *Europe*. In this council, the admirals and commanders had their charge allotted, after the following manner. *Eſſex* and *Ralegh* were to undertake the iſland of *Fayall*; the lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Francis Vere* were to ſecure *Gratioſa*; the lord *Mountjoy* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* were to attempt *St. Michael's*; and the *Netherland* ſquadron was quarter'd to *Pike*,[a] where grew the greateſt ſtore of wines, therefore preſumed no unwelcome portion to them. And theſe places were the firſt reſolved upon, that they might afterwards attack the *Tercera* it ſelf; for *Ralegh*'s arrival, contrary to all mens expectations, and many mens hopes, gave their reſolution upon this ſtronger iſland a ſecond life; but it was firſt thought expedient to ſtrengthen and ſupply themſelves with whatſoever thoſe weaker ones would afford: and to this end the fleet was divided into four ſquadrons. The enterprize allotted *him* and *Eſſex*.

BUT *Ralegh*'s mariners having obtained leave to go aſhore at *Flores*, to water and furniſh themſelves with ſuch other neceſſaries as they wanted; while he himſelf, attended by ſeveral other of the commanders and gentlemen, walk'd a mile or two into the iſland to ſtretch their legs and refreſh themſelves, where they all dined in a little village, the bare-legg'd governor having cauſed ſuch fare to be brought them as the country afforded, which they very honourably paid for, without offering them the leaſt injury; becauſe the earl had before given them an indemnity, under his own hand, from all manner of violence: when *Eſſex*, impatient to be in action, all of a ſudden, and before the ſailors could get their casks of freſh water aboard, ſent, on the 16th of *September*, captain *Arthur Champernon* to tell them, "That the general was borne up for *Fayall*, meaning preſently to take it in; therefore required them to follow him inſtantly; and tho' they ſhould not overtake him, yet to find him there as ſoon as they could, and there they might ſupply their wants." Hereupon they haſten'd away, with all the ſail they could make, after him; but no general could they overtake. The next morning they got ſight of *Fayall*, and miſs'd of *Eſſex* alſo there, to their great diſſatisfaction, he being ſix leagues nearer that iſland when he ſent for them, and ſet ſail thither ſix or eight hours before them. Loſes the *earl*'s company.

BEING enter'd the road, they beheld before them a very fine town, pleaſantly ſeated along the ſhore; from whence the people, upon ſight of their ſhips, began to pack away both bag and baggage: their friars, nuns, other women and children, they alſo ſent away in carts and carriages: ſo continued tranſporting all up into the country for two days together. There was beſides a ſtrong fort at one end of the town, and another on the top of a very high mountain near adjoining, by nature very inacceſſible, and artificially fenced with flankers, rampiers, and a ditch; alſo ſix pieces of artillery, and two hundred *Spaniards* in garriſon; not reckoning others quarter'd about the iſland. They fir'd upon *Ralegh*'s ſhips as he anchor'd in the road, tho' without much damage, and ſet a great red ſtandard up in defiance before his eyes. They ſent moreover ſix companies with their colours to entrench upon the ſhore, in order to oppoſe his landing. However *Ralegh*, in his barge, accompanied with Sir *Arthur Gorges* and captain *William Morgan*, rowed cloſe along the ſhore-ſide, and by the high fort towards the town, to Arrives at *Fayall*.

[a] Sir *Francis Vere*, and *Camden*, miſled by the MS. of his *Commentaries*, inform us, "The general only, with "his ſquadron, was to go to *Fayal*; and Sir *Walter* "*Ralegh*, with his, either to the *Pike* or *St. George*'s iſland." But it ſeems not likely, that *Ralegh* ſhould have a command in chief, which he might execute, with approbation of the *council*, in one place; yet incur all their diſpleaſure, by uſurping that of the *general* in another. But the diſadvantageous repreſentation which *Vere* has given of *Ralegh*, in the ſequel of this action, may pretty well direct us how we ſhould credit his introduction to it.

acquaint

acquaint himſelf with the moſt proper place for making a deſcent when *Eſſex* ſhould arrive; from whence they were ſaluted with divers musket-ſhot, which they very fortunately eſcap'd, having with them neither targets nor armour for their ſafeguard.

Calls a council of war.

Upon theſe provocations, and the want they grew in of thoſe neceſſaries, wherewith they were both lately hurried from accommodating themſelves, and promis'd they ſhould be ſupplied here; *Raleigh* called a council of the captains and officers to conſult about taking of the town, if *Eſſex* arrived not; thinking it a ſhame to forbear ſo fair a prize, ſo near at hand, till they had carried all off; eſpecially ſince the enemy had begun the war upon them, and ſo proudly dared them to their own defence. Further, theſe bravadoes, with the hopes of wealth in this goodly town, and the ranſom of houſes and priſoners, made all the mariners and ſoldiers not only ready to mutiny that they were ſo long reſtrain'd; but reflect on their commanders, as if this forbearance was the effect only of their fear. And what made them the more eager was, that they ſaw no likelihood of other benefit by this voyage, than what was thus to be gotten aſhore. Notwithſtanding theſe murmurs, and that they heard no news of *Eſſex* in two days, the council was divided; and ſome of the captains who were his moſt flattering and ſervile dependants, as Sir *Guilly Merrick*,[a] Sir *Nicholas Parker*, and others, were by no means for landing without his knowledge; but *Raleigh*, with Sir *W. Brook*, Sir *A. Gorges*, Sir *W. Harvey*, and many other commanders and gentlemen of his own ſquadron, were of a contrary opinion; judging the general would repute them idlers and cowards to lie ſo long before ſo good a town with ſo many ſhips and men, and do nothing, but let them convey away their effects. This was the general voice both of the land and ſea-forces; yet the violent perſuaſions of *Merrick* did ſo prevail, that they agreed to delay the enterprize one day longer; when, if the earl did not come, they all agreed to land together.

Now, the wind tacking about, ſomewhat unfit for the road they lay in, *Raleigh*, and divers of his ſquadron, with many other of the ſhips after him, weighed, and coaſted about the point to the north-weſt ſide of the iſland, ſome four miles further from the town than they were before, and there let fall their anchors, being a better road than the firſt, as the wind ſat. But *Merrick*, with ſome five or ſix ſhips of his conforts, would not advance with them. They were now in the fourth day of their arrival before *Fayal*, and no general appear'd; but the proſpect of a moſt inviting country, full of little villages and fruitful fields, which ſharpen'd the general deſire of landing, to ſupply their want of victuals, and eſpecially of water, wherewith they had not been recruited ſince their firſt ſetting out from *Plymouth*; therefore, by agreement, they mann'd out a barge, a long-boat and pinnace, with threeſcore muskets and forty pikes, rather to guard themſelves in watering, than in expectation of any encounter from the town or forts on the other ſide of the iſland. But they were no ſooner ready to put off from the ſhips, than they diſcover'd ſix enſigns of foot, and ſome dozen horſe-men, marching down ſpeedily from the town and forts to meet them; and made ſuch haſte, that they ſoon poſſeſs'd the trenches towards the ſhore where the *Engliſh* lay, and where, with brandiſhing ſwords, and waving colours, they ſtood daring them to a rencounter. Hereupon, *Raleigh* found it neceſſary to augment his force, which *Brook*, *Harvey*, and other ſea-officers, readily ſupply'd, to the number of one hundred and ſixty men more. Then ſaid *Raleigh* to them, "ſeeing theſe *Spaniards* and "*Portugueſe* are ſo gallant to ſeek or follow, and keep us from watering, we will try our fortunes with them, and either win our landing, or gain a beating." As *Raleigh* then rowed along by his ſhips, he was greeted by *Bret*, *Sidney*, *White*, *Berry*, and other captains of the *Low-Country* ſoldiers, who call'd out and adviſ'd him, "to take them and ſome of their companies with him; for, if he ventur'd to make the ſhore only with mariners and his own attendants, without their land-ſoldiers, he might receive a diſcreditable repulſe." But *Raleigh* excus'd himſelf, ſaying, "he did not know for what ſervice the earl might deſign them; therefore was reſolv'd, with his own company, to make the deſcent, and then ſhould ſend for their recruits; by which he would undertake to lodge them that night in the town, and the next in the forts: beſides, he was willing to make the attempt with thoſe of his own ſquadron, that neither the general nor his train ſhould have cauſe to be aſham'd of them for undertaking that in the face of their enemies, which they durſt not of themſelves follow and perform.

[a] This *Guilly Merrick* of *Hanſcard* in *Pembrokeſhire*, the ſon of *Rowland Merrick*, Biſhop of *Bangor*, who died 1566; was knighted by *Eſſex* at the ſack of *Cadiz*, and one of his creatures and evil counſellors, as *Camden* has obſerved. Inſomuch, as having been a buſy promoter and partaker of the ſaid earl's treaſons, he receiv'd the reward which is richly due to all ſuch-like fomenters of great mens pride, paſſions and prejudices, between three and four years after this time, at *Tyburn*.

Then

THEN *Ralegh*, having thus a party of two hundred and threeſcore men, not half the number of the enemy, made forward; and while ſome ordnance, he had judiciouſly placed before him in pinnaces, as cloſe along the ſhore as they could lie, were beating upon their trenches, he ruſhed through or under them as faſt as his oars could ply to the landing-place; which was guarded firſt with a mighty ledge of rocks, ſome forty paces long into the ſea, and afterwards trench'd and flank'd with earth and ſtone, having only a narrow lane between two walls left for their entrance. But now, as they approached ſtill nearer to the ſhore, the enemies ſhot flew down ſo thick among them, that not only ſeveral of the common men, but of thoſe who would before have paſſed for very forward and valiant leaders, were much diſmay'd; inſomuch that *Ralegh*, who moſt glorioufly approv'd himſelf no leſs their chief in courage, than he was in command, did not ſpare openly to rebuke them aloud with many reproachful words. At laſt, when he ſaw them ſtill linger, through conſternation, as much to their danger as their diſgrace, he commanded, with a loud voice, his watermen to row his own barge full upon the rocks, and bad as many as were not afraid, to follow him. Hereat ſome boats ran in with us (ſays my author) and out of them were landed Mr. *Garrett*, then a penſioner, afterwards earl of *Kildare*, Sir *W. Brook*, Sir *W. Harvey*, Sir *John Scott*, Captain *Henry Thynne*, Captain *White*, Captain *Arthur Radford*, Captain *W. Morgan*, Mr. *Duke Brook*, Mr. *Thomas Rudgeway*, Mr. *Walter Chute*, Mr. *Henry Allen*, Mr. *Charles Mackart*, and divers other gentlemen. So, clambering over the rocks, and wading through the water, he made his way pell-mell, through all their fire, with ſhot, pike and ſword, up to the narrow entrance; where he ſo reſolutely purſued his aſſault, that the enemy, after a ſhort reſiſtance, gave ground; and, when they ſaw his forces preſs faſter and thicker upon them, ſuddenly retiring, they caſt away their weapons, and betook themſelves to the hills and woods. The like alſo did thoſe who were intrench'd higher: and thus did he win this difficult and dangerous landing, together with the trenches of the enemy. A few of his men indeed were drowned and ſlain, more hurt, and a couple of long-boats ſunk; yet was not his loſs ſo conſiderable as to detract from the juſtice of thoſe congratulations which were paid him by the officers of the *Low-Country* forces, when, with ſome of their companies, they arrived upon the iſland, and found the footing he had won ſo ſtrongly fortify'd and guarded.

His dangerous deſcent.

And ſuperior courage.

Climbs the rocks.

Wins a landing and the trenches.

RALEGH, thus recruited, being now near five hundred ſtrong, thought beſt to go through with the matter, and prepare the town in readineſs for *Eſſex*. Therefore, he appointed *Bret* to the office of ſerjeant-major, directed the other captains to advance their colours, marſhal the companies, and ſo, in order, marched to the town, about four miles diſtant from the landing-place. In their paſſage divers of the enemy, who had before braved them with the greateſt inſolence, came with white napkins at the end of ſtaves, and voluntarily abaſed themſelves to offices of the greateſt ſervility. There was indeed a way, two miles about, by which they might have paſſed to the town, and avoided the high fort where the *Spaniards* lay in garriſon. But *Ralegh*, conſidering the trouble of their march, the ſultry heat of the weather, the hazards of delay, and, above all, the neceſſity they were under of immediate ſupplies, took the ſhorteſt courſe; reſolving to bring fort and town all into one day's work. Thus, at the head of about forty gentlemen of the beſt rank, *Ralegh* led on the companies in a gentle regular manner, full in the face of the fort, having only his leading-ſtaff in his hand, and no other armour on but his collar, for which he was ſomewhat cenſur'd by his friends; for, when they came within reach of the fort, they were ſhrewdly encounter'd with ſeveral fierce ſtorms of great and ſmall ſhot, which came thundering down upon them from all parts of it, wounding ſeveral,[a] killing ſome, and putting moſt of his men into diſorder: inſomuch that *Ralegh* himſelf, with his little vanguard, was no ſooner paſs'd, and enter'd under the covert of their trenches and barricadoes at the declivity of a little hill, but the reſt, compoſing the main body of his forces, which, till now that they found themſelves under the mercy of the enemies fire, advanced in good order, begun to break their ranks, and, from marching, fell to running on in a ſtraggling and confus'd manner till they were under the walls and trenches almoſt as ſoon as their leader,

Marches to the high fort.

[a] Among the reſt, there was one captain *William Morgan*, a brave old ſoldier, in this march; who, being reproved by our author, Sir *A. Gorges*, for coming to the field only in his *doublet* and *boſe*, without either armour or target, anſwer'd, *That his fleſh was of muſket-proof*. Immediately after a muſket-ball ſtruck him point-blank upon his belly, and, with the force of its own blow, fell *flat* at his feet, leaving only a black ſpot or bruiſe upon his ſkin;—thanks to the *buckle* that join'd his girdle; deſerving to be repoſited among thoſe trophies in the temple of *Mars*, which witneſs he wants not one brother-ſoldier's *impenetrable* ſuit of mail, nor the *ſeven-fold* ſhield of another, who can encounter his enemy behind the *curtains* only of a pair of proverbs, atteſting *How little armour will ſuffice, that is well-plac'd*; and, *How much fortune favours the bold*.

who came ſome twelve-ſcore yards before them in a ſteady and deliberate march. *Raleigh* was ſomewhat moved to ſee this tumultuous and timorous courſe; and more, to think that the enemy ſaw themſelves were the occaſion of it; therefore he cry'd out to *Bret*, *Berry*, and other captains, demanding, "If theſe were the men that ſhould have done him ſuch ſervice in land-"ing, and ſaved him from diſhonour? or this the manner of their *Low-Country* troops, to "ſhew ſuch baſe cowardice at the firſt ſight of an enemy, and at the muſket-ſhot ſo far off "from a fort?" The captains, who were themſelves brave enough, knowing the truth would be the beſt apology, anſwer'd, "That theſe companies who had behaved themſelves with ſuch "irreſolution, were indeed men taken out of *Fluſhing* and *Brill*, the *cautionary* towns; ſo were "raw ſoldiers, who had ever lived in a ſafe garriſon, and ſeldom or never ſeen an enemy, or en-"counter'd with ſhot in the field."

BEING thus got under covert of the trenches and walls which the *Spaniards* had abandon'd, and retired to their fortifications on the top of the hill, *Raleigh* commanded captain *Bret* to appoint a ſerjeant or two, with a few ſhot, to go view and diſcover the way to the town, which, in many places, lay open, as well to the *high-fort* here in the way towards it, as to the other *fort* at the end thereof: and where the ways were fenced, they were ſtill more dangerous; it being with low-piled walls of looſe ragged ſtones, which *Raleigh* juſtly ſuſpected would increaſe, rather than obſtruct the miſchiefs of their enemies artillery. *Bret* brought word of a general unwillingneſs in the lieutenants and ſerjeants to undertake this diſcovery, ſo much under the command of the fort and hill; and that the troops were rather deſirous of ſlipping by, in the moſt haſty, diſperſed and unobſerved manner they could; which *Raleigh* would by no means ſuffer, through conſideration of their ſafety, without urging the regard he had to their credit in this enterprize; for being by this time well inform'd, the iſland could raiſe a thouſand armed men, and, reaſonably believing they would gather their greateſt ſtrength for the defence of their beſt town, towards which he was now marching, he concluded they would have it more in their power to defeat him, advancing in little diſorderly and ſcatter'd parties, than in a regular united body. *Bret* did make ſome offer himſelf to go and ſurvey theſe paſſages, if he ſhould be *expreſly commanded*; but indeed it was found he could not be wanted, or ſpared among his own raw and unexperienc'd troops.

WHEN *Raleigh*, therefore, ſaw all men ſo ſcrupulous of this undertaking, and eſpecially thoſe garriſon-ſoldiers, he told them, "That he would not offer that to any man which he "would himſelf refuſe: that tho' it were not the duty and office of a chief commander to un-"dergo ſo ordinary a ſervice, but what duly appertained to the inferior officers and ſoldiers; "and, *notwithſtanding* (ſaid he) *that I could therefore enforce others to do it, they ſhall well per-"ceive that I my ſelf will do that which they dare not attempt*; wherein I am aſham'd on their "behalf, that our general and we are all thus abuſed in our opinion of theſe *Low-Country* ſol-"diers." Then he called for his *cuiraſs* and his *caſk*, and ſaid, "he would both go view "the way for them, which they made ſo nice of, as alſo the paſſages and aſcents to the hill-top; "and, as well as he could, obſerve the ſtrength and fortifications thereof, for their better direc-"tion the next morning." Hereupon, captain *Berry* was very ready to go, "and earneſtly "deſired me (ſays our author) to divert our *rear-admiral* from undertaking it; and I there-"upon (continues he) did openly diſſuade him, who commanded in chief, from putting his "own perſon to theſe inferior offices of hazard, fitter for a lieutenant or ſerjeant, than himſelf, to "perform; knowing that all the direction, as well of thoſe troops, as alſo of a whole ſquadron "of the navy, did, at that time, only reſt upon him, in the abſence of the admiral and vice-"admiral. Notwithſtanding he was obſtinate therein; as well in ſcorn of thoſe who had refuſed, "as alſo, indeed, out of a deſire to be better inform'd of the ſtrength and fortifications of the "high fort. When I ſaw him reſolved, I told him that I would, out of the love of a kinſ-"man in particular, and alſo out of an honeſt regard, take ſuch part as he did, from whom I "had received many kind favours, and accompany him; but not out of any great deſire I had "to go about a piece of work, which conſiſted of much danger, and little honour in the per-"formance. He thanked me for my offer, but yet wiſhed me not to go, if it were againſt "my will: notwithſtanding I accompanied him, and ſo did ſome eight or ten more of our "ſervants and followers. But I ſay truly, and ſo afterwards it was much ſpoken of, that there "was not any one more of quality that did accompany him in that buſineſs."

His ſingular valour.

His deſperate diſcovery.

In this manner, and with this number, did *Raleigh* in perſon go; the only one, it ſeems, who deſpaired not of ſucceſs, to diſcover the aſcents to the hill; the cannon-ſhot of the enemy, and thereby the ſtones of the batter'd walls, flying on every ſide thick about him all the while. He ſtill proceeded, with an undaunted pace, to compaſs this knowledge of the ſafeſt way by which he

he was to lead the reſt, tho' he perceived wounds and death dealt on either hand, and his own danger at every ſtep, more unavoidable. Some of his company, in the march, were hurt, and two had their heads taken from their ſhoulders; Sir *Arthur Gorges* had his left leg ſhot through with a musket-ball, who, without remembering any pain it gave him, obſerves the bullet burnt both his ſilk ſtocking and buskin, as if they had been ſindged with a hot iron. "I was then "hard by the *rear-admiral* (continues he) who alſo was ſhot through the breeches and doublet- "ſleeves in two or three places. And ſtill they ply'd us ſo faſt with ſmall-ſhot, that, as I well "remember, *he wiſhed me to put off a large red ſcarf* which I then wore; *being*, as he ſaid, *a* "*very fair mark for them.* But I, not willing to do the *Spaniards* ſo much honour at that "time, tho' I could have wiſhed it had not been on, anſwer'd the *rear-admiral* again, *That* "*his* white *ſcarf was as eminent as my* red; and therefore I would now follow his example." And narrow eſcape.

HAVING, by this time, made a ſufficient diſcovery, both of the way for his troops to paſs, as alſo of the avenues to the high fort on the mountain, which he intended to attempt, after he had ſecur'd the town; captain *Berry*, with *Allen*, and ſome others, advanced to him. Hereupon he ſent ſome guides to captain *Bret*, with orders for him alſo to march up with the companies, that they might unite before they came to the town, becauſe he there expected an engagement; or, at leaſt, ſome ſalley out of the fort at the end thereof, which they muſt needs paſs before they could get at the town; and which ſeemed to threaten reſiſtance, being a very fine fortification, all of ſtone-work, with curtain, flankers, and ditch, very artificially caſt. But immediately, upon *Ralegh*'s approach with the body of his men, the *Spaniards*, it ſeems, abandon'd it; for when he enter'd it, he found they were newly departed. In like manner, as he marched on, he found the inhabitants had alſo forſaken the town, and left him in poſſeſſion of it, with ſuch wares and ſtores as could not ſuddenly be remov'd. Thus, tho' with much danger indeed, and ſome loſs of about half a ſcore men, with the hurt of little above double that number, *Ralegh* made himſelf maſter, in effect, of the whole iſland; which ſupply'd him, from his own experience, with an example to confirm the aſſertion, he afterwards took occaſion to maintain, and which we have, in part, touch'd upon before; alledging, *That a Country cannot prevent an enemy's fleet from landing its army, without as good a fleet to oppoſe it.*[a] And this example, in his own ſummary account, we have here ſubjoin'd, as what may give the reader a double ſatisfaction, both in confirming the veracity of that which has been here extracted thereof from Sir *Arthur Gorges*, and adding to the many other inſtances of *Ralegh*'s modeſty and reſtriction, who could, in the recital of this action, be ſo much leſs particular in the brave ſteps he took to this victory, with the dangers and difficulties he ſurmounted by ſea and land, than that honourable hiſtorian has been, who was a witneſs of them. Enters the town.

"[a] The difficult landing of our *Engliſh*, ſays *Ralegh*, "at *Fayal*, in the year 1597, is alledg'd againſt this: "which example moves me no way to think, *That a* "*large Coaſt may be defended againſt a ſtrong fleet.* I "landed thoſe *Engliſh* in *Fayal* myſelf; and therefore "ought to take notice of this inſtance — There were, in- "deed, ſome in that voyage, who adviſed me not to un- "dertake it, and I hearken'd to them ſomewhat longer "than was requiſite; eſpecially whilſt they deſired me to "reſerve the title of ſuch an exploit, though it were "not great, for a greater perſon. But when they began "to tell me of difficulty, I gave them to underſtand the "ſame which I now maintain, *That it were more difficult to* "defend *a Coaſt than to* invade *it.* The truth is, that I "could have landed my men with more eaſe than I did; "yea, without finding any reſiſtance, if I would have "rowed to another place; yea, even there where I landed, "if I would have taken more company to help me. But, "without fearing any imputation of raſhneſs, I may ſay, "I had more regard of reputation in that buſineſs than "ſafety: for, I thought it belonging to the honour of "our prince and nation, that a few iſlanders ſhould not "think any advantage great enough againſt a fleet ſet "forth by Q. *ELIZABETH.* And further, I was un- "willing that ſome *Low-Country* captains, and others, not "of my own ſquadron, whoſe aſſiſtance I had refuſed, "ſhould pleaſe themſelves with a ſweet conceit (tho' it "would have been ſhort, when I had landed in ſome "other place) *That, for want of their help, I was driven* "*to turn tail.* Therefore, I took with me none but "men aſſured, commanders of my own ſquadron, with "ſome of their followers, and a few other gentlemen vo- "luntiers, whom I could not refuſe; as, Sir *W. Brook*, "Sir *W. Harvey*, Sir *A. Gorges*, Sir *John Scott*, Sir *Tho-* "*mas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henry Thynne*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, "Sir *Wat. Chute*, *Marcellus Throgmorton*, captain *Lau-* "*rence Keymis*, captain *William Morgan*, and others; "ſuch as well underſtood themſelves and the enemy, by "whoſe help, with God's favour, I made good the en- "terprize I undertook. As for the *working* of the *ſea*, the "*ſteepneſs* of the *cliffs*, and other troubles, that were not "new to us, we overcame them well enough. And theſe "(notwithſtanding) made five or ſix companies of the "enemy, who fought to impeach our landing, abandon "the wall where their musketiers lay on the reſt for us, "and won the place of them without any great loſs. "This I could have done with leſs danger, ſo that it "ſhould not have ſerved for example of a rule that failed "even in this example. But the reaſons before alledged, "together with other reaſons well known to the gentle- "men above-named, tho' more private than to be here "laid down, made me rather follow the way of bravery, "and take the ſhorteſt courſe; having it ſtill in my own "power to fall off when I ſhould think it meet. 'Tis ea- "ſily ſaid, the *enemy* was more than a *coward*, which was "more than we knew; neither will I magnify ſuch a "ſmall piece of ſervice, by ſeeking to prove him better; "whom, had I thought equal to my own followers, I "would otherwiſe have dealt with. But, for ſo much as "concerns the propoſition in hand, he that beheld this, "may well remember, that the ſame enemy troubled us "more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking "the ſhore; that many of our men were ſlain or hurt by "him, among whom, Sir *Arthur Gorges* was ſhot in that "march; and that ſuch as, thinking all danger was paſt "when we had won good footing, would needs follow us "to the town, were driven by him to forſake the pace of "a man of war, and betake themſelves to a haſty trot." So he ends the curious digreſſion which introduced this example, with advice to employ, againſt thoſe that ſhould aſſail us, our good *ſhips* on the *ſea*, and not truſt to any *intrench-* *ment* upon the ſhore. *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. ſect. 9.

THIS

THIS town, of which *Ralegh* was thus poſſeſs'd, was called *Villa Dorta*, as I find in *Linſchoten*; who alſo informs us, the people were moſtly of the *Dutch* offspring, yet uſing the *Portugueſe* language. Others, who likewiſe deſcribe it, reckon that it contain'd, even ſome years before this time, at leaſt five hundred houſes, built all of ſtone, with tiled roofs, and diſpoſed into fine ſtreets; beſides a handſome church, nunnery, and friery; interſpers'd with many pleaſant gardens of delicate fruits, and wells of freſh water: inſomuch that, for bigneſs, it has been compar'd to *Plymouth* or *Yarmouth*; but, in ſituation, to *Dover*; and might probably now have been of as good advantage to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as it was, eight years before, to the earl of *Cumberland*,[a] had he not, in compliment to the earl of *Eſſex*, oblig'd himſelf to ſo diſadvantageous a delay in the conqueſt of it. However, becauſe the town was unwall'd, and he was to expect, if he lay there open and careleſly refreſhing himſelf, while his ſoldiers were ſcatter'd about in queſt of proviſions, he might eaſily be ſurpriz'd, without ſome good orders and directions given before they fell to reſt and repaſt, he iſſued forth, at his entrance, a proclamation, that none ſhould ſtraggle twenty-ſcore yards from the town, without leave of an officer, and then go upon their guard, with fit weapon and company. He then made ſome ſtrong barricadoes; planted a good watch in proper ſtations, and a ſtrong *corps de garde* in the market-place, that others might, in ſafety, bring together ſuch booty as the inhabitants had left behind.

THUS, having refreſhed and repoſed themſelves all night, the next morning, being the twenty-ſecond of *September*, even before break of day, they diſcover'd, bearing in with full ſail towards the road of *Fayal*, the earl of *Eſſex* and his fleet; he having been, all this while, making a kind of wild-gooſe chaſe after *Indian* fleets, and the *Adelantado*, who, it ſeems, never ſtirr'd out to ſea this year; with other-like uncertain adventures. Now, Sir *Guilly Merrick*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blount*, Sir *Anthony Shirley*, and ſome other fatal friends and cheriſhers of the earl's infirmities, ſoon interrupted, by their aggravating and diſtorted repreſentations, all *Ralegh*'s further intentions to ſecure the iſland. They preſently poſſeſs'd his lordſhip's head, that *Ralegh* had taken this opportunity to play over his parts, and ſhew the world how well he could act the *conqueror*, only to ſteal honour and reputation from the *general*; and they knew the earl's temper was as ready, as tinder, to catch fire at the leaſt ſpark of any ſuch ſuggeſtion: for, as no man alive was a more paſſionate courtier of fame, or more deſirous to be reputed matchleſs for magnanimity and enterprize; ſo none was more jealous of rivals than *Eſſex*, or could leſs endure that any man ſhould obſcure his glory, how highly ſoever he might otherwiſe be in his favour.[b] But in divers other diſagreeable colours, this gallant action was further diſfigur'd to the earl, as the contempt and violation of authority; from whence they infus'd, that the preſumption of landing ſuch forces without his lordſhip's leave, was not to be paſs'd over without ſevere puniſhment; and that it was fit a court-marſhal ſhould be call'd, to cenſure the offence and breach of order and diſcipline. In ſhort, the unpardonable crime was, that *Ralegh* dar'd to render himſelf more conſpicuous than any body elſe. And he had been leſs culpable, had he been leſs ſucceſsful; they ſeeming rather willing to have endur'd blame for any ill ſucceſs which might have occurr'd to him by their abſence and reſtraint of aid, than allow of any praiſe for his being victorious without them. Nay, there were not wanting ſome, among *Eſſex*'s commanders, who would needs ſhew the violence of their zeal for his lordſhip in ſuch extreams, as to throw out, that *Ralegh* was well worthy of loſing his head for his labour. All which might well inſpire thoſe ſolid and durable expoſures which he has, in ſeveral places, made of ſuch envious and inſolent uſage.[c]

ESSEX,

[a] In a brief *relation* of the ſeveral *voyages* undertaken in perſon by, or at the charge of *George Clifford*, earl of *Cumberland*; gather'd by *Purchas* into his fourth volume: we have it affirm'd, page 1143, that in 1589 the earl took this town; that he ſhipped, from the *platform*, 58 pieces of iron ordnance; and that he had a ranſom paid him of 2000 ducats, moſtly in church-plate: but the fortification, which he raz'd, was now new-built, and more ſtrongly fortify'd, being the high *fort* on the hill, by which *Ralegh* made his dangerous paſſage, as is above related.

[b] "And that this is true (continues Sir *A. Gorges*) "thoſe who underſtood his humour beſt, cannot juſtly "deny; which, I proteſt, I do not ſpeak either out of "any neglect of one that is dead, or to pick thanks of "any that lives; but ſimply out of a reſolution to write "an impartial truth, or elſe be ſilent. For thoſe ſpi"rits that baſe flattery or ſervile fear doth tranſport, in "faſhioning their hiſtories, are, of all others, to be re"puted the unworthieſt and moſt pernicious in a well pol"icy'd commonwealth; for we ſee that thoſe heathens "who have written the Stories of *Cyrus*, *Pyrrhus*, *Alexan*"*der*, *Hannibal*, *Scipio*, *Ceſar*, and all other great kings "and renowned heroes, do as well tax them for their "vices, as glorify them for their virtues: for who lives "without fault? And ſo ſincerely and boldly do they fol"low the truth in their writings, that they are thereby "freed from malice or revenge, becauſe they are free "from all partiality; or, if any ſpleen ariſe, yet it is ſe"cret; for the proſecution of ſuch ſincerity, is reputed mere "impiety in all ſorts, and flat tyranny in princes. And, "to conclude; this impotent humour of enduring *ri*"*vality*, and *other mens praiſes*, is very incident to men in "high places; eſpecially, if they are of great courage, "or tickled with ambition."

[c] "There are multitudes of men (ſays *Ralegh*) eſpe"cially of thoſe that follow the war, who both envy "and malign others, if they perform any praiſe-worthy "actions for the honour and ſafety of their own country, "tho' themſelves may be aſſured to bear a part of the "ſmart of contrary ſucceſs; and ſuch malicious hearts "can rather be contented that their prince and country "ſhould ſuffer hazard and want, than that ſuch men as they "miſlike ſhould be the authors or actors of any glory or good "to either." *Hiſt. of the World*, lib. 2. cap. 13. ſect. 5. And in another place he has this reflexion — "In "actions which promiſe either publick glory or private "honour,

Essex, thus exaſperated, ſpent all the forenoon in reprehending, diſplacing and confining all the land-captains and officers who accompanied *Ralegh*; whilſt he, expecting rather thanks, than ſuch a perverſe interpretation of his ſervices, made ready his barge to go on board the general and guide him to the land. But, being entered his ſhip, he found all mens countenances eſtranged as he paſſed through them; and when he came to his cabbin, the earl, after a faint welcome, began to accuſe him with "the breach of order and articles." *Ralegh* anſwer'd, "he knew not wherein he had been guilty of ſuch breach." *Eſſex* replied, "there was an article "that none ſhould land any of the troops without the general's preſence, or his order." *Ralegh* deſired leave to defend himſelf by thoſe laws which himſelf as well as others had made, and his lordſhip, with the council of war, had authoriz'd; then he ſhould find that no miſdemeanor had been committed. "For, ſaid he, there is an article indeed, that no *captain* of any ſhip, "or of any company, if he be ſeparated from the fleet, ſhall land any-where without direc-"tion from the general, or ſome other principal commander, upon pain of death. But I take "my ſelf, ſaid *Ralegh*, to be a *principal commander* under your lordſhip, and therefore not ſub-"ject to that article, nor under the power of the marſhal-law; becauſe a ſucceſſive commander "of the whole fleet, in her majeſty's letters patents, your lordſhip and my lord *Thomas Howard* "failing. Beſides, you agreed I ſhould land at this iſland with your lordſhip, whom I have "attended theſe four days; and, finding that you came not, tho' you were half a dozen leagues "before me in your way thither, I weighed anchor, and could not but conclude, both that you "thought me ſtrong enough to take this iſland, and were gone your ſelf to take in ſome others. "Yet I refrained ſo long from landing, at Sir *Guilly Merrick*'s entreaty, that I heard my "own company, even at my back, murmur; and ſay that I durſt not attempt it. And, to "tell you the plain truth, my intent, at firſt, was only to water, till I ſaw them follow me in "that braving manner; which, with our reputations, we could not then ſhun and giver over, "being already in our boats for that purpoſe: for, if I had intended the taking of the town, "I would never have removed ſo far from our firſt road, which lay right before it." As for thoſe officers and gentlemen who had been committed, *Ralegh* deſired "they might receive no "hard meaſure in his cauſe; whatſoever his lordſhip conceived to be miſdone, he muſt take it "wholly on himſelf to anſwer, being, at that time, commander in chief."

Accuſed.

His juſtification.

With theſe and other arguments *Eſſex* was ſo well pacified, that he went aſhore into the town, and reſted himſelf in *Ralegh*'s lodging. There *Ralegh* invited him to ſupper, and offer'd, if he meant to call the matter further in queſtion, to claim no privilege or favour; but would anſwer for himſelf more amply in the morning. Sir *Chriſtopher Blount*, taking the earl's anſwer from him, ſaid, "he thought my lord would not ſup at all." To which *Ralegh* reply'd, "That, "for his own appetite, he might, when he was invited, diſable it at his own pleaſure; but if the "earl would ſtay, he ſhould be glad of his company." In the mean time, the lord *Thomas Howard*, very nobly taking care that no diſreſpectful treatment ſhould be offer'd to *Ralegh*, by the practice of his enemies, dealt with *Eſſex* to find how he ſtood reſolved; and, the next morning, aſſured *Ralegh*, that his lordſhip ſought only ſome acknowledgment; becauſe the reſt would think him a weak and tame commander, if he had not ſatisfaction. *Ralegh*, conſidering he had done nothing unjuſtifiable, and very certain that he was ſucceſſively in the commiſſion for the whole command of the fleet, therefore not ſubject to any corporal danger, as alſo of the lord *Thomas Howard*'s ſincere and honourable dealing, came again in the morning to viſit *Eſſex*: otherwiſe, remembering the little truſt that men ought to repoſe in ſuch reconciliations, and the ſtrong malice borne him by others in greateſt favour with his lordſhip, had deſign'd to betake him to his own ſquadron; and ſo to have defended himſelf, or forſaken the earl. But the lord *Thomas*, after having given his honour with great kindneſs and reſolution, that he would make himſelf a party if any wrong or violence were offered, [a] contrary to his lordſhip's pro-

"honour, men may be reaſonably perſuaded to adventure "life and living, becauſe great hope there is to die with "reputation, or live to recover that peace which war hath "conſum'd: but, where men are no leſs oppreſs'd by "inſolency of commanders, than by inſolency of foes, "there is the calamity double; and, of two evils, the "danger of war ſeems leaſt; for that has end, the other "is infinite." Sir *W. Ralegh*'s *Arts* of *Empire*, and *Myſteries* of *State diſcabinated*, 8vo. 1692. p. 182.

[a] Sir *Francis Vere* ſays, that every one being to deliver his opinion of *Ralegh*'s crime, it was grievouſly aggravated by the moſt: And adds; "for my part, no man "ſhew'd leſs *ſpleen* againſt him than my ſelf." Which laſt expreſſion may imply a truth in relation to himſelf, by granting, that he ſhewed *Ralegh ſome ſpleen*; yet a falſhood, in regard to others; becauſe, as here we ſee, the lord *Thomas Howard* was ſo far from bearing *Ralegh any ſpleen*, that he reſolved to take his part againſt any injury that ſhould be offer'd upon this occaſion.

miſe, perſuading him to go and ſatisfy the earl, *Ralegh* took his counſel; and all things, after a little debate, came to a calm and quiet concluſion.[a]

THE promoters of this diſturbance, however thus diſappointed of their end, ſcrupled not to ſhare in the benefits of this reproved victory, by lodging and refreſhing themſelves not only that night, but three or four days after, in the goodly town aforeſaid; yet were they juſtly puniſh'd for their envy and ingratitude. For, had that time which they ſpent in carping and cavilling at *Ralegh*'s conduct, throughout this brave action, been employ'd, according to his meaſures, in purſuing it; the birds, which thereby they ſuffer'd to fly out of their cage, had well rewarded their unanimity in taking them; and they would not have loſt, as now they had, the ranſom of ſo many *Spaniſh* priſoners out of the high fort; nor the ſpoil which they had convey'd out of the town for ſafety to that place: ſo that inſtead of aſſiſtance to advance the profit of this conqueſt, *Eſſex*'s arrival brought only means, as far as in them lay, to deſtroy the honour of it.

AFTER the army had plentifully regaled themſelves with the beſt proviſions the iſland would afford, and the diſgrac'd captains were receiv'd again into favour and command, they hoiſted ſail; having firſt, in honour of their loſt men, made the town it ſelf their funeral pile, and carried all the artillery, and other ſtores they found therein, or in the forts, to their ſhips. On the 26th of *September*, they caſt anchor at *Gracioſa*, where the chiefs of the iſland coming on board the general, ſubmitted themſelves with very acceptable humiliation, and willingly brought ſuch proviſions as were requir'd for their compoſition. This homage of thoſe people baniſh'd all thoughts in the earl of further repairing, in that place, the great charges he principally had created by this voyage: for, whether it was through a generous valour, or the captivation of ſome inferior quality, I pretend not to decide; but he ſeemed ſo charm'd with ſubmiſſion, as to have diſregarded the advantages it might have yielded; and fonder of having a power over his enemies, than of making any effectual uſe of it. When they came to *St. Michael*'s, they heard tidings of the *Indian* fleet; at which, moſt joyful acclamations rung through all their ſhips: within few hours after, they encounter'd and took three *Spaniſh* prizes, bound from the *Havanna*. The greateſt of them, being about four hundred tons burden, was a very rich ſhip, as well for the lading, as the paſſengers in her; and this, if not the other two, was taken by *Ralegh*; who, being neareſt, gave chace, cauſed her to ſtrike and to yield. Theſe three ſhips, eſpecially the laſt, were laden with cocheneal, and other profitable merchandize, beſides the ſilver, gold, pearl, civit, musk, ambergreaſe, found among the paſſengers, and acknowledg'd, by the merchants in them, to be richly worth above four hundred thouſand ducats. When *Ralegh* had enquir'd, from the gallery of his own ſhip, of thoſe who had computed the value of theſe commodities, and been ſatisfy'd it would at leaſt amount to that ſum, he privately ſaid to our author; "Altho' we ſhall be little the better for theſe rich "prizes, yet I am heartily glad, for our general's ſake; becauſe they will, in great mea- "ſure, give content to her majeſty; ſo that there may be no repining againſt this poor lord "for the expence of the voyage." Theſe ſhips made a diſcovery of forty ſail of *Spaniſh Indiamen*, whereof ſome were freighted with the king of *Spain*'s treaſure; and it was reported, that while three or four of the *Engliſh* fleet, which were fallen among them, were rifling one that founder'd, the reſt eſcaped, and recover'd the *Tercera*. *Eſſex*, upon this miſchance, call'd a council of war; and ſome of the colonels, with other land-officers, made liberal profeſſions of the daring feats they would attempt, if boats, pinnaces and men were allow'd, how vain and impracticable ſoever they ſeem'd to the ſea-commanders. For they offer'd, with fifteen hundred men, to take both that iſland and the forts; but theſe, knowing the difficulty of landing them, with their artillery, on ſo dangerous a place, in ſo bad a ſeaſon; beſides the ſtrength of the fortifications, ſo well furniſh'd by this new arrival, could not, cordially and ſeriouſly, give their conſent, but urged many reaſons to the contrary;[b] yet, when the lord *Thomas Howard* perceived this incompliance would be uſed as a handle at home for their loſing the *Spaniſh* fleet

The town fir'd.

Three *Spaniſh* prizes taken.

[a] Sir *Henry Wotton*, having given us one example of *Eſſex*'s *ſeverity* in this voyage, where he threw a ſoldier, with his own hand, out of a ſhip; produces another of his *facility*, as he calls it, in conniving at this *bold treſpaſs* of *Ralegh*'s: At which time he let fall (continues he) a *noble* word, being preſs'd by one (whoſe name he needs not remember) that he would put *Ralegh*, at leaſt, upon a marſhal-court. *That I would do*, anſwer'd *Eſſex*, *if he were* not *my friend*; for ſo we have it in the firſt editions of Sir *Henry*'s *Parallel*, both in 4*to* and 12*mo*; but in the ſucceeding editions 8*vo*, we read, as I remember, *Eſſex*'s anſwer to be, *That I would do*, *if he* were *my* friend; which laſt, if the right reading, being ſtill perhaps capable of more conſtructions than my author has made of it, according to the diſpoſition of the *readers* towards the perſons concern'd, I therefore leave to their paraphraſe.

[b] Tho' our author *Gorges*, for brevity, omits theſe reaſons; yet they may be partly gather'd from the obſervations *Ralegh* himſelf afterwards made on the ſtrength of the *Tercera*, badneſs of the harbour, number of the forts, and eſpecially the ſituation of that at *Angra*; in his *Hiſt. of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. ſect. 9 and 10.

and

and treaſure, he told *Eſſex*, that if he was ſo forward to have it attempted, both himſelf and Sir *Walter Ralegh* were ready to venture as far as any of them; and that they would undertake to ſpare three thouſand able men out of the fleet for the ſervice: but this ſecond offer, thus abſolutely and ſolemnly made, tho' of double the number, cool'd their courage, upon a little deliberation, who had made even the firſt; and ſo the vapour was diſpell'd.

HENCE they return'd again to *St. Michael's iſland*, which they had left upon the intelligence aforeſaid; and in this road *Eſſex*, with a great number of his officers, coming on board *Ralegh*'s ſhip, hung out the flag of council; wherein they conſider'd about landing, and taking of the fair town which lay ſo temptingly before their eyes, being unwall'd, and having but a ſlight fort for its defence by the ſea-ſide. *Eſſex* was for landing all the companies immediately; but *Ralegh* deſired that himſelf might firſt go and ſurvey the place; becauſe the billows were here, in ſome parts, no leſs dangerous than where he had made the experiment at *Fayal*: the earl, at firſt, conſented; but, as *Ralegh* was putting off, *Eſſex* ſtanding in his gallery with Sir *Chriſtopher Blount*, called him back in great haſte, and ſaid he would go himſelf. As he was deſcending into his barge, *Ralegh*, ſeeing him altogether unarm'd, except with his collar and ſword, called aloud to him, and "deſired him to take his cask and target of proof with him, if he de-"ſigned to approach the ſhore; ſeeing ſo many muskets (above four hundred) lying there on "the reſt to oppoſe him." But *Eſſex* anſwer'd, "That he would have none, becauſe he diſ-"dain'd to take any advantage of the watermen who rowed him;" for which our author cenſures him,[a] as he had before done Sir *Walter Ralegh*. However, in viewing of thoſe landing-places, *Eſſex* and his officers kept cautiouſly enough beyond the reach even of culverin-ſhot; therefore, no ſuch temerity in leaving the armour behind. Thus, after many offers and ſurveys, made aloof (ſays *Gorges*) the conveniencies of that place for landing were excepted againſt. "Al-"beit, adds he, in truth it was a fair and ſandy beach (as all the fleet might well perceive) was "ſome four or five miles from the town or fort, and much more eaſy than that of *Fayal*, where "we before won our landing: and that this was true, many now living that were preſent, and "ſaw both, can juſtly affirm." Yet our author proceeds to diſtinguiſh, that the earl was reſolute enough of himſelf, and ready to undertake any good occaſion of ſervice; but "was then "ſo led and accompanied with ſuch politick land-captains, that, of all the ſervices which fell "under deliberation, thoſe commonly, which were moſt unfeaſible, were offer'd to be under-"taken, and thoſe moſt practicable rejected; whereby our affairs (ſays he) ſped accordingly.

THIS deſcent being thus diſliked, it was preſently, in another conſultation, reſolv'd, that *Ralegh* ſhould, with all the great ſhips, lie as near before the town of *St. Michael* as he could to keep them in continual alarm; while *Eſſex*, in a pinnace of *Ralegh*'s, call'd the *Guiana*, with about two thouſand men in boats, ſhould, by night, convey themſelves about ſix miles further than their firſt determin'd landing, to the town called *Villa Franca*. Accordingly, they all landed the next morning at this town, without any manner of reſiſtance, while the fleet kept the other in ſuch conſtant dread and confuſion, that they could not regard their neighbours; to the end that the *Engliſh* army, having ſecured thoſe, might the better fall on the back of theſe. But in vain did the fleet look over the hills and plains, in expectation of them; for that other pleaſant town of *Villa Franca*, had ſo enchanted the army, being full of fruits, wines, and freſh victuals, that the commanders, as well as their ſoldiers, were content there to take up their quarters, without further thoughts of *St. Michael*'s town; and, for ſix days together, lay feaſting, and carrying on board the wheat, ſalt, woad, and other merchandize, into certain private mens ſhips that followed the fleet for ſuch purpoſes. While *Ralegh* lay thus at anchor, there came into the road a ſhip of *Braſil* laden with the woods of that name, and of *Fernambuc*, with ſugars as well as other merchandize; and anchor'd full in the midſt of the *Engliſh* fleet. This ſhip, as Sir *Francis Vere* alſo informs us, was taken by Sir *Walter Ralegh*;[b] and her cargo, when brought into *England*, was very faithfully diſpos'd of by our author, *Gorges*, to defray the expences of all the men in *Ralegh*'s own ſhip, to the number of four hundred, reckoning ſoldiers as well as mariners. Soon after, a huge carrack, of eighteen hundred ton burden, and infinite wealth, ſays *Gorges*, being laden with the riches of the eaſt and

Takes another prize.

[a] "In my opinion (ſays *Gorges*) tho' that anſwer "much ſhewed his valour; yet became it not the place "that my lord held: for, in truth, a general ought "not to be ſo adventurous and careleſs of himſelf upon "every ſlight occaſion, nor to go unarm'd to places of "imminent peril. *Homer* deſcribes the valiant heroes and "brave leaders of the *Greeks*, to be beſt arm'd; as "*Achilles, Ajax, &c.* — Inſomuch that their very arms "are famous to theſe days, the uſe whereof we make "now ſcornful. But they are no beaten ſoldiers in the "wars who hold theſe opinions; for it is truly ſaid, *That "a great and wiſe general ſhould die old*; and I have "read, that *Epaminondas* was fin'd by his countrymen "the *Thebans*, for being too forward and ſerving in a "battle unarm'd, tho' he won the victory."

[b] *Vere*'s *Commentaries*, fol. 60.

weſt,

weſt, came bearing in with all her ſails, alſo among them; whom ſhe miſtook for the *Spaniſh Armada*; "For the king of *Spain*'s men of war, when he made fleets, were "compounded of ſhipping of divers nations (as this author continues) and therefore more "difficultly diſtinguiſh'd from ours,[a] which at that time conſiſted of *Engliſh* and *Holland* "bottoms, beſides a great galleon (before-nam'd) and other *Spaniſh* veſſels they had taken." At ſight of this carrack, *Ralegh* gave orders throughout his fleet to take in all their flags; alſo that none ſhould weigh anchor, fire a gun, or put off a boat without leave. But, as ſhe was bearing in, one of the *Holland* ſquadron, contrary to direction and to all diſcretion, ſuddenly weighed anchor, hoiſted top-ſail, and, as ſhe approach'd, made two or three ſhot at her; whereupon, perceiving her miſtake, ſhe nimbly changed her courſe; at which inſtant, the wind changing alſo, ſo that ſhe could not eſcape outwards; "ſhe, with the help thereof, and the "fear of falling into our hands, ſays *Gorges*, run herſelf a-ground cloſe under the town and "fort." Here, finding *Ralegh* follow her, and her danger inevitable, ſhe diſcharg'd her men in the boats that flock'd about her, with ſome of her wares, and was then inſtantly ſet on fire in many places at once. *Ralegh* and his men ſtill purſued to board her, and prevent her loſs; tho' not without great danger in his *row-barge* as he was, the ſurge being very outrageous; but by then he could get up to her, ſhe was all over thunder and lightning; her ordnance diſcharging from every port, and her whole hulk, maſts, cordage, and furniture, over-run with ſuch a thorough, yet diſtinct and unconfus'd blaze, as repreſented the figure of a ſhip more perfectly in fire, than could be done by any painter with all his art and colours: and, when ſhe was conſumed even to the ſurface of the water, ſhe exhal'd, as her laſt breath, ſuch clouds from her ſpicy entrails, as, for a great way, and for many hours, perfum'd the air and coaſt around. Had the army then been at *St. Michael*'s town, as was expected, it might have ſecured this ſhip before ſhe could have diſembark'd her men, or, if it had terrify'd her back to ſea, ſhe muſt have been taken by the fleet; and then the treaſures ſhe contain'd, with thoſe in this town, might probably have reimburſed the charges of their voyage; ſince our author, laying this loſs upon the ſaid land-forces, thought it ſo much to be lamented, that they were not to be excuſed.[b]

A rich carrack fir'd.

NEITHER *Eſſex* nor his army being heard of in all this time, *Ralegh* was in a conſultation about drawing up the fleet towards him, when he perceiv'd the earl's ſhip, by her flag, turning out from the point of *Villa Franca*. Then *Ralegh*, taking captain *Morgan* in his barge, rowed to him, and, the ſame night, ſent the captain back with directions, in the general's name, to command all the fleet to weigh and come to that town. It much grieved the mariners, to ſee the unprofitable meaſures which were thus taken, and that they muſt relinquiſh the advantages they might have made of the town before which they lay. When the fleet was got up to the army at *Villa Franca*, a general command was given that all the companies ſhould repair to their reſpective ſhips, for the time of year was approached that the winds and waves began to riſe too high for them to ride on thoſe coaſts any longer: ſo they left this town alſo entire, upon what conſiderations our author knew not, but thought the woad-mongers and corn-merchants might be moſt likely to reſolve the queſtion.

His dangers and diſtreſs in returning home.

ON the ninth of *October* they ſet ſail for *England*, and, after three or four days, were violently toſs'd about and diſpers'd in a moſt tempeſtuous ſea. *Ralegh*'s ſhip was near being ſtemm'd by the ſhock ſhe received from another that was driven againſt her, whereby ſhe became ſo leaky, that he had much ado to keep her above water. He was further in ſuch great

[a] Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in his *diſcourſe touching a war with* Spain, *and our protection of the* Netherlands, has diſcover'd many other diſadvantages in the *Spaniſh* fleets of theſe times, through this medley of ſhipping whereof they were compos'd; as the diverſity of conduct and ſwiftneſs in them, whereby they could not either aſſail or defend in groſs as the *Engliſh* or *Dutch* could. Alſo the confuſion among their mariners, of ſo many different countries, and conſequently languages; ſo as not to underſtand directions, and take them in general, or even miſtake them, to the loſs of their ſhip: beſides, being of ſuch ſtrange nations, unconcern'd in the quarrels they were forced into, they fought with their hands, but not their hearts; and deſir'd liberty rather than victory. See *Ralegh's Three diſcourſes*, 8vo. 1702. p. 13, 14.

[b] "For (as Sir *A. Gorges* continues) no good reaſon could "be yielded, as was thought, nor durſt be demanded, "why ſo gallant a company, ſo eaſily landed, for ſo good "a purpoſe, ſhould ſo long linger in a little town, ſur-"feiting themſelves and the whole army upon fruits and "wine, to the neglect of the ſervice determin'd? But it "was manifeſt, that, beſides their pleaſure and good cheer, "the great ſtore of woad, corn and ſalt, did entice ſome "land-men of good credit, who had ſhips there of their "own, rather to take the peaceable and private benefit "thereof, than to undergo ſome pain and peril for the "winning of *St. Michael*'s town for the publick good. "This was a piece of ſervice very unfortunately neglect-"ed, but upon what good reaſon I could never learn; "and I am perſuaded, that if his lordſhip had built leſs "upon ſome mens violent counſels and vain conceits, he "might have done many things better, and long have "lived in great proſperity: but all his care was to content "and win unto him certain politicians and martial-men, "whom, notwithſtanding, he found many times ungrate-"fully to deal with him, to ſerve their own turns; draw-"ing him, withal, into ambitious humours and affecta-"tions of popularity; which, with our great men, rarely "ſucceed well.

diſtreſs

diſtreſs for want of drink, that Sir *Arthur Gorges* proffer'd one of the victuallers ſix cheſts of ſugar for ſix hogſheads of freſh water, but could not obtain it: inſomuch that they were forced to ſet their great ſtills on work to furniſh themſelves in the beſt manner they could. During this ſtorm, 'tis alſo obſerved, many ſorts of birds flew into his ſhip; and the dove, that came among them, was look'd upon to preſage the calm that enſued two days after. When they began to meet again, they deſcry'd, at a great diſtance, the earl of *Eſſex*, accompanied with only two little barks; who, about a week before, was attended with fourſcore ſail of good ſhips. "A true type, ſays *Gorges*, of this world's inconſtant pomp, which the wind and ſeas did "faithfully teach us not to build too much upon! And I wiſh our noble general, adds he, "for his own ſake and better fortune, had made that good obſervation thereof."

AFTER hailing and ſaluting one another, they conſulted with their maſters and pilots about the beſt courſe homewards, wherein they of *Ralegh*'s ſhip varied much from thoſe who guided the earl's: and tho' *Eſſex* had the directions of *John Davis*, a navigator of much experience and repute, who could have carried them, without error, to many diſtant parts of the world; yet, in conducting the ſhips home to their own coaſt, did he ſtrangely fail in his pilotage and conjecture for the *ſleeve*. However, all follow'd the admiral, and when he thought he was not far from the entrance of the *Channel*, all hands fell to ſounding for ground; and, at laſt, found it; tho' indeed "I ſaw few the wiſer thereby, ſays our author, or the more aſſured of the "coaſt," except the ſkilful maſter of *Ralegh*'s ſhip, old *Broadbent*, who knew it to be the "banks of *Scilly*." But there was no convincing of *Eſſex*; ſo all followed his erroneous light; yet *Ralegh* kept at ſome diſtance behind all night-long. At break of day, tho' it was cloſe and foggy, he perceived how providentially he had eſcaped deſtruction in the dark and dangerous paſſage he had made cloſe by thoſe fatal rocks call'd the *Biſhop* and his *Clerks*. Soon after he alſo diſcerned *Eſſex*, and many with him, about three leagues before, bearing in with all their ſail north-eaſt, inſtead of eaſt and by north, full upon the ſands of the *Welſh* coaſt; on which, in that gloomy weather, he had certainly ſtruck and periſh'd, had he held on a little longer; and had not Sir *A. Gorges*, who was then upon the latter watch (*Ralegh* being retired to reſt) forced the maſter-gunner of his ſhip to diſcharge a warning-piece three or four times, much againſt his will, and that of the maſter himſelf, who, contrary to all duty and humanity, "ſaid they deſerv'd to taſte the peril of their own wilfulneſs, having brought themſelves and "all the fleet clearly our of their way into ſuch danger.

UPON this admonition *Eſſex*, with all his train, ſoon tack'd about, and, afterwards, confeſs'd their error. With much ado, they beat up to double the cape of *Scilly*, and enter'd the *Sleeve*. *Ralegh*, by this time, was ſhot along the north-ſide of *Cornwall*; for his ſhip was ſo crazy, and his proviſions ſo ſcanty, he durſt not put again to ſea, but ſtood along the coaſt; and that night anchor'd before *St. Ives*, where he found the *Corniſh* people all in alarm, ſeveral *Spaniſh* caravals and fly-boats, which lay there, having made ſome deſcents by ſtealth, and put them into great fright and confuſion. For *Eſſex*, becauſe he met not with the *Adelantado*, had both believed and reported into *England*, that he never ſtirr'd out to ſea this year; whereas, indeed, while the ſtrength of the *Engliſh* navy lay before the *Iſlands*, he had ſet out with a puiſſant fleet for the invaſion of *England*; and theſe leſſer veſſels, which were ſent before, did here attend his coming. But that ſtorm aforeſaid, which ſo roughly ſcatter'd the *Engliſh*, was more favourable to their country, than, when they felt it, they imagin'd; by diſperſing, and driving back at the ſame time, this *Spaniſh Armada* utterly diſabled for the intended enterprize. *Ralegh* arriving at this juncture, gave great joy to this part of the kingdom; and, being landed, he immediately took ſuch order for the ſafeguard of the county, whereof he was her majeſty's lieutenant, as ſoon diſpell'd the fears of its inhabitants. Then, having ſupply'd his ſhip with proper neceſſaries, he ſent her round to the fleet, and ſhe was paid off at *Briſtol*, with the profits that aroſe from one of the prizes he had taken before-named. Had as good an account been given of the other prizes, this expedition, for all the caſualties and overſights

[a] This ſounding of ours, ſo much in practice, continues Sir *Arthur Gorges*, and yet, many times, bringing no great certainty, makes me call to mind an odd conceit and ſpeech of a *Spaniſh* priſoner, which the general gave me in this journey. He was a gentleman, a ſoldier, and, of late years, traded to the *Weſt-Indies*: with whom I one day talking and diſcourſing of their voyages (wherein he was very well experienc'd) he told me that, in their navigation from the *Indies*, they ſought out *Spain* in a more certain and gallant manner than we did *England*. For, ſaid he, *We ſeek out our coaſt aloft with our* eyes *by the* heavens, *by the* ſun *or* ſtars, *and with the uſe of* art *and* inſtruments, *which ſeldom or never fails: But you*, ſaid he, *that ſeek for* England, *when you are forced to run into narrow ſeas, are forced, for your ſureſt directions, like men* blindfold, *to ſearch under the* water, *and ſcrape with lead and tallow to the bottom for banks, ſands, and ſhelves, as if you would rake* hell *for inſtructions, to find out the channel, which you call the* ſleeve; *and yet, for all your* ſoundings, *are oftentimes miſtaken.* I anſwer'd him; *Indeed it was true, that our* humility *taught us to go by the* ground; *whereas their* pride *led them to gaze above the* clouds, *and thereby ſo dazzled their eyes, that they often ſtumbled upon thoſe men of war which now uſed as well to ſound the* Spaniſh pocket, *as the* Engliſh ſleeve.

which happen'd in it, would have return'd her majeſty double the charge ſhe had been at in ſetting it forth. "But it was ſtrange to ſee what careleſs courſes were held in thoſe actions ſet "out by the ſtate, ſays our author; and what poor returns they made into the *Exchequer*. "Thus, for the merchandize in the prizes now brought home, a compoſition was made with "the queen, which was not a third part of the real worth; becauſe the full freight and "value thereof never came to publick light, not being faithfully certify'd under the hands of "ſufficient officers when firſt taken; nor any part ſold, but to the buyer's advantage." He concludes, "That they, who had ſo play'd the wiſe ſtewards, in thus providing for themſelves "and their followers, reaped all the grace, as well as gain, from thoſe who had more carefully "and juſtly intended the publick ſervice: and that *this general neglect of* truth *and* merit "*throughout the world, is the cauſe why ſo few apply themſelves to thoſe ſincere and unprofitable* "*courſes*; *eſpecially, ſeeing how many do daily, by* fraud *and* flattery, *find ſhorter and ſmoother* "*ways to honour, wealth and preferment, even beyond all meaſure and expectation.*"[a]

RALEGH took his journey to *Plymouth*, where a commiſſion came down from the ſtate to lord *Thomas Howard*, lord *Mountjoy*, himſelf, and Sir *F. Vere*, with monies for repairing, victualling, and ſending about the fleet to *Chatham*; and for maintaining the thouſand *Low-Country* ſoldiers which were now quarter'd along the coaſt of *Cornwall*, and afterwards ſent into *Ireland*. *Eſſex*, in the mean while, poſted away to *London*; but, whatever advantage he might have in firſt ſhaping out the ſtory of their adventures to the queen, it little avail'd him; for Sir *Francis Vere* ſoon after arriving alſo at court, underſtood his lordſhip was retir'd to his houſe at *Wanſted* in great diſcontentment: for the queen was ſo incens'd againſt the earl, that ſhe laid the whole blame of their evil ſucceſs on his lordſhip, both for not burning and ſpoiling the *Spaniſh* fleet at *Feroll*, and miſſing that which came from *India*. *Vere* ſays, he juſtify'd his lordſhip, and laid the blame upon thoſe who deſerv'd it, with ſuch earneſtneſs, that the ſtanders-by (her majeſty then walking in the garden at *Whitehall*) might hear him: inſomuch, that he quieted the queen, as he tells us; who then diſcourſed with him of the earl's humours and ambition, and, at laſt, conſtrued all ſo graciouſly, that ſhe fell into commendation of him; ſo that he ſoon after came to court.[b] But he ſtaid not long there, nor with any eaſe or content; ſo inſupportable was it to find *Cecil* made maſter of the *wards*, the lord-admiral *Howard*

[a] Thus ends Sir *Arthur Gorges*'s accurate *relation* of the *Iſland-Voyage*; concerning whom, as ſome ſmall return of commemoration, it may not be ungrateful here to join a few diſperſed particulars, as follows. He was the ſon of Sir *William Gorges*, who, about the year 1580, was *vice-admiral* in a fleet ſet out by the queen to guard the *Iriſh* coaſt from the *Spaniſh* forces then coming to aid the *Deſmonds*: In his return, he took that famous *Engliſh* pirate *Derivall*; who, tho' he ſaved the admiral, Sir *John Perrot*'s life, his ſhip, with all her crew, when in a ſtorm ſhe was caſt upon a ſand; by directing all her ſails to be hoiſted, contrary to all other judgments; and had the admiral's promiſe, on his faith and honour, to get his pardon, who did intercede for it; yet were his deſerts over-look'd, and his offences puniſhed with death. As to that *vice-admiral*'s ſon *Arthur*, he was both a valiant and a learned gentleman; was one of the voluntiers againſt the *Spaniſh Invaſion*, as we have before obſerved, and afterwards in ſeveral other engagements. He married *Douglas Howard*, daughter and heir of *Henry* lord *Howard*, viſcount *Byndon*; which lady dying young in 1591, the famous *Spenſer* wrote a fine paſtoral *elegy* upon her, which is printed among his works, by the name of *Daphnaida*; and the poet, in his dedication thereof to the lady *Helena*, marchioneſs of *Northampton*, tells her, "The occaſion why "I wrote the ſame was, as well the great good fame I "heard of her deceas'd, as the particular good-will I bear "unto her husband, maſter *Arthur Gorges*, *a lover of* "*learning and virtue*; whoſe houſe as your ladyſhip, by "marriage, hath honoured; ſo do I find *the name of* "*them*, by many notable records, to be *of great antiquity*, "and ſuch as have ever borne themſelves with *honourable* "*reputation* to the *world*, and *unſpotted loyalty* to their "*prince* and *country*. Beſides, ſo lineally deſcended from "the *Howards*, that the lady *Anne Howard*, eldeſt daugh-"ter of *John* duke of *Norfolk*, was wife to Sir *Ed-*"*mund*, mother to Sir *Edward*, and grandmother to "Sir *William* and Sir *Thomas Gorges*, knights." Now, as to the *relation* of this *voyage to the iſles of Azores*, in which Sir *A. Gorges* was captain of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ſhip, tho' we are not expreſly enough told by *Purchas*, it was printed before he gave it us in his *collections*; yet he ſays it was written by Sir *Arthur* in 1607, and dedicated to that great hope of *Great-Britain*, prince *Henry*. He has omitted the *epiſtle* to him, and the *preface*; but not defalked any of the author's narrative, which fills near eight ſheets of paper in his fourth volume of *voyages*. It is adorn'd with many good *military* and *marine* reflections; tho', with ſome other paſſages, of too general import to be interwoven in any particular account of Sir *Walter Ralegh*. *Purchas* further informs us, that *Gorges* alſo added to this treatiſe, *Notes touching the navy royal*, "which are worth the noting, "ſays he; but perhaps not to be permitted to every vul-"gar and noteleſs eye: becauſe, as he goes on, *veritas* "*odium parit*; Pains may cauſe *pains*, and buſy-labour "reap the reward of a buſy-body." From hence it ſhould ſeem that *Purchas* followed a copy leſs common than any thing which had then paſſed the preſs. But, tho' Sir *W. Ralegh* might have read it in MS. I cannot think it is this he points at; where, introducing his own account of the conqueſt of *Fayal*, which we have given in a note before; he ſays, "Whereas I find an action of mine *cited* with omiſ-"ſion of my *name*, I may, by a civil interpretation, "think that there was no purpoſe to defraud me of any "honour; but rather an opinion that the enterprize was "ſuch, or ſo ill manag'd, as that *no honour* could be due "unto it:" Becauſe, as Mr. *Lediard* has very juſtly obſerved, "Sir *A. Gorges*, in the circumſtantial account "he has given us of this action, diſplays the conduct and "courage of Sir *W. Ralegh* in ſeveral particulars, *very* "*much to his honour and advantage*." *Naval Exped.* fol. 356. Then, as to his name, *Gorges* mentions it more than once, and at the beginning, with his *title of command to it*: ſo that tho' he may uſe this only all the way after, it is, in effect, as much as if he uſed his name; for it is then obvious enough who is meant by the *rear-admiral*. Nor need we ſuppoſe *Gorges* was herein tender or cautious of making *Ralegh*'s *name* appear too glaring, when his *perſon* was under a cloud; for *Eſſex* and the lord *Thomas Howard* are ſpoken of in the like manner, and ſcarcely mention'd but by their titles of *general* and *vice-admiral*. Beſides *Ralegh*'s own word, that the action was only *cited*, muſt refer to ſome other ſhorter account than this original and copious hiſtory of it. All I ſhall obſerve more of Sir *A. Gorges* is, that he tranſlated into *Engliſh* Sir *Francis Bacon*'s learned and ingenious book, *De Sapientia Veterum*.

[b] *Vere*'s *Commentaries*, fol. 65, 66, 67.

created

created earl of *Nottingham*, for his ſervices againſt the *Spaniſh Invaſion*, and at *Cadiz*; and now *Ralegh*'s actions at the *Iſlands*, eſteem'd alſo more conſiderable than his own; tho' indeed by the fewer number; for the populace were eaſily led to believe the late diſappointment of *Eſſex*'s great expectations, was owing to *Ralegh*'s regard of his own glory more than that of his country; whereby *Ralegh* loſt their opinion, even tho' victorious againſt their enemies, while *Eſſex* was ſure to return with triumph, however he miſcarried in his attempts; and was always received by them with ſuch joy, as if his great fleets and armies came laden with ſufficient ſpoil and conqueſt, if they only brought him ſafe home again. Still both enjoy'd a liberal ſhare in the queen's favour, but it only ratify'd the veneration of the multitude to one, and their diſaffection to the other,[a] yet was their eſteem more fatal to *Eſſex*, at leaſt more ſpeedily ſo, than their prejudice to *Ralegh*. However, the queen was little influenc'd with their partiality to either; till *Eſſex* too zealouſly cultivated that which ſo unreaſonably increas'd in his favour; for ſhe loved her people without jealouſy, nor was offended at his being the darling of their eyes, till ſhe found him inclin'd to be the darling of their hearts.[b] And, as for the blame which *Camden* ſays they now laid on each other of the late miſadventures, and which, he informs us, grew to a more open rupture, it ſeems to have fallen moſt upon *Eſſex*, and that *Ralegh*'s conduct was approv'd; becauſe *Eſſex* was never after truſted with the command of any naval expedition, but *Ralegh* was. Yet whatever miſconduct in others *Ralegh* might be now driven to object, in his own defence; his generoſity to *Eſſex*, and ſome of his followers, whom he might have laid it upon, many years after their death, when there was little fear of being controverted, is ſo much above moſt of theirs to him while they were alive, that, having then occaſion to mention this voyage, he does not drop the leaſt *inuendo* againſt any of them; but aſcribes their diſappointments in it to the moſt unblamable cauſe.[c]

How received by the populace.

Before *Ralegh* could well arrive, I think, at *London*, to give an account of this expedition, the parliament was met at *Weſtminſter*; for we read, that the queen went thither in an open chariot, all cover'd over-head canopy-wiſe with ſilver tiſſue, and begun the ſeſſion on the twenty-fourth of *October* this year. *Ralegh*, making but a ſhort ſtay in town, went to his ſeat at *Sherbourn*; of which he muſt have had but little enjoyment for two or three years paſt. Towards the latter end of *November* following, we find Mr. *Adrian Gilbert*, now a burgeſs for *Bridport* in *Dorſetſhire*, obtain'd licence of the ſpeaker that he might retire to his brother Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in that county, for the benefit of his health. About a month afterwards, that is, on the twentieth of *December*, we meet with *Ralegh* in the houſe; for what place return'd, I find not; and that day the parliament was adjourn'd till the eleventh of *January*. When they met again, *Ralegh* appears frequently in committees, upon ſeveral bills of the greateſt conſequence that were then read; as that againſt lewd and wandering perſons pretending to be ſoldiers or mariners; another for an act to increaſe people for the ſervice and ſtrength of the realm; one to explain an act for the maintenance of the navy; one for paying the queen's debts; one for erecting houſes of correction and puniſhment of rogues, vagabonds, and ſturdy beggars; beſides many others, whoſe titles are more proper to be ſought in the *parliamentary-journals* of this reign, than here barely to be recited: for the clerk of this houſe, whoſe inaccuracy we have before obſerv'd, ſeeming to have melted down moſt of the ſpeeches in this ſeſſion, for brevity, into a narrative of its proceedings, little or nothing of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s arguments is to be particularly extracted. Nor only in the ſpeeches, but other circumſtances, has that clerk been deficient, particularly one, in which *Ralegh* was concern'd, relating to ſome nice diſtinction of form or ceremony wherewith the lords are wont to receive the commons on certain occaſions; which therefore we muſt take, as from the journals of the upper houſe it has been repreſented; and there it appears, that ſome condeſcenſion in the lord-keeper *Egerton* had raiſed an objection in the commons on its being now omitted. For, on the fourteenth day of *January*, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with divers other knights and burgeſſes, being ſent to deſire a conference with the lords, upon ſome amendments of the bill for erecting houſes of correction beforemention'd; and ſignification being given, that they might come in to receive their anſwer, it was thought proper that the lord-keeper ſhould now deliver it ſitting in his place (the lords alſo ſitting) and not by going down to the bar, as the form is when the lords receive bills or meſ-

In parliament.

[a] *Camden*'s *Ann.* 1597.

[b] Sir *Henry Wotton*'s *Parallel* of the earl of *Eſſex* and duke of *Buckingham*.

[c] "That the diſſevering of fleets hath been the overthrow of many actions, I could give many examples (ſays *Ralegh*) were it not in every man's knowledge. In the laſt enterprize of worth, undertaken by our *Engliſh* nation with three ſquadrons of ſhips, commanded by the earl of *Eſſex*, the earl of *Suffolk* (who was lord *Thomas Howard*) and myſelf, where was alſo preſent the earl of *Southampton*; if we, being ſtorm-beaten in the bay of *Alcaſtar*, or *Biſcay*, had a port under our lee, that we might have kept our tranſporting-ſhips with our men of war, we had, in all likelihood taken the *Indian* fleet and the *Azores*." See Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Apology* for his *voyage* to *Guiana*, p. 11, 12.

ſages

ſages from them; and as the lord-keeper had ſometimes before done, it ſeems, in delivering anſwers. This reception being repreſented to the houſe of commons, they ſent ſome other members to deſire ſatisfaction, as for an innovation derogatory to their liberty. Here Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s part in this difference ending, we ſhall refer our readers to an abſtract of its conſequence at the foot of the page,[a] that too much interruption may not appear in the thread of his ſtory; and only obſerve, as to the remainder of this ſeſſion, that it was clos'd with a grant to the queen of three ſubſidies, and ſix fifteenths and tenths.[b]

The parliament being diſſolv'd on the ninth of *February*, *Ralegh* ſeems not to have reſided long in town; for, ſoon after, ſome regulations being made for the publick good of thoſe people over whom he preſided, by his offices of power, in the *Weſt* of *England*, we find him celebrated, for his exerciſe thereof among them, as a very worthy patriot in ſeveral inſtances. The lord *Burghley* is mention'd in one of them, who died about ſix months after the ſaid parliament broke up, that is to ſay, in *Auguſt* 1598; therefore we muſt here relate it, as occurring before this time. It concern'd the reſtoration of certain manors to their ancient tenure in *Cornwall*; for there are ſeventeen appertaining to that dutchy, which took or renew'd their *Holdings*, as they call it, every ſeven years of certain commiſſioners, for near three centuries paſt; whereby the tenants reckon'd a kind of inheritable eſtate, accruing to them. But, notwithſtanding this long preſcription, a bold and buſy perſon in theſe times, getting an *Exchequer*-leaſe of one or two ſuch tenements, called the whole right in queſtion; but, failing of ſucceſs, another, ſoon after, reſumed the broken title, and proſecuted it even to a *Niſi prius*. Hereupon, the tenants deputed certain gentlemen, among whom was the author of this paſſage, *Richard Carew* of *Anthony* Eſq; one of the deputy-lieutenants of the county, to repair to *London* with a petition to the ſaid lord-treaſurer *Burghley*; who, calling to him the chancellor and barons of the *Exchequer*, found (beſides this long continuance, and the importance thereof, as touching the ruin of above a thouſand inhabitants) that her majeſty poſſeſſed no lands which yielded her ſo fair a benefit as theſe, in rents, fines, heriots, and other perquiſites. Theſe reaſons found favourable allowance, but did not procure an effectual remedy, till the ſaid gentlemen became ſupplicants to her majeſty in perſon; who then, having been prepared, it ſeems, by *Ralegh*'s applications and intereſt, teſtify'd her diſlike of the attempter; and expreſly order'd the ceſſation of his attempt. For, ſays this author, herein we were beholden to Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *earneſt writing*, who was then in the country; alſo to the advice of Sir *Henry*, and the ſollicitations of Mr. *W. Killegrew*.[c] Another example of his zealous affection for the eaſe and advantage of theſe people under his juriſdiction, appears in his lightning them of a certain burdenſome tax, which carried many other inconveniences with it. For, as the products and commodities in thoſe *weſtern* parts had been anciently very much oppreſs'd with tributes to the earls of *Cornwall*, whereby the condition of a *Corniſh* inhabitant and a *French* peaſant differ'd very little; ſo latterly, while *Ralegh* was *lieutenant* of that county, there wanted not ſome, who, through favour at court, and plauſible repreſentations to her majeſty, did, in part, revive the ſame; and, under pretext of reſtoring a rent decay'd ever ſince the ninth of king *Henry* II, to the pretended detriment of the crown, procured letters patent, that none ſhould ſalt, dry, or pack any fiſh in *Devonſhire* or *Cornwall*, without their licence or warrant; the ill conſequences

Reſtores the *dutchy* manors in *Cornwall* to their ancient tenure.

[a] Upon this meſſage, the lords conſulted touching the uſage of their houſe, as it had been obſerved by thoſe of longeſt continuance therein; and it was reſolved, that their cuſtom was and is, "When any *bills* or *meſſages* be brought "from the houſe of commons to the upper houſe, the "lord-keeper and the reſt of the lords are to riſe and go "down to the bar to meet thoſe who come from the com-"mons, and there *receive* their ſaid meſſages or bills: "but, contrariwiſe, when any *anſwer* is to be *deliver'd* "by the lord-keeper, in the name and behalf of the houſe, "to ſuch as come from the commons, theſe members are "to receive the ſame ſtanding towards the lower end of "the ſaid upper houſe, without the bar; and the lord-"keeper is to deliver it ſitting in his place, with his head "cover'd, the other lords alſo keeping their places; and "that whenever it had been otherwiſe done, it was by er-"ror or miſtake, and therefore not to be drawn into pre-"cedent." Then the attorney-general and Serjeant *Drew* being ſent to the lower houſe, ſignify'd, that if they would ſend for an anſwer to their demands, it ſhould be given. The commons accordingly ſent the ſame perſons who had before demanded ſatisfaction. But, being come to the houſe, and having placed themſelves at the lower end of the outward room, as at other times, except the lord-keeper and other lords came and met them at the bar to deliver their anſwer, the ſaid keeper moved them to approach and receive it: then they, not perceiving the lords advance to the bar, proteſted, by Sir *W. Knolles*, that they had not commiſſion to receive any anſwer in that form; ſo departed. Hereupon, a motion was ſent from the lords to the commons for a conference in the outward great chamber, to reconcile this matter; where the aforeſaid members, meeting the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, lord-treaſurer *Burghley*, and others of the moſt ancient peers, were aſſured by them, that the true and right form of receiving bills or meſſages, and delivering anſwers by the lord-keeper, was as is above related; and that ſome late inadvertency in the regard thereof, was the occaſion of their preſent miſconſtruction. Hereupon, the houſe of commons was ſatisfied; and the ſame form was afterwards kept accordingly. Sir *Simon Dewe*'s journal of queen *Elizabeth*'s parliaments, fol. 1708. p. 539, 540.

[b] Of theſe taxes, *Camden* gives us this explanation. A *fifteenth* and a *tenth*, is a certain tax on every city, borough and town, not upon every man in particular; but a general ſum, in proportion to the fifteenth part of the wealth of the reſpective places: a *ſubſidy*, we call that which is impos'd on every ſingle perſon, as they are aſſeſs'd by poll, according to the value of their goods and lands. *Eliz. anno* 1563.

[c] *Carew*'s *Survey* of *Cornwall*, 4to. 1602. p. 36. b. 37.

whereof

whereof grew ſo apparent, as being what would have made that patentee an abſolute diſpoſer of all the *weſtern* ſhipping and traffick, with their ſea and land-dependants; that the *Corniſh* juſtices, whereof Mr. *Carew* aforeſaid was one, made ſuit to the privy-council for redreſs; and, *through the never-failing forwardneſs and backing of* Sir *Walter Ralegh*, ſays the ſame author, obtain'd a revocation thereof.[a] Here, not to divide from this head, what properly falls under it, we may alſo add *Ralegh*'s good offices, the two following years, for freeing the inhabitants of theſe parts from thoſe heavy impoſitions, with which the trade and manufacture alſo of their tin-works were very much embarraſs'd. Theſe impoſitions were occaſion'd by the merchants and uſurers who advanced money to the tinners, upon whom their encroachments were now grown ſo exorbitant, that *Ralegh* was importun'd to revive the privilege of *pre-emption*, founded on that clauſe in the charter of king *Edward* I. allowing them to vend their tin to their beſt behoof, *niſi nos ipſi emere voluerimus.* It had been attempted by others before him, who alledg'd many reaſons how it might prove advantageous, not only to her majeſty, but the country, and prejudicial to none but thoſe extortioners, who practis'd a far worſe kind of *pre-emption.*[b] But tho' this means of redreſs was by thoſe perſons hotly begun, and a reaſonable price offer'd, it ſoon cool'd again, till it receiv'd a new life in *Michaelmas* term 1599; for then the *Corniſh* men, being in *London*, were call'd before the principal lords of her majeſty's council, and the matter was there debated by Sir *Walter Ralegh* in behalf of the country, againſt thoſe advocates deputed for the merchants who had promoted this ſuit; and he brought it to ſuch a concluſion that articles were ſign'd. Indeed it did not immediately take effect: yet, it ſeems, the privilege was afterwards inveſted in *Ralegh*, and that he put his power in execution. In *November*, the following year, he held a court at *Loſtwithiel*, the uſual place for *Stannary* cauſes; where having ſignified her majeſty's pleaſure for a new tax of ſix pounds on every thouſand weight of tin that ſhould be tranſported, beſides two pounds and ſixteen ſhillings already payable, he told them alſo, that her majeſty had been prevail'd on ſo far to diſengage them from dealing with the merchants and uſurers, that ſhe would diſburſe four thouſand pounds in loan to the tinners for a year's ſpace, and was contented to be repaid in tin:[c] and laſtly what appears totally to have excluded thoſe merchants from the exerciſe of their impoſitions is, that, by the time of the enſuing parliament, *Ralegh* appears to have had the power of pre-emption granted him; becauſe, in a ſpeech of his, which we ſhall take notice of, having juſtly maintain'd his title thereto, from the charter before-mention'd, he yet no leſs generouſly offers to reſign it, as indeed he not long after voluntarily did,[d] if thoſe, who had privileges of far leſs ancient eſtabliſhment, would follow his example. But, as theſe and his other eminent ſervices to thoſe people, are beſt to be judg'd of by ſuch as beheld and taſted the benefits that flow'd from them: ſo we ſhall here only add the publick acknowledgment thereof which Mr. *Carew* made, a few months after that parliament roſe, in the following dedication to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, of his excellent *Survey* of CORNWALL. "This my ill-huſbanded ſurvey, long ſince begun, a great while diſcontinu'd, "lately review'd, and now haſtily finiſh'd; appeals to your lordſhip's direction, whether "it ſhould paſs; to your correction, if it do paſs; and to your protection, when it is paſs'd. "Neither unduely: for the ſame intreats of the province and perſons over whoſe bodies and "eſtates you carry a large, both martial and civil, command by your authority; but in "whoſe hearts and loves you poſſeſs a far greater intereſt by your kindneſs. Your ears and "mouth have ever been open to hear and deliver our grievances; and your feet and hands "ready to go and work their redreſs; and that, not only always as a magiſtrate of yourſelf,

Procures the revocation of a *tax* on the curing of *fiſh*.

Revives the *pre-emption* of tin.

[a] *Carew*'s Survey of *Cornwall*, p. 79, b. 80.

[b] "When any weſtern gentleman (ſays Mr. *Carew*) "wants money to defray his expences at *London*, he re-"ſorts to one of the tin merchants to borrow ſome; but "ſhall as ſoon wreſt the club out of *Hercules*'s fiſt, as one "penny out of their fingers, unleſs they give bond for "every twenty pounds ſo taken in loan, to deliver 1000 "pound weight of tin at the next coinage, which ſhall "be within two or three months, or half a year at far-"theſt. At which time the price of every thouſand will "not fail to be at leaſt 23, perhaps 25 pounds; yea, and "after promiſe made, muſt be driven with ſome indigni-"ty to make three or four errands to his houſe, before "he ſhall get the money deliver'd. Thus ſome one "merchant will have 500 pounds out before-hand, reap-"ing thereby a double commodity, both of exceſſive gain "for his loan, and of aſſurance of being ſerv'd with tin "for his money. This they ſay is no *uſury* forſooth, be-"cauſe the price of tin is not commonly known before-"hand (for once only, within theſe twelve years, on "purpoſe to eſcape the penalty of the law, they brought "it a little under 20 pounds the thouſand) but, if to take "above fifty in the hundred be extremity, whatſoever "name you liſt to give it, this, in truth, can be no other "than cut-throat and abominable dealing." *Survey* of *Cornwall*, p. 14, b. 16.

[c] Idem, p. 17. b.

[d] Then it was recommended to king *James*; however, he had juſt before made a proclamation againſt all monopolies; for in 1604. there were ſeveral ſchemes and eſtimates drawn up on this project of *pre-emption*; one whereof ſets forth the profits of it, and diſadvantages of putting it down. In another we find this particular; "There "are two coinages of tin every year, and about eleven or "twelve hundred tun coin'd at each time; and if the "king farms the *pre-emption* for 10000 *l.* then there will "remain to the farmers 9500 *l.*" *Cotton* library *Titus* B. V. towards the end of the volume.

" but alſo very often, as a ſuitor and ſollicitor to others of the higheſt place. Wherefore I, " as one of the common beholden, preſent this token of my private gratitude. It is duty, " and not preſumption, that hath drawn me to the offering; and it muſt be favour, and " not deſert, that ſhall move your lordſhip to acceptance: and ſo I take humble leave, reſt- " ing no leſs willing to ſerve you, than under you."

THIS author (Mr. *Carew*) ſubſcribes himſelf, to that dedication, Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s kinſman; but was no leſs innobled and honour'd for his accompliſhments than his family, as *Camden* has obſerv'd; who further acknowledges the great aſſiſtance he receiv'd in his deſcription of *Cornwall* from this author's curious *Survey* of its antiquities and natural hiſtory.[a] For his abilities in theſe ſtudies he was admitted (as upon a very modeſt occaſion he mentions himſelf) an aſſociate of the *Antiquary College*.[b] A fragment of the ſpeech he made at his introduction to the ſaid ſociety, among other materials relating to him, I communicated, about a dozen years ſince, to the learned and ingenious writer of his life before the new impreſſion of his works.[c] And now that he was in *London*, ſolliciting one of the aforeſaid cauſes (for the *Corniſh* tinners) I find his name mention'd in a *liſt* of near twenty other antiquaries, who were ſummon'd to a meeting at the houſe of a Garter King of Arms (which, I ſuppoſe, was Sir *William Dethicke*, at the *Heralds Office*) in order, probably, to receive ſome queſtions, or bring his opinion in writing to others which had been propounded, as the manner then was.[d] Now, perceiving Sir *Walter Ralegh* to have patroniz'd the antiquities of *Cornwall*, written by one member of that ſociety, and that Mr. *John Hooker*, another gentleman learned in the antiquities of this realm, and perhaps a member alſo of the ſame body (for their names are not all yet known) addreſs'd his *Hiſtorical Record* of *Devonſhire* to a *perſon of honourable place in the commonwealth*, who is conceived by one that had ſeen it, to have been alſo Sir *Walter Ralegh*;[e] to which honourable perſon the ſaid work being deliver'd at its author's death, he committed it to Mr. *Dodderidge*, another member of the ſaid ſociety (who had leiſure to fit it for, and did recommend it to the preſs, tho' it never was printed:[f]) finding alſo that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was acquainted with, and honourably ſpoken of by others of this aſſembly, as Sir *Henry Spelman*, alſo Sir *Robert Cotton*, from whoſe library we find *Ralegh* afterwards borrowing ſome manuſcripts, and that Mr. *John Selden* was oblig'd to *Ralegh*'s library for others; I could not but think him ſomehow related to the ſaid ſociety, and at laſt have found, that he likewiſe was a member thereof. This intelligence I receive from another *liſt* of theſe aſſociates, in a manuſcript addreſs'd ſoon after *Ralegh*'s death to king *James*; which alſo further contains this obſervation upon that ſociety. " There was a time, moſt excellent king, when " as well under queen *Elizabeth*, as under your majeſty, certain choice gentlemen, men of " known proof, were knit together, *ſtatis temporibus*, by the love of theſe ſtudies, upon " contribution among themſelves: which company conſiſted of an elective *Preſident* and of " *Clariſſimi*; of other *Antiquaries* and a *Regiſter*. But this their meeting, whoſe profeſſion " reached only to the matter of our *antiquities*, deſerved to have an incorporative connection, " by way of authority royal; for want whereof, they being depriv'd of the benefit of ſuf- " fection and ſubſtitution, a few of their friends and perſons dying, the thing itſelf is abſo- " lutely vaniſh'd: ſucceſſion *performing that in* civil *bodies*, *whith* generation *does in* na- " tural.[g]

A member of the ſociety of Antiquaries.

BUT,

[a] *Camden*'s *Britannia* in *Cornwall*.

[b] *Carew*'s Survey of *Cornwall*, p. 61. b.

[c] In *quarto*, 1723.

[d] This ſummons dated *anno dominæ Eliz.* XLI. is publiſh'd from a MS. in the *Aſmolean Muſæum* at *Oxford*, by Mr. *Thomas Hearne*: See his *Preface* to a *Collection of Curious Diſcourſes by eminent* Antiquaries, 8vo. Oxon. 1720. p. 41. Theſe *diſcourſes* were written between the year 1590 and 1605; therefore do, I think, ſomewhat diſprove Sir *Henry Spelman*'s computation (at leaſt that *ſummons* does) that this *ſociety* of *Antiquaries* was diſcontinued for *twenty years* and then reviv'd in 1614. King *James* was about this year, or ſoon after, ſo hot upon his *college* of *controverſial divinity* at *Chelſea*, that I wonder not at his diſcouragement of the ſaid *ſociety*, thro' I know not what ſuſpicion or pretence of their troubling matters of ſtate or religion, whereby their meeting was wholly broke of; tho', as *Spelman* affirms, they had reſolved to forbare all arguments on thoſe ſubjects. See Sir *Henry Spelman*'s *Pref.* to his *law terms*, as printed from a MS. in the *Bodleian* library, by Dr. *Gibſon* the preſent biſhop of *London*, in his *life* of Mr. *Camden*.

[e] *J. Prince*'s *Worthies* of *Devon* in the *Life* of *J. Hooker*, fol. 388.

[f] *Idem*.

[g] Their names, however, deſerving to live with honour, the ſaid author ſets them down, as they aroſe to his mind, promiſcuouſly, in the following manner—*Thomas* earl of *Dorſet*, *Henry* earl of *Northampton*, *Fitzalen* the laſt earl of *Arundel*, *William* lord *Burghley*, the *Herberts* earls of *Pembroke*, the learned lord *Lumley*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Henry Billingsley*, Sir *Gilbert* and Sir *William Dethicke*, Sir *Henry Fanſhaw*, Dr. *Bartholomew Clark*, and dean *Couſins*; Sir *Daniel Donne*, Sir *Walter Cope* and *Ralegh*; Mr. *Benedict Barnham*, Dr. *Cowel*, *Francis Thynne* Eſq; *Lancaſter*; Mr. *Glover*, *Somerſet*; *Heneage*, keeper of the records; *Beneſield*, *Erdſwick*, *Lambert*, *Valence*, &c. Eſqs. Mr. *Talbot*, and Mr. *John Stow*, &c. Then telling the king how juſtly the diſſolution of ſo well an intended exercife was lamented by all thoſe worthy patriots, who knew his majeſty's realms afforded living perſons of prime worth, fit to keep up and celebrate that *Round Table*, he cites ſome of their names; as, lord *William Howard*, lord *Carew*, Sir *Fulk Grevile*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *P. Manwood*,

But, to return a little into the more open and publick current of action, we muſt here obſerve, that king *Henry* the fourth of *France* having, about the end of the laſt parliament, informed the queen of *England*, by an ambaſſador, that he had held ſome conferences with the *Spaniſh* miniſters about a peace, but would come to no concluſion without her conſent, and that of the united ſtates; her majeſty ſent ſome commiſſioners over: and, while they were negotiating this buſineſs in *France*, ſhe had the argument very cloſely debated in her council at home. Here *Eſſex* was one of thoſe, who would by no means liſten to any manner of accommodation; and, while the matter was upon the carpet, was ſo expeditious as to produce a formal *apology*, in writing, for his reaſons; it being dated in 1598, and written before the king of *Spain*'s death in the beginning of *September* the ſame year. Yet, upon this topic, there enſued a warm diſpute, ſays *Camden*, betwixt the queen and *Eſſex*; as alſo upon her chuſing ſome able miniſter to ſuperintend the affairs of *Ireland*. She look'd upon the earl's uncle, Sir *William Knolles*, as a proper perſon for that charge. *Eſſex* prefer'd Sir *George Carew*, perhaps on purpoſe, ſays *Camden*, to get rid of him: and, when the queen would not be perſuaded to approve his choice, he, quite forgetting all duty, turn'd his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. The queen, unable to bear his inſolence, diſmiſs'd him her preſence with a box on the ear. The fury this threw the earl into, is better conceiv'd than expreſs'd; but having, with his hand on his ſword, told the queen, "He would not have taken ſuch a blow from her father," he retired from court. The lord-keeper *Egerton* ſent him a prudent and pacifying letter; in which, among other wholſome motives to ſubmiſſion and complacency, he ſays, "In this courſe "you hold, if you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for "themſelves; while your friends you leave to ſcorn and contempt." The earl return'd a long and paſſionate anſwer, as *Camden* calls it; in which it appears, he had alſo ſuffer'd ſome impriſonment; and wherein he makes this reply to thoſe objections: "In this courſe do I any "thing for my enemies? When I was preſent, I found them abſolute; and therefore I had "rather they ſhould triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I "leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I could ſell them no fruit of my love; and "now I am a hermit, they ſhall bear no envy for their love to me."[a] But the lord-keeper ſoon brought him out of his hermitage; and he was, in a little time, re-admitted into the queen's favour. However, his friends, according to *Camden*, were apt to date his ruin from this unlucky circumſtance: and indeed, it hence appears, he had no enemies ſo great, or who ſo much conſpired to his fall, as his own paſſions, his unreaſonable expectations of an abſolute conformity to his own will, and impatience to behold any body aſpire to diſtinction, who did it not thro' his patronage and protection. Of this he gave a moſt notorious example about this time; in which he made *Ralegh* a publick object of his oppoſition, tho' it ended in his own diſgrace, and his relapſe into the queen's diſpleaſure; which he might have prevented, had he

Manwood, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Henry Savile*, Mr. *Camden*, Sir *Henry Spelman*, Dr. *John Hayward*, *Tate*, *Whitlock*, *Selden* and *Bolton*. Thus in a MS. entitled, an *Addreſs for a* Corporation Royal, *to be founded under the title of king* James *his* Academ, or *College* of Honour. *Fol.* eleven ſheets, p. 6, 7, 8, 9. My reaſons that it was written in 1619, and conjectures by whom, I have given in the book itſelf; which is in the poſſeſſion of Mr. *George Vertue*, whoſe readineſs to impart from his own curious collections, and procure from thoſe of his learned and worthy friends, whatever might be uſeful to my preſent undertaking, deſerves more frequent acknowledgments, as having in ſeveral other places conduced to the illuſtration thereof. This *liſt* of our primitive *antiquaries*, and that in the learned Dr. *Smith*'s life of Sir *Robert Cotton*, together with thoſe in Mr. *Hearne*'s *Preface*, p. 41. aforeſaid, and p. 112, may perhaps ſomewhat alleviate this laſt author's "deſpair of getting a perfect catalogue of "thoſe eminent and excellent men, tho' ſeveral of their "names were induſtriouſly conceal'd ſince the diſſolution "of the ſociety." And this remark will lead us to obſerve, how obſcurely even Sir *Walter Ralegh* is huddled over in the *liſt* here above exhibited. It was ſurely intended as a courtly compliment, thus to lop off all diſtinction or title of honour, by ſaddling him behind another Sir *Walter*, and ſhewing his very name headleſs, to that perſon who had newly made his body ſo. Another obſervation which occurs to me from this liſt is, that it ſeems to carry the antiquity of this *ſociety* higher than is commonly apprehended: for if *Robert Glover*, who was made *Somerſet* herald in 1571 (as I find in a MS. written by the late *Peter Le Neve*, Eſq; *Norroy*, upon the ſucceſſion of the heralds from queen *Mary*'s reign) died in 1583, as I think the ſame MS. demonſtrates, or at leaſt as Dr. *Fuller* informs us; the ſaid ſociety muſt have been exiſtent in this year, how much more early ſoever it was before. As to its interrupted progreſs down to our time, it would demand, as it does deſerve, an ample hiſtory to diſplay it. This general view we may here ſpare room for: That in the former part of king *Charles*'s reign it bloom'd out afreſh; but droop'd in the civil wars. It ſeems to have ſhone forth again after *Oliver Cromwell*'s death; for then Mr. *Aſhmole*, in the *Diary* of his own *Life*, mentions the Antiquaries *Feaſt*; but, during the factions in the cloſe of king *Charles* II's reign, to have been under a cloud. It was revived in the reign of his late majeſty, *anno* 1717, and has continued to this day. Having gather'd in this ſpace to a body of fifty or ſixty members, nobility as well as gentry, and clergy as well as laity; ſome of whom are well known in the *Republick of Letters* for their own labours, and many highly deſerving from it, for contributing to the improvement of other mens; among which, gratitude cannot omit the *Life* of Sir W. Raleigh.

[a] Theſe quotations I have made from the ancient and fair copies in a volume of *State Letters*, written between the years 1533 and 1629, among the valuable collections of the right honourable the lord *Coleraine*, fol. 345, 351; where *Eſſex*'s letter to the *lord-keeper* concludes with theſe words: "*Let* Solomon's *foot laugh when he is* "*ſtricken*; let thoſe who mean to make their profit of "princes ſhew to have no ſenſe of princes injuries; let "them acknowledge an infinite abſoluteneſs on Earth "who do not believe an abſolute infiniteneſs in Heaven, "*&c.*" But hereby diſcover'd himſelf an ill imitator of his old tutor in court-conduct, *Leiceſter*, who had attained to the art not only of pocketing all affronts, but of conſtruing them into favours, and even converting them into benefits.

kept

kept his word to the lord-keeper, and ſuffer'd *Ralegh* to have *triumph'd alone*: for, during this reconciliation, or laſt blaze *Eſſex* made with any credit at court, this memorable conteſt ſeems to have been promoted by him, at the martial exerciſes perform'd on the queen's birth-day, which was the 17th of *November*: At leaſt, I think it could not happen later than the year above-cited in this reign; becauſe *Eſſex*'s violent courſes throughout the remainder of it, allow of no opportunity or countenance for his farther appearance at thoſe entertainments: and, as for the preceding birth-days, *Eſſex* ſeems not have been ſpirited up by his incendiaries enough for raiſing ſuch a diviſion or party, as appeared upon this occaſion, till the laſt year, when they return'd from the *iſland* voyage; and then it muſt have happen'd during the ſitting of the parliament, which may not be ſo probable. Therefore, I ſhall here recite the ſcatter'd circumſtances I have met with, relating to this event, till I am better inform'd in what year more certainly to fix it.

THESE martial exerciſes were the *juſts* or *turnaments* wherewith the moſt active nobles and cavaliers of thoſe times celebrated the queen's birth-day every year, in the *Tilt-yard*, near her palace at *Whitehall*. Here her majeſty was commonly herſelf a ſpectator of them, with her attendants of both ſexes; as likewiſe all the foreign ambaſſadors, and a numerous concourſe beſides both of the court and city. Hiſtory has not been very particular of *Ralegh*'s appearance at thoſe aſſemblies; as by what colour or impreſſes he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, with what ſucceſs he ran the carreers, or what favours he bore away: but, as upon all other publick occaſions, he made a moſt rich and ſplendid figure; ſo we find, upon theſe days of triumph, none ſurpaſs'd him in military bravery. I have ſomewhere read of his curious fine armory; and, as I remember, that part of it is, or was preſerv'd in the *Tower* of *London*; but it is more apparent that, probably for ſome of theſe grand entertainments, he either made himſelf, or was preſented by his royal miſtreſs with, a ſuit of armour all of ſolid ſilver: for there are ſtill in being, not only ancient paintings, repreſenting him about this part of her reign in that glittering and warlike habiliment, as hereafter will be farther deſcribed; but mention is alſo made in ſome writings of his being thus arm'd at all points, and ſhining in thoſe poliſh'd plates of ſilver [a]. Yet who were his competitors, and what his ſucceſs in theſe robuſt exerciſes, there is little, I fear, remaining to ſatisfy us, more than thoſe dark and diſperſed hints of that extraordinary oppoſition or contention which *Eſſex* raiſed againſt him about this time, as was obſerved: and this being the original or copy of a like contrivance, practiſed not long before or after it in *France* (by marſhal *Biron*, as I remember to have read) may, from thence, and the correſponding teſtimony of an author, whoſe credit and intelligence are not to be doubted, be preſumed to have happen'd in the following manner.

ABOUT the time that *Eſſex*, by other like inſtances of his incurable humour to monopolize the multitude, fell into, or confirmed, the queen's diſpleaſure, he had by ſome of his followers learnt, that Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with a very gallant train, gorgeouſly accoutred, was to make his appearance the next tilting-day in orange-colour plumes. Hereupon *Eſſex* provided a much more numerous *cavalcade*, and deck'd them out exactly in *Ralegh*'s colours: then the earl himſelf appearing at the head of all, arm'd *cap-a-pee* in a compleat ſuit of orange-colour, not only paſs'd for the ſole knight or champion of that diſtinction, by drowning all diſtinction in Sir *Walter Ralegh*, but thereby incorporated him and his train only as ſo many more of his own eſquires, pages, and other retinue or ſervants, who made up the parade upon theſe occaſions. The earl of *Clarendon* certainly points at this malignant ſtratagem, where, ſpeaking of thoſe dangerous indiſcretions which were the harbingers of *Eſſex*'s ruin, he mentions among them "His glo-"rious *feather-triumph*; when he cauſed two thouſand orange-tawney feathers, in deſpite of "Sir *Walter Ralegh*, to be worne in the *Tilt-yard*, even before her majeſty's own face [b]." But it muſt have been ſomewhat ſurprizing to ſee them enter the liſts, and orange-tawney running againſt itſelf. Yet the earl's ſucceſs, which is alſo come to light, ſeems not to have been much regretted, being ſo agreeable to the merit of uſurpers; inſomuch that it proved *Ralegh*'s feather *triumph* in the concluſion. For, tho' the lord *Bacon* might have reaſon not to mention the earl's name, where he tells us a gentleman, who came to the tilt all in *orange-tawney*, and ran very ill, came again the next day all in *green*, and ran worſe; [c] yet another author, inſtead of this gentleman, names *Eſſex*; [d] and goes on, as the lord *Bacon* does, with obſerving, that "One of the ſpectators hereupon asking, *Why this* tilter (who ſeemed to be known in both

His *feather* triumph.

[a] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Ghoſt, 4to. *Utrecht* 1626. p. 10.

[b] The *Diſparity* between the eſtates and conditions of *George* duke of *Buckingham*, and *Robert* earl of *Eſſex*, written by the earl of *Clarendon* in his younger years, and printed in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*. 4th edit. 1685. p. 190.

[c] Lord *Bacon*'s apophthegms, new and old, p. 206.

[d] Apophthegms of the *Engliſh* nation, MS. 4to. p. 11.

"habits)

" habits) *changed his colours*; another anſwer'd, *Surely becauſe it may be reported, that there* " *was one in* green *who ran worſe than he in* orange-colour."

SUCH like diſturbances and ill blood as theſe conteſts muſt have bred, might well make the queen weary of having *Eſſex* any longer about the court, and deſirous of removing him to ſome employment where he might more commendably exerciſe his martial qualities. A good occaſion offer'd itſelf in *Ireland*, where *Tir-Oen*'s rebellion had now overſpread almoſt the whole kingdom. A conſultation was therefore held for ſending over the fitteſt perſon to ſuppreſs it. The lord *Mountjoy* was firſt propos'd: but *Eſſex* himſelf made exceptions againſt his want of experience and activity; alledging, *Ireland* requir'd a perſon of the firſt rank, who was an old general, and conſiderable for honour, intereſt and eſtate, to gain him reſpect and influence there; by which *Camden* thinks he would have recommended himſelf, and adds, that when the queen therefore reſolv'd on *Eſſex*, he ſlightly refus'd it, adviſing her to ſome abler perſon; tho', continues that hiſtorian, he had an objection ready againſt any perſon ſhe ſhould have named. Notwithſtanding this authority, and that *Eſſex*'s ſmooth-tongu'd adverſaries were for lending ſpurs to the ambition that wanted a bridle,[a] he ſeems to me, by a letter of his own genuine ſtyle, in proſe and verſe, to the queen, at his going over in the end of *March* 1599, to have look'd upon the government of that kingdom as the moſt irkſome kind of baniſhment, and to have enter'd upon it with the utmoſt averſion.[b] His conduct in it was anſwerable to the expectations of judicious men; and one of his own ſervants, who attended him thither, ſays, it was his blackeſt employment, that *Ireland* was ordain'd to be the ſepulchre of his father, and the gulph of his own fortunes.[c]

ABOUT four months after *Eſſex* was thus diſpoſed of, there were great apprehenſions in *England* of an invaſion; but from what quarter is not well diſtinguiſh'd: ſix thouſand ſoldiers were ſuddenly raiſed to guard the city and queen's perſon. Chains were drawn acroſs the ſtreets of *London*, watches ſet, and lights hung out at every man's door for above a fortnight.[d] By ſea ſixteen or eighteen ſhips of the royal navy were fitted out with wonderful ſpeed, under the command of the lord *Thomas Howard*, as admiral, in the *Elizabeth Jonas*, and Sir *Walter*, vice-admiral, in the *Ark-Royal*. Whether occaſion'd by any miſtruſt the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* had of one another, or a policy held on both ſides to make peace with ſword in hand, my author does not reſolve; but is ſure the preparation on both ſides was very great, as if one expected an invaſion from the other: and yet it was generally conceiv'd not to be intended by either; but that our fleet had only relation to the earl of *Eſſex*, then in *Ireland*, as if he had ſome deſperate deſign to try his friends in *England*, and to be revenged of thoſe he thought his enemies. However it was, the care and coſt was not ſo great as neceſſary; for it was known, that the *Adelantado* had drawn, both his ſhips and galleys, to the *Groyne*; which was not uſual, but upon ſome action intended for *England* or *Ireland*: and, ſeeing we were not to be ſurpriz'd, he diverted them afterwards to a different uſe. Another benefit that aroſe to the nation, by putting it into this ſudden poſture of defence, was the great dexterity and expedition wherewith it was taught to ſpring into arms: for the incredible ſpeed and order of the commanders, in raiſing ſuch a land army, and fitting out ſuch a royal navy, was ſo admired, both by *Spain*, *France* and *Holland*, that all foreigners confeſs'd, *Her majeſty's* deeds *in war were not heretofore more dreadful to her enemies than, now only her* preparations *for it*. Inſomuch that, it is ſaid, an envoy was ſent by the *Archduke* from *Bruſſels* with overtures of peace, tho' they did not then ſucceed. Whether a deſign'd invaſion from *Spain* was hereby blown over, or her majeſty was better ſatisfied about the earl of *Eſſex*, we find not; but ſhe commanded her fleet home, after it had been about a month at ſea.[e]

Vice-Admiral.

[a] *Camden's Eliz.* Anno 1599.

[b] *To the Queen.* " From a mind delighting in ſorrow, " from ſpirits waſted with paſſion, from a heart torne " in pieces with care, grief and travel, from a man that " hateth himſelf and all things elſe that keep him alive; " what ſervice can your majeſty expect, ſince any ſervice " paſt deſerves no more than baniſhment and proſcription " into the curſedſt of all iſlands? It is your rebels pride " and ſucceſſion muſt give me leave to ranſom myſelf out " of this hateful priſon, out of my loath'd body; which, " if it happen ſo, your majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to miſ- " like the faſhion of my *death*, ſince the courſe of my " *life* could never pleaſe you.

Happy he, could finiſh forth his fate,
In ſome unhaunted deſart moſt obſcure
From all ſociety, from love and hate
Of worldly folk, then ſhould he ſleep ſecure;
Then wake again, and yield God ever praiſe:
Content with *Heps* and *Haws* and *Brambleberry*,
In contemplation paſſing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts to make him merry.
Who, when he dies, his tomb may be a buſh,
Where harmleſs *Robbin* dwells with gentle *Thruſh*.

Your majeſty's exiled ſervant,

ROBERT ESSEX.

This from the *Harleian* library, B. H. 90. C. 70. fol. 517.

[c] Sir *Henry Wotton*, in his parallel.

[d] *Stowe's Annals*, edit. 1615. fol. 788.

[e] Sir *William Monſon*'s naval tracts in *Churchill*'s collection of voyages, Vol. III. 1732. fol. 170.

NEAR a month after this, *Eſſex* returned privately out of *Ireland*, with ſome of his choice friends; one whereof, named Sir *Chriſtopher St. Lawrence*, offer'd to murder the lord *Gray*, whom they met upon the road, and to diſpatch ſecretary *Cecyll* when they came to court; but *Eſſex* would not encourage ſo baſe an act. The queen was now at *Nonſuch*: hither *Eſſex* haſten'd to preſent himſelf on his knees before her, in her privy-chamber early in the morning, and when her majeſty leaſt dreamt of him, ſays *Camden*; who adds, that ſhe entertain'd him with ſome marks of her grace and favour, tho' not with that freedom he uſed to find. But nothing of that unſeaſonable ſurpriſe and fatal diſcovery upon this viſit is mentioned either by him, or any of our other hiſtorians, which a foreigner, with the air of romance, natural to his country, reports to have then happen'd, and which I ſhall therefore refer to his own words.[a] The queen indeed order'd *Eſſex* to his apartment, and there to continue, as *Camden* goes on; for the earl had not only diſoblig'd her before, but now given freſh provocation by leaving *Ireland* without her permiſſion, and for ſhuffling up a truce there, which might be broke at a fortnight's warning; whereas he might have made an effectual compoſition with the rebels, and was impower'd to give them a general act of indemnity. The excuſes he offer'd before the council, were ſo unſatisfactory, and his behaviour ſo contemptuous, that the queen thought proper to commit him to cuſtody; but appointed it to be in the lord-keeper's houſe rather than a common priſon, chiefly to obſtruct the infuſions of his pernicious adherents, to whom he was ſo infatuated, that he could not relinquiſh them, tho' one of the objections, which would be raiſed againſt him, was by his own hand pre-ſuppoſed to be, the leaving of that kingdom in ſuch an unſettled poſture, and returning into this, with ſuch a pack of ſwordſmen at his heels.[b] Thus much was thought neceſſary here to relate of him, that it may appear, his own paſſions, with the counſels of his pretended friends, and not thoſe, who were vulgarly thought his enemies, prov'd his overthrow.

WHILE *Eſſex* was thus in reſtraint, commiſſioners were ſent over to *Bulloigne* to negotiate the peace with *Spain*. This was in *May* 1600. And about the ſame time we find Sir *Walter Ralegh* was alſo ſent, with the lord *Cobham*, upon an embaſſy concerning the ſame, into *Flanders*. Their buſineſs was kept very ſecret; yet, *Albert* arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and governor of the *Netherlands*, having charged the queen of *England*, it ſeems, with relieving the *Hollanders*, and being likely to take ſome umbrage at ſo many perſons of conſiderable rank going over volunteers to prince *Maurice*, as the lord of *Northumberland*, lord *Rutland*, and others; ſecretary *Cecyll* wrote to the ſaid commiſſioners at *Bulloigne*, that if the arch-duke ſhould object in the like manner to *Cobham* and *Ralegh*, they were to return anſwer, "That theſe had no "charge, nor carried either horſe or men, except ſome half a dozen of their own attendants; "and finding the queen ſo reſolved to have a peace (if good conditions could be had) they "obtained leave, with importunity, to ſee that one action (then expected) before they might "deſpair of ſeeing any more of the like kind in her majeſty's time." Thus much of this matter we have in a letter of ſecretary *Cecyll*'s to thoſe commiſſioners. In another written by Sir *Henry Neville*, who was one of thoſe commiſſioners, to Mr. *Winwood*, he mentions it as a report, that *Cobham* and *Ralegh* were gone over upon pretext to ſee the camp and ſiege of the fort *Iſabella* near *Oſtend*, before which prince *Maurice* lay; but thinks they had ſome other end; and that in *England* there was ſome alarm taken at theſe matters, altho' he was not worthy to know it. The ſaid Sir *Henry*, in another letter to Mr. *Winwood*, ſays, that the journey of *Cobham* and *Ralegh* was not upon curioſity only; but that they carried ſome meſſage (to prince *Maurice* it ſeems) which did no harm, and that he would reveal the particulars when he was better informed of them. Theſe three letters were written in *July* this year, and in the firſt of them we perceive *Ralegh* was returned into *England* by the fourteenth day of the ſaid month.[c]

His embaſſy to *Flanders*.

WHEN he arrived at court, the government of *Jerſey* was, it ſeems, vacant by the death of Sir *Anthony*, ſon of Sir *Amias Paulet*. The queen had many addreſſors for this preferment; but ſhe thought none ſo worthy of it as Sir *Walter Ralegh*. About ſix weeks after, that is, in

Governor of the iſle of *Jerſey*.

[a] *La* Royne *eſtoit encore lors en ſa coiffure, il entre dans ſa chambre: mais il luy en prit comme* d'Acteon *à* Diane: *il vit la* Royne *en ſa nudité de teſte, & en ſon* Alopecie: *ſes Dames ont dict depuis,* que s'il euſt attendu encore un peu, il avoit gaigné ſa cauſe. *La* Royne *le voyant, elle ſe leve, eſtonnée, & s'eſcrie: luy ſe proſterne à ſes pieds: elle s'eſcrie encores d'avantage, luy diſant,* Quoy, voulez-vous prendre ma couronne? *Il s'humilie encore plus, trainant le ventre par terre. Elle s'aigrit encore d'avantage, ſi bien que les dames qui l'avoient faict entrer, proſternées de genoux pour demander ſa grace, n'y peurent rien gaigner; ainſi les unes en furent tanctes, & les autres chaſſées du ſervice de la* Royne: *tellement que le* comte *fut contrainct de ſe retirer ſans eſtre ouy.* Chronologies Septenaire de l'Hiſtoire de la Paix entre les Roys de *France* & d'*Eſpagne*. Par *P. Victor Cayet*. 8vo. Paris 1605. p. 214.

[b] *Camden*'s *Eliza*. *Anno* 1599

[c] See *Memoirs* of *Affairs* of *State* in the reigns of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James*, collected from the original papers of Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by *E. Sayer* of *Lincoln-Inn*, Eſq; 1725. Vol. I. fol. 215, 230, 231.

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the latter end of *Auguſt*, his patent was paſſed, with grant of the manor or lordſhip of *St. Germain* in the ſaid iſland, and all the lands and tenements therein. [d] There is a learned inhabitant of this iſland, who in his curious and exact hiſtory of it, giving us a ſucceſſion of the governors, ſays, "Sir *Walter Ralegh* came in after the *Paulets*, the year only before his royal "miſtreſs queen *Elizabeth* died; and was attainted the firſt year of king *James*: ſo that we "were ſoon bereaved of the happineſs we promiſed ourſelves under ſo excellent a perſon. *His "bare name in the liſt of our governors does honour to the iſland.*" [e] Yet, as the ſame author further obſerves out of the ſaid patent, "When Sir *Walter Ralegh* himſelf had this govern-"ment given him by queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſtruck off three hundred pounds a year from it, "which ſhe took into her own diſpoſal; and made *that great man, ſo renowned for his emi-"nent ſervices to her and to the whole nation*, be contented with the remainder." [a]

Eſſex had now been called before the council at the lord-keeper's, where, for the matters laid to his charge, he was ſuſpended from ſome of his offices. But the courſe of penitence and reſignation, which he held for a while, gave great hopes, after he had obtained his liberty, that he would recover himſelf alſo at court; till his creatures blew him up again with their poiſonous counſels, and led him to expect not only a reſtoration to favour, but with unreaſonable intereſt; "inſomuch, that he neglected the queen's pardon, becauſe it came not accompanied with a "new grant of his leaſe for the farming of ſweet wines," as a noble author obſerves: [b] Who adds, "if ever that uncouth ſpeech fell from him of the queen, which is deliver'd to us by "one who was then much converſant in the ſecrets of the court, [c] that *ſhe was as crooked in "her diſpoſition, as in her careaſe*; all my wonder at his deſtruction is taken from me." After this ſpeech, the queen did as good as deny him the wine-licences aforeſaid, as *Camden* relates. Then *Eſſex* threw himſelf open to all ill impreſſions, renewing the project he had begun in *Ireland* of removing by force his enemies at court. He curried favour with king *James* in *Scotland*, by ſeveral reſpectful letters; wherein he labour'd to prejudice the king againſt thoſe who had any influence in the *Engliſh* court, and was very particular in acquainting him with the intereſt of his adverſaries; as one of whom he failed not to ſet forth Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with the formidable power he had in the weſt of *England*, and now again in the iſle of *Jerſey*; that *Cobham* was warden of the *Cinque-Ports*; lord *Burghley*, preſident of the north, and Sir *George Carew*, preſident of *Munſter*, in the ſouth of *Ireland*: That thoſe were places commodious for the *Spaniards* to land; and theſe, perſons well-affected to the king of *Spain*, and altogether, with the lord-treaſurer, admiral and ſecretary, ſteer'd the helm of government. Then he practiſed with the ſaid king to ſend ambaſſadors into *England*, to preſs a publick declaration of his title to the ſucceſſion, prepares inſtructions for that purpoſe, ſtill inſtancing the exorbitant power of his enemies, their diſaffection to the king of *Scots*, and great veneration for the infanta. Theſe proceedings were outwardly varniſh'd over, all this while, with the gloſs of conſcience and religion; he won over the puritans and their preachers to his party, commiſerated the afflicted condition of the papiſts, retained a crew of *Deſperado's* to guard his houſe, and left none uncountenanc'd, who had nothing to hope for, but changes and revolutions.

Prejudic'd in k. *James*'s opinion by *Eſſex*.

THUS theſe ill humours kept gathering till *Sunday* the 8th of *February* following, and then broke out, as may be ſeen at large in our hiſtories of theſe times. At court the guard was

[d] *Conceſſio pro* Waltero Ralegh *Militi, Officii Gubernatoris & Capitanei Inſulæ de* Jerſey. *Dat. viceſimo ſexto die* Auguſti, *anno* 1600. *Apud* Rym. Fœd. *Tom.* XVI. *fol.* 398.

[e] See an account of the iſle of *Jerſey*, by *Philip Falle*, M. A. 2d Edit. 8vo. 1733. p. 190.

[a] This reſervation is thus expreſſed in the patent—— *Volumus nihilominus, & per præſentes reſervamus nobis, hæredibus, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, durante totâ vitâ ipſius* Walteri, *pro & ex cuſtumis dictæ inſulæ, reventionibus, proficuis, & emolumentis, cæteriſque omnibus & ſingulis præmiſſis præconceſſis, annualem redditum* trecentarum librarum *legalis monetæ* Angliæ, *ſolvendum annuatim per præfatum* Walterum Ralegh, *nobis, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, ad duos anni terminos uſuales; videlicet, ad feſta* Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, *& annunciationis* Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, *per æquales portiones, ad receptam ſcaccarii noſtri, hæredum & ſucceſſorum noſtrorum: proviſo ſemper, quod ſi prædictus annualis redditus, aut aliqua inde parcella, nobis, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, per præſentes reſervatus, a retrò fuerit & inſolutus, in parte vel in toto, per ſpatium quadraginta dierum poſt aliquod feſtum feſtorum prædictorum in quo ſolvi debeat, tunc quatieſcunque Theſaurarius noſter* Angliæ, *vel Subtheſaurarius ſcaccarii noſtri prædicti, pro tempore exiſtentes, aut eorum aliquis, notitiam inde dederint vel dederit dicto* Waltero *aut ſuo deputato prædicto, ſi prædictus annualis redditus, aut aliqua inde parcella, nobis, hæredibus, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris, a retrò fuerit & inſolutus per ſpatium triginta dierum poſt aliquam notitiam ſic ut præfertur datam, ex tunc hæ litteræ noſtræ patentes, & omnes auctoritates, juriſdictiones, res & conceſſiones in eiſdem contentæ, vacuæ erunt, & nullius in lege vigoris, aliquo in præſentibus non obſtante, &c.* See *Falle*'s *Jerſey*, p. 315. from *Rymer* as above.

[b] The earl of *Clarendon*'s *diſparity* before cited.

[c] This was Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who mentions this paſſage in the following manner. "Undutiful words of a "ſubject do often take deeper root than the memory of "evil deeds. The duke of *Biron* found it, when the "king had him at advantage. Yea, the late earl of "*Eſſex* told queen *Elizabeth*, *That her conditions were as "crooked as her careaſe*; but it coſt him his head, which "his inſurrection had not done, but for that ſpeech." Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Prerogative of Parliaments*.

doubled,

doubled, being appris'd of this eruption; and the morning it happened, Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſent, out of particular kindneſs, to Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, one of *Eſſex*'s adherents, and governor of *Plymouth* fort, to come in all haſte to him at *Durham-houſe* to ſpeak with him, and, as the more private way, that he would come by water. *Gorges*, in the *Manuſcript* he writ to vindicate himſelf from the *imputation of betraying Eſſex* by this meeting, avers, that he advertiſed his lordſhip of this meſſage, and that upon council the earl was willing he ſhould go; but directed him to appoint his meeting with *Ralegh* upon the *Thames*, and not to land at *Durham-houſe*; alſo to take with him a guard for ſecuring his return. The conference that paſſed between them, as *Gorges* relates it, was only this: "When Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s boat "came to me, he being all alone, and I having two gentlemen, he told me, that he had "ſent for me to admoniſh me to make all haſte out of the town down to my charge; there "being a warrant out for the ſending me to the fleet. For his kind advertiſement I gave "him thanks; but told him withal, becauſe I knew the preſent occaſion would ſoon diſcover "itſelf, that it came too late; for I had engaged myſelf in another matter. He further in- "quiring of me, what it was? I told him, there were two thouſand gentlemen who had re- "ſolved that day to live or die free-men. He proteſted unto me he heard not of it until that "morning, but did not ſee what they were able to do againſt the queen's authority. My "anſwer was, it was the abuſe of that by him and others, which made ſo many honeſt men "reſolve to ſeek a reformation thereof. His reply was, that no man is without a colour for "his intent; and adviſed me to look to myſelf, and to remember my duty and allegiance. "I anſwer'd, that I knew not any man who did not more reſpect his allegiance than his life, "as the end would make apparent; and thus we parted; he to the court, and I to *Eſſex-* "*houſe*."[d] In the *confeſſion* made by this *Gorges*, eight days after that of their inſurrection above-named, before ſome of the privy-council, it appears, Sir *Chriſtopher Blount* had perſuaded him to murder or ſeize Sir *Walter Ralegh* at this meeting upon the water.[e] For not doing either, *Gorges* apologizes in the *Manuſcript* aforeſaid after this manner. "If it be de- "manded of me why I did not then take Sir *Walter Ralegh*. Firſt, it was not a matter I ever "propos'd; tho' many perſuaded me ſo to do. Secondly, I never held it an act fitting among "men to betray any that repoſe truſt in us; and he putting himſelf into my hands, with what "honeſty could I have avowed ſo barbarous a deed, unleſs he had given me the firſt occaſion "by violent deeds or unkind words; for either of which, I was both reſolved and prepared. "And at my return, I deliver'd unto my lord what had paſſed between Sir *Walter Ralegh* "and myſelf, which he received with applauſe, as may be teſtified by thoſe who were preſent, "and yet alive."[f] Laſtly, in another part of the ſaid *Manuſcript*, *Gorges* ſays, "The "reaſon why I acknowledge I had means to have taken or killed Sir *Walter Ralegh* was, the "better to make it appear, that there was neither malicious or butcherous courſe intended to "him or any; and alſo to give him cauſe to acknowledge himſelf in that reſpect beholden "unto me; whereby to take from him occaſion to exerciſe his power (which I knew to be "great at that juncture) to my ruin. For I did believe, he could not in reaſon be ſo void of "human reſpect, as not to requite one courteſy with another; as alſo it was no matter of "treaſon againſt her majeſty, but rather a manifeſtation of the contrary, approving this in- "tent to be particular againſt Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and others."[g] This is the conference which "paſſed between them a few hours before the inſurrection, as *Gorges* has repreſented it.

His conference with Sir *Ferd. Gorges*, an accomplice in *Eſſex*'s *inſurrection*.

After *Eſſex*, with his party, had made ſeveral excurſions, and ſome perſons had been ſlain both on his ſide and the queen's. After he had been proclaimed a traitor by the king of arms in ſeveral parts of the city; and was driven, by water, to ſeek garriſon in his own houſe; we find *Ralegh* mentioned among the ſeveral nobles and knights who inveſted it; tho' he appears in no particular action againſt the ſaid earl or his company. But, when the earl ſoon after ſurrender'd himſelf, and was brought to examination, he profeſs'd that he was to have been aſſaulted or aſſaſſinated by his private enemies; of this we have the following account publiſh'd by authority. "As in all former diſcontentments, he had "gone the beaten path of traitors, turning their imputation upon counſellors and perſons of

[d] A brief anſwer *to certain falſe, ſlanderous, and idle* objections *made againſt* Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, *as if he had been a man on purpoſe employed to practiſe the ruin of the late* earl of Eſſex, &c. *written by* himſelf *in the* Gate-houſe, June 14. 1601. Containing 4 Sheets: In the *Cotton* library, under the Effigy of *Julius* F. VII. fol. 428. cap. 2.

[e] See a declaration of the practices and treaſons, attempted and committed by *Robert*, late earl of *Eſſex*, and his accomplices, againſt her majeſty and her kingdoms, and imprinted by *Robert Barker*, the queen's printer. 4to. 1601.

[f] Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*'s *brief anſwer* (as before.)

[g] Idem, cap. 5.

credit

" credit with their ſoveraign: ſo now he was forced to deſcend to the pretext of a private " quarrel; giving out, how that evening, when he ſhould have been called before the lords of " the council, there was an ambuſcade of muſketeers placed upon the water, by the device of " my lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, to have murder'd him in the way as he paſs'd. A Slander'd by *Eſſex*. " matter of no probability (continues my author) thoſe perſons having no ſuch deſperate eſtates " or minds as to ruin themſelves and their poſterity by committing ſo odious a crime. On the " contrary, it was certain, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* accuſed *Blount* of perſuading him to kill, or " at leaſt apprehend Sir *Walter Ralegh*; and that *Gorges* rejecting this advice, *Blount* ſent four " ſhot after him in a boat, which *Blount* deny'd not; and aſked *Ralegh* forgiveneſs for it at " the time of his death." [a] But there were other improbabilities to diſcredit this ſlander (as we may ſafely call it, ſince the ſtate call'd it by a groſſer name) beſides that the perſons ſo accuſed had reputations and eſtates better eſtabliſh'd, than to overthrow them by ſuch a deteſtable deed; " as *Eſſex*'s declining to produce or name any author of ſuch an information: be- " ſides his varying from himſelf (like the judges, in the ſtory of *Suſannah*, from one another) " in the place; as one while he was to have been murder'd in his bed; and another, on the " water: alſo in the time and perſons; as that it was to have been done by *Jeſuits*, and ſome " days before: ſo that in the end, this accuſation by *Eſſex* was reſembled to the action of *Pi-* " *ſiſtratus*, who proceeded ſo far in this kind of fiction and diſſimulation, that he lanced his " own body, and came wounded before the people, as tho' he had been aſſaulted by his " private enemies; thus obtained a guard about his own perſon, whereby he afterwards uſurped " upon the ſtate." [b] Further, what may perfectly clear up the innocence of *Cobham* and *Ra-* Cleared. *legh* from this unworthy calumny, is the acknowledgment which *Blount* made at his own trial; when, being aſked by ſecretary *Cecyll*, " Whether he thought my lord *Cobham* and Sir *Wal-* " *ter Ralegh* intended any ſuch aſſaſſination of the earl? he anſwer'd, that he did not believe " they ever meant any ſuch thing, nor that the earl himſelf feared it; only, *it was a word caſt* " *out to colour other matters.*[c]" And laſtly, what may tend to prove, that *Ralegh* did rather compaſſionate and incline to befriend the earl, than harbour any enmity that was implacable againſt him, is, that one of the earl's own faction, captain *Thomas Lee*, ſhould have ſuch hopes, that *Ralegh* might be perſuaded into the danger of diſobliging the queen by importunity, or other violent means, for retrieving both *Eſſex* and *Southampton* from the jaws of death, as, by way of propoſition, to tell Sir *Robert Croſs*, who had been an old officer under *Ralegh* in ſeveral engagements at ſea, " That Sir *Walter Ralegh* might get himſelf eternal honour and love, " more than ever he can otherwiſe, if he would procure her majeſty's warrant to free the lords; " which he might compaſs, by undertaking her perſon:[d]" for this does not only ſhew the opinion that was held of *Ralegh*'s power with the queen, but the probability that he might be induced to exert it for the reſcue of thoſe noblemen. We find he did uſe his intereſt for ſome Procures a who were drawn in unawares, and got a pardon for Sir *Edmund Bainham*; alſo for *John Littleton*, and *Orell* a brave old ſoldier: the two former were men of fortune, and their purſes might bleed, or be threaten'd upon this occaſion. But, as *Camden* obſerves, few paid the fines laid on them. pardon for ſome of the confederates.

On the 19th of *February*, *Eſſex* was arraign'd at *Weſtminſter*; and we find, in his *trial*, that Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with forty of the queen's guard, was, as captain thereof, there preſent upon duty. [e] *Ralegh* was here examin'd about the *conference* before-mention'd; and all he ſaid was, " That *Gorges* told him on the water, *Eſſex* had put himſelf into a ſtrong guard at his " houſe; and this would be the bloodieſt day's work that ever was; wiſhing he would ſpeed " to court for the prevention of it; and that he himſelf wiſhed *Gorges* to refuſe their company, " elſe he would be undone,[f]". This is all *Ralegh* ſaid of that conference; which *Gorges*, here alſo in court, confirm'd. But *Eſſex* ſeems to charge *Gorges* with prevarication, where he replies, " Whatſoever Sir *Walter Ralegh* hath ſaid, differeth altogether from that which Sir *Fer-* " *dinando* told us at *Eſſex-houſe*, upon his return from the water." And indeed it is not likely he ſhould tell *Eſſex* he adviſed *Ralegh* to go to court and prevent the inſurrection. Six days after, *Eſſex* was beheaded in the *Court-yard* of *London Tower*. Among the many perſons of

[a] See the firſt confeſſion of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* in the *declaration* of *Eſſex*'s *treaſons*, as before, in the laſt leaf of the letter E.

[b] Idem, in the 2d leaf of H. See alſo Mr. *Fra. Bacon*'s ſpeech at the earl of *Eſſex*'s *trial*, in the firſt vol. of *State-Trials*, 2d edit. 1730, fol. 197.

[c] The trial of Sir *Chriſtopher Blount*, &c. from a very old MS. of *Peter Le Neve*, Eſq; *Norroy*, in the additional collection of *State-Trials*, vol. VII. now at the preſs, fol. 50.

[d] The arraignment and judgment of captain *Thomas Lee*, &c. in the ſame volume, fol. 45.

[e] The earl of *Eſſex*'s *Trial* in the firſt vol. of *Trials* as before, fol. 190.

[f] Idem, fol. 194.

diſtinction, there preſent was Sir *Walter Ralegh*, probably in his charge again as captain of the guard. He ſtood near the ſcaffold, according to his own aſſertion; that he might better anſwer, if *Eſſex* ſhould be deſirous of ſpeaking to him. But his enemies expounded his preſence there in ſuch a barbarous ſenſe, ſays *Camden*, as if he had preſſed near the place of execution, only to feaſt his eyes with the tragedy of the earl's ſufferings; and the greateſt or moſt notorious of *Ralegh*'s enemies (who is known to us) he who betrayed him to his own untimely end, as will be obſerv'd, did after *Ralegh*'s death, when he could not anſwer for himſelf, inſinuate, that he not only inſulted upon *Eſſex* being dead, but even plotted his downfal, as that "he had called the earl's ſaintſhip in queſtion," had writ in ſome letters, "that the great boy "died like a calf, and like a craven;" and that, ſoon after the execution, a gentleman, returning from *Spain*, touched at *Sherborne*, who, being aſked by *Ralegh*, "what they ſaid in "*Spain* of *Eſſex*'s death?" anſwered, "They had not heard of it; but he was ſorry to hear, "that in the *Iſland* voyage the earl had brought him to his mercy;" to which, that *Ralegh* anſwer'd, "but I truſt I am now quit with him;" and, as a more evident demonſtration, ſays, that the night before the earl's ſuffering, "*Ralegh* gave inſtructions to the lieutenant of the *Tower* for "the execution of the warrant:" which ſurely he did not do without authority. But theſe particulars, it muſt be obſerved, come *from* the perſon ſtigmatiz'd with having enſnared *Ralegh* to his deſtruction, and *to* the perſon who deſtroyed him, with endeavour to palliate the conduct of both to the world.[a] And as we find thoſe obloquies gave not ſatisfaction to their author's contemporaries: ſo we have produced them, that they may not eſcape the reception they deſerve of poſterity. As for *Ralegh*'s comportment to *Eſſex*, we may gueſs what it was while the earl was alive, ſince he made no exceptions to it at his death, when he had free liberty of ſpeech; and when *Ralegh* came to the ſame end, it appears by his laſt words, that he had relented more at the earl's fate, than any thing we hear of in his pretended friends; and that he retir'd from the ſight of the earl at the time of his death, in compliance with the miſconſtruction of the populace, tho' he afterwards repented it; ſince the earl had a deſire to ſee and ſpeak with him before he took his farewel of the world.

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[d] *Chronologie Septenaire de l'Hiſtoire de la Paix entre les Roys de France, & d'Eſpagne, par P. Victor Cayet*, 8vo. 1605, p. 233, b.

[e] "Whereas certain *French* writers have mention'd, "ſays *Camden*, that the queen ſhewed to *Biron* the earl of "*Eſſex*'s ſcull in her cloſet, or according to others fixed "upon a pole; it muſt needs be a ſtory as ridiculous as "falſe; ſince that was interr'd with his body." *Annal "Eliz.* 1601.

[f] At the end of *Heywood Townſhend*'s *Hiſtorical Collections* of q. *Elizabeth*'s four laſt parliaments.

"of

" of men to manure or uſe their ground at our wills; but rather let every man uſe his " ground to that which it is moſt fit for, and therein uſe his own diſcretion. For halſiers, " cables, cordage, and the like, we have plentifully enough from foreign nations; and we " have countries here in *England* that make uſe thereof in abundance: and the bill of *Tillage* " may be a ſufficient motive to us in this caſe, not to take the courſe that this bill intends. For " where the law provides, that every man muſt plough the third part of his land; I know " divers poor people have done ſo, to avoid the penalty of the ſtatute, when their abilities have " been ſo poor, that they have not been able to buy ſeed-corn to ſow it withal; nay, they " have been fain to hire others to plough it; which, if it had been unplough'd, would have " been good paſture for beaſts, or might have been converted to other good uſes."[a] Upon this motion, all the houſe bid away with the bill: but it was put to the queſtion, whether it ſhould be committed or no? Some doubt ariſing, the houſe was divided; and the *Yea's* were 103, the *Noes* 162: ſo the bill was not committed. It was afterwards put to the queſtion for ingroſſing; and, notwithſtanding Mr. *Comptroller*'s ſpeech for the weight of it (which is not preſerved) it was deny'd, and ſo abſolutely rejected. Three days after, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was at the committee in the houſe, touching the ſubſidy. Here he moved them to conſider for what intent they came thither, and now in their coming, what was to be conſider'd. " For the " ſubſidy, ſaid he, the manner and quality thereof, I will now only intimate thus much to you; " that the laſt parliament, only three ſubſidies were granted, upon fear that the *Spaniards* were " coming; but now we ſee they are come, and have ſet foot even in the queen's territories " already; therefore, are the more of us to be reſpected and regarded. And ſeeing the ſale " of her majeſty's own jewels; the great loans her ſubjects have lent her, yet unpaid; the continual " ſelling of her lands, and decaying of her revenues; the ſparing even out of her own purſe " and apparel for our own ſakes, will not ſerve; but ſhe muſt yet be fain to call her court of " parliament for our advice and aid in this caſe; I wiſh, for my part, as a particular member " of the common-wealth, that we may not do leſs than we did before; and that we may alſo " bountifully, according to our eſtates, contribute to her majeſty's neceſſities, as they now ſtand." This ſpeech was confirm'd by many other members, and met with no oppoſition that we read of. But the manner of raiſing this ſubſidy created ſome ſhort debate; in which Sir *Francis Haſtings* moved, that the *three pound* men might be exempted; and all others, above that rate, to pay according to the *rate*, to make up a full ſubſidy. To this Sir *Walter Raleigh* anſwer'd, " If all pay, none will be aggrieved; if any be exempted, doubtleſs it will breed much grief; " the feeling will be great to thoſe *three pound* men that will feel any thing, but it will be no- " thing to them that know any thing." Sir *Edward Hobby*, who, it ſeems, ſat near the door, not hearing well this ſpeech, ſaid, " You ſhould ſpeak ſtanding, that the houſe might hear " you." *Raleigh* anſwer'd, " That being in a committee, he might ſpeak ſitting or ſtand- " ing:" ſo (without riſing) repeated his former words. In the end this propoſal was agreed to, and ſecretary *Cecyll* reported to the whole houſe, " that moſt voices concluded, there ſhould " be no exception of the *three pound* men, becauſe, according to their rate, ſome were aſſeſs'd " under value; beſides, ſeparation might breed emulation, ſuſpicion of partiality and confu- " ſion." Yet when *Cecyll*, among thoſe who lanched out,[b] carried the matter ſo high, as to ſay, " that neither pots or pans, nor diſh nor ſpoon, ſhould be ſpared, when danger is at our " elbows; nor would by any means have the *three pound* men excluded, becauſe he'd have the " king of *Spain* know, how willing we are to ſell all in defence of God's religion, our prince " and our country;" and when Mr. *Francis Bacon*, in his ſpeech, concluded it was " *Dulcis* " *tractus pari jugo*; therefore the poor, as well as the rich, not to be exempted:" *Raleigh* did anſwer; " I like it not, that the *Spaniards*, our enemies, ſhould know of our ſelling our pots " and pans to pay ſubſidies; well may you call it policy, as an honourable perſon alledg'd; " but I am ſure it argues poverty in the ſtate. And for the motion that was laſt made, *Dulcis* " *tractus pari jugo*: call you this *par jugum*, when a poor man pays as much as a rich? and " peradventure his eſtate is no better than it is ſet at, or but little better; while our eſtates are " *three or four pounds*[c] in the queen's books, and it is not the hundredth part of our wealth;

His ſpeech for the *ſubſidy*.

[a] *Townſhend*'s *Hiſt. Coll.* fol. 188. Sir *Simon Dewes* omits this ſpeech by Sir *Walter Raleigh* upon that bill, and makes ſome errors in his account of its commitment. *See his* Journal, fol. 1708, p. 626.

[b] Of whom, none more remarkable than ſerjeant *Heale*; who marvelled much the houſe ſhould demur upon granting this ſubſidy, or in the time of payment; " When all " we have, ſaid he, is her majeſty's; and ſhe may law- " fully, at pleaſure, take it from us: yea, ſhe has as " much right to all our lands and goods, as to any re- " venue of her crown." At which the houſe humm'd and laugh'd. " Well, all your *humming*, ſaid the ſerjeant, " ſhan't put me out of countenance." So to mend the matter, he told them, " he could prove his former poſition " in the time of king *Henry* III, k. *John*, k. *Stephen*, " *&c.*" At this, the houſe was louder than before, till they humm'd the ſerjeant into his ſeat; but he was afterwards more particularly expos'd for theſe ſlaviſh principles.

[c] So *Heywood Townſhend*, fol. 204. But, *thirty or forty pound*, in Sir *Simon Dewes*, fol. 633.

" therefore

" therefore it is neither *dulcis* nor *par*." This might flow as well from the natural ſource of his own benignity, as from any compliance with the queen's inclination to favour the poorer ſort, for whom *Ralegh* ſeems, by her command, to have before indeed been a choſen advocate: [a] but he knowing, as well as the reſt of the members, by former experience, that ſuch a ſupply, as her majeſty now wanted, being no leſs than *three hundred thouſand pounds*, according to *Cecyll*'s repreſentation, could not be raiſed, if ſuch an exemption were admitted of; the former propoſition prevail'd, and the *three pound* men were neceſſarily included.

When the complaint againſt monopolies was made on the 20th of *November*, and Dr. *Bennet* mention'd that of cards, I can't perceive how it could be juſtly obſerved in the journals, to make any change in the countenance of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; ſince in the ſame journals it is alſo obſerved, that the patent for cards was now granted to *Edward Darcy*. [b] But, when Mr. *Martin* ſpoke of a " country that groaned under the burthen of monſtrous and unconſcionable " ſubſtitutes to *monopolitans* of ſtarch, tin, fiſh, cloth, oil, vinegar, ſalt, and what not." Sir *Walter Ralegh* reply'd, " I am urged to ſpeak in two reſpects; the one, becauſe I find myſelf " touched upon in particular; the other, in that I take ſome imputation and ſlander to be " offered unto her majeſty: I mean by the gentleman who firſt mention'd *tin*. For that being " one of the principal commodities of this kingdom, and being in *Cornwall*, it has ever (ſo " long as there were any) belonged to the *dukes* of *Cornwall*; and they had ſpecial patents of " privilege. It has pleaſed her majeſty freely to beſtow on me that *privilege*, and that *patent*; " being word for word the very ſame the *duke*'s is. And becauſe, by reaſon of my office of " *Lord-warden* of the *Stannaries*, I can ſufficiently inform this houſe of the ſtate thereof, I will " make bold to deliver it unto you. When the *tin* is taken out of the mine, and molten and " refin'd, then is every piece, containing a *hundred* weight, ſealed with the duke's ſeal. And In right of his *patent* for the *pre-emption* of *tin*. " by reaſon of this privilege (which I now have) he ever had the refuſal in buying thereof; " for the words of the patent are, *Niſi nos emere voluimus*. Now I will tell you, that before " the granting of my patent, whether *tin* were but at *ſeventeen ſhillings*, and ſo upward to *fifty* " *ſhillings* a hundred; yet the poor workman never had but *two ſhillings* a week, finding him- " ſelf: but ſince my patent, whoſoever will work, be tin at what price ſoever, they have four " ſhillings a week truly paid: there is no poor that will work there, but may, and have that " wages." But, notwithſtanding his merit, as well as right, *Ralegh* concluded, ſaying, " Yet if " all others may be repeal'd, I will give my conſent as freely to the cancelling of this, as any " member of this houſe." It is noted, that a great and uncommon ſilence followed this ſpeech. At laſt Sir *Francis Haſtings* ſaid, in reſpect thereto: " I joy to ſee ſo great a reformation, that " we may ſpeak quietly, and be heard peaceably; every man has not alike ſenſe or judgment, " neither is every man's memory alike. I wiſh, that if any gentleman, who ſpeaks of this, " or any other ſubject as curious, ſhall let fall any word amiſs or unpleaſing, that it may be " attributed rather to earneſtneſs, than want of duty." Throughout the further proceedings againſt the numerous monopolies now in force, we find not any mention made of his patent aforeſaid, among thoſe which were particularly promis'd to be revok'd or aboliſh'd as grievances to the ſtate. On the 24th of *November*, Sir *Edmund Morgan* and Mr. *Pemberton*, both members of the houſe, being ſerved with *ſubpœnas* to appear in the court of *Chancery*, the ſame day, at the ſuit of Sir *Walter* and Sir *Carew Ralegh*, they had the privilege granted them. The officers, who ſerved thoſe *ſubpœnas*, were taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant, but ſoon releaſed, upon pleading they knew not thoſe gentlemen to be members of parliament. [c] This is all I find of that ſuit concerning Sir *Walter Ralegh*. On the 2d of *December*, he ſpoke againſt the defects and hardſhips in a *bill* that was read *for reformation of abuſes in inns*; as that, " it would deprive thoſe, who, by their lordſhips or manors, had right to enquire into " the defaults of ſelling liquors by full meaſure, of their privilege; that, by diſabling a man " for ever after of being an inn-keeper, how detrimental it might be to the inheritance of " thoſe who had inns, ſome at a hundred pounds *per annum*; and how dangerous to inn-keep- " ers, who might, by the negligence of a ſervant, ſuffer: all which he left to the diſcretion " of the houſe." [d] After other like objections, by another member or two, we hear no more of it. Soon after, the means of ſuppreſſing the pirates of *Dunkirk*, now grown ſtrong both

And againſt the defects of a *bill* for *reforming of inns*.

[a] Sir *Walter*, ſpeaking of a parliament in the reign of king *Richard* II, wherein a ſubſidy was given only by the better ſort, and the commons ſpar'd, ſays (in the perſon of a juſtice of peace) " I myſelf once moved it in " parliament, in the time of queen *Elizabeth*, who de- " ſired much to ſpare the common people, and I did it by " her commandment; but, when we caſt up the ſubſidy- " books, we found the ſum but ſmall, when the 30 " pound men (perhaps the *cypher* is added by miſtake) " were left out." See *Ralegh*'s *Prerogative of Parliaments*.

[b] *Heywood Townſhend*, fol. 244, 245.

[c] *Dewes*'s Journal, fol. 651, *&c.*

[d] *Townſhend*'s Hiſt. Coll. fol. 278.

in arms and ſhipping, came under the conſideration of this houſe. As one remedy againſt them, it was propos'd, *to reſtrain the tranſportation of ordnance*, and a bill to prohibit the ſame was read a ſecond time on the 8th of *December*; but, before it was committed, there paſſed many ſpeeches upon this important argument. It ſeems, a patent for tranſporting them had been granted to Sir *Henry Nevill*, and the queen's duty thereby roſe to three thouſand pounds a year; yet this profit no ways ballanc'd the inconveniences. For, being carried into all countries that were friends with *Dunkirk*, and confederates with *Spain*, the *Spaniards* had ſuch plenty, that they now uſually ſold a hundred weight of iron ordnance for ſeven ducats and a half. The laws were moreover urg'd in 33 of *Henry* VIII, and 2 of *Edward* VI, which prohibited the tranſporting of gun metal; and tho' guns were not then made of iron, they now were; therefore it was within the power of thoſe laws. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in approbation of this motion, ſaid, " I am ſure heretofore one ſhip of her majeſty's was able to beat ten *Spaniards*; but now, " by reaſon of our own ordnance, we are hardly match'd one to one. And, if the *Low Coun-* " *tries* ſhould either be ſubdued by the *Spaniard*, or yield unto him upon a conditional peace, " or ſhall join in amity with the *French*, as we ſee them daily inclining, I ſay, there is nothing " does ſo much threaten the conqueſt of this kingdom, as the *tranſportation of ordnance*; and " therefore I think it a good and ſpeedy courſe to proceed by way of petition, leſt we be cut " off from our deſires, either by the *Upper Houſe*, or before, by the ſhortneſs and ſudden end- " ing of the parliamant."[a] The generality agreed with him in the needfulneſs of reſtraining this privilege; however, they proceeded by way of bill, which paſſed the commons, but not the lords; for other buſineſs interfering, it fell aſleep till the end of the ſeſſion, and then the ſpeaker *Crook*, who was to repreſent it to her majeſty, forgetting his promiſe, it came to nothing.

Againſt the tranſportation of *ordnance*.

For repealing the ſtatute of *tillage*.

On the 9th of *December* the diſpute was renew'd, whether the ſtatute of tillage ſhould be continued? This ſtatute was made in the time of dearth, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* agreed with

[a] Sir *Walter Raleigh* has alſo written upon this ſubject in two or three places. In his *diſcourſe, touching a war with* Spain, *and the protecting of the* Netherlands, written not long after he made the aforeſaid ſpeech, having told king *James* how he remember'd, that within theſe thirty years, two of her majeſty's ſhips would have commanded one hundred ſail of theirs; and that when he was a captain in *Ireland*, a hundred foot and a hundred horſe would have beaten all the force of the ſtrongeſt provinces: he adds, " but of late I have known an *Eaſterling* fight, " hand to hand, with one of her majeſty's ſhips; and that " the *Iriſh* have, in this laſt war, overthrown with even " or far leſs number. The *Netherlands* (continues he) in " thoſe days, had wooden guns, and the *Iriſh* had darts; " but the one is now furniſh'd with as great a number of " *Engliſh* ordnance as ourſelves, and the other with as " good pikes and muſkets as *England* hath." See *Ralegh*'s *three Diſcourſes*, 8vo. 1702, p. 16. In another *diſcourſe* he afterwards writ, *touching a marriage between prince* Henry *of* England, *and a daughter of* Savoy, ſpeaking of the *Netherlands*, he has theſe words; " Whereas, " in my time, I have known one of her majeſty's ſhips " command forty of theirs to ſtrike ſail; they will now " undertake us one to one, and not give us a good mor- " row: they maſter us both in their number and in their " mariners; and they have our own ordnance to break " our own bones withal. We had reaſon to help them; " but not to help them up to that height, as to make " them able to tread upon our own heads." Thus in the old MS. of that *diſcourſe*, communicated by the noble earl of *Oxford*. Laſtly, in another *diſcourſe* Sir *Walter Ralegh* wrote after this, I mean that *on the Invention of Shipping*, he has more copiouſly argued upon this head. Theſe arguments I ſhall here alſo annex, both as what will exemplify the conſtancy of his judgment, and prove the genuineneſs of theſe diſcourſes; tho' two of them are poſthumous publications, and the other was never publiſh'd. " There is no ſtate, ſays he, grown in haſte, but " that of the *United Provinces*, eſpecially in their ſea- " forces; and by a contrary way to that of *France*, or " *Spain*; the latter by invaſion, the former by oppreſſion. " For I myſelf may remember, when one ſhip of her " majeſty's would have made forty *Hollanders* ſtrike ſail, " and to come to anchor; they did not then diſpute *de* " *mari libero*; but readily acknowledg'd the *Engliſh* to " be *Domini maris Britannici*." And a little further: " But whence comes this diſpute? not from the encreaſe " of numbers, not becauſe our neighbours breed more " mariners than we do, nor from the greatneſs of their " trade in all parts of the world; for the *French* creep " into all corners of *America* as they do, and the *Spani-* " *ards* and *Portugueſe* employ more ſhips by many (fiſh- " ing trades excepted) than the *Netherlands*: but it comes " from the deteſtable covetouſneſs of ſuch particular per- " ſons as have gotten licences, and given way to the " tranſporting of *Engliſh* ordnance. *Fuit hæc ſapientia* " *quondam, publica privatis ſecernere, ſacra profanis*; and " that in ſo great abundance, that not only our good " friends, the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, have furniſhed " themſelves, and have them lying on their wharfs to " ſell to others; but all other nations have had from us, " not only to furniſh their fleets, but to garniſh all their " forts and other places, fortifying their coaſts; without " which, the *Spaniſh* king durſt not have diſmounted ſo " many pieces of braſs in *Naples*, and elſewhere, to arm " his great fleet in 1588. But it was directly proved in " the lower houſe of parliament, *Anno* .... of queen " *Elizabeth*, that there were landed in *Naples* above 140 " *Culverins Engliſh*; ſince which time, and not long ſince, " it is lamentable that ſo many have been tranſported into " *Spain*. But thoſe belike who then determin'd it, and " the tranſporters, have now forſaken the country; and " tho' the procurers remain, I am reſolved they alſo have " forſaken the care of his majeſty's eſtate, and the ho- " nour of this nation. I urge not this point, as thinking " it unfit to furniſh his majeſty's good friends and allies, " who have had with us one common enemy for many " years. But all politic ſtates have well obſerved this " precept, *Ut ſic tractarent amicum, tanquam inimicum* " *futurum*; for, what are all the ſhips in the world to be " valued at, other than a company of *floating tubs*, were " they not furniſh'd with ordnance, either to offend others, " or defend themſelves? If a ſhip of 1000 tons had in " her 1000 muſketeers, and never a great gun; with one " *Crumſter*, carrying ten or thirteen *Culverins*, ſhe may " be beaten to pieces, and her men ſlaughter'd. Certain- " ly the advantage, which the *Engliſh* had by their bows " and arrows in former times, was never ſo great as we " might now have had by our iron ordnance, if we had " either kept it within the land, kept it from our ene- " mies, or imparted it to our friends moderately: for, " as by the former, we obtained many notable victories, " and made ourſelves maſters of many parts of *France*; " ſo by the latter, we might have commanded the ſeas, " and thereby the trade of the world itſelf. But we have " now, to our future prejudice, and how far to our pre- " judice I know not, forged hammers, and deliver'd them " out of our hands to break our own bones withal." See *judicious and ſelect* Eſſays *by Sir* Walter Ralegh. 8vo. 1650, p. 27, 32, *&c.*

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thoſe who were for having it now repeal'd. His reaſon for it was, becauſe "many poor men "are not able to find ſeed to ſow to much ground, as they are bound to plough, which they "muſt do, or incur the penalty of the law. Beſides, all nations abound with corn. *France* "offer'd the queen to ſerve *Ireland* with corn for ſixteen ſhillings a quarter, which is but two "ſhillings the buſhel; if we ſhould ſell it ſo here, the ploughman would be beggar'd. The "*Low-countryman* and the *Hollander*, who never ſow corn, have, by their induſtry, ſuch plen- "ty, that they will ſerve other nations. The *Spaniard*, who often wants corn, had we never "ſo much plenty, would never be beholden to the *Engliſhman* for it, neither to the *Low-coun-* "*tryman*, nor to *France*, but will fetch it even of the very *Barbarian*; and that which the "*Barbarian* has been ſuing for theſe two hundred years (I mean for traffick of corn into *Spain*) "this king, in policy, has ſet at liberty of himſelf, becauſe he will not be beholden to other "nations. And therefore, I think, the beſt courſe is, to ſet it at liberty, and leave every man "free, which is the deſire of a true *Engliſhman*." [a] After other ſpeeches, it was put to the queſtion, whether the bill of tillage ſhould be committed? and it paſs'd in the affirmative. But, it having pleas'd her majeſty to licenſe Mr. *Dormer*, under her letters patents, with a *Non-obſtante*, this ſtatute, to encloſe three hundred acres of ground, he prayed the houſe to admit of this proviſo; therefore it was put to the queſtion, and carried. The *Noes* demanded a diviſion of the houſe: whereupon Mr. *Richard Martin* obſerv'd, the *Noes* had always carried it in this parliament when they came to a diviſion; many ſtaying with the *Yea's*, becauſe they would not loſe their places. Sir *Walter Ralegh* roſe to anſwer him; but many hurrying out to the diviſion, he and *Cecyll*, it ſeems, took ſome diſpleaſure; for, after the diviſion, when Mr. *Dormer*'s proviſo carried it again by a majority, whereby the houſe was ſet quiet, Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſaid, "I thought I had deſerved of the houſe to have been heard to ſpeak, as well as he that ſpake "before the diviſion; and in that I offer'd to ſpeak, and was not heard, I had wrong: for "him that laſt ſpake, it was out of humour, and not out of judgment. Notwithſtanding, I "think it a *monopoly*, and the ſpeech to be both perſuaſion, and to lay a great imputation up- "on the houſe: and this is all I would have ſaid before."

For liberty of ſpeech.

Againſt an encloſure.

Next day came on the queſtion, whether the tax for *Dover-haven* ſhould be continued by force of the ſtatute; which was *three-pence* a ton for the burthen of every ſhip. One member, Mr. *Swale*, objected, that the charge amounted to at leaſt a *thouſand marks* a year, yet the haven was never the better; and that it was grown a proverbial wiſh of any tax, that it would not continue like that of *Dover-haven*. But Mr. *John Boys* ſhewed the conveniency of this haven, and how many hundred pounds worth of ſtones were ready to repair it: Sir *John For-teſcue* alſo obſerv'd, what large ſhips of burthen it would receive; how neceſſary it is for the paſſage of all merchants: as alſo that the tax was ſmall, and the time might be when it would need a great tax at one time. Laſtly, Mr. *Comptroller* having likewiſe expreſs'd how imprudent it was to take away this tax, now they were debating how to defend themſelves from the *Dunkirkers*, which would weaken the moſt neceſſary haven of *England*, Sir *Walter Ralegh* was more particular in theſe words: "There are divers havens which have been famous, and now "are grown to decay, as *Tinmouth*, *Seaton* and *Winchelſey*; *Rye* is of little receipt; *Sandwich* "(as a burgeſs of that town, Mr. *Peak*, ſaid this parliament) is even a going. The tax being "employed as it ſhould be, I hold it both good and neceſſary; and there is no trade of fiſher- "men to *Newfoundland*, but by this haven of *Dover*; which, if the tax be taken away, and "that go to decay, her majeſty ſhall loſe one of the beſt and moſt neceſſary havens of *Eng-* "*land*, which hath all the commodities that Mr. *Comptroller* ſhewed, and lies oppoſite to all "our enemies countries, who may ſoon be with us, and we not able to reſiſt them, or help "ourſelves, ſhould we want this haven. I think it therefore fit this matter ſhould be con- "ſider'd of, and committed:" and ſo it was. [b]

For the tax to repair *Dover-haven*.

The 12th of *December* was read, the third time, a bill for the more diligent reſort to church on *Sundays*, which produced ſeveral ſpeeches in the houſe. The recuſants were very numerous at this time, no leſs than fifteen hundred in *Yorkſhire*, as Dr. *Bennet* affirm'd, which might be one reaſon for now urging this bill; but thoſe, who were no ways popiſhly inclin'd, perceived

[a] *Townſhend*, fol. 299.

[b] Idem, fol. 309. See further on this ſubject, Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Memorial* to queen *Elizabeth*, touching the *port* of *Dover*; being a brief diſcourſe, declaring how honourable and profitable to her majeſty, and how neceſſary and commodious for the realm, the making of *Dover-haven* ſhall be, and in what ſort; with how little charge and great perfection the ſame may be accompliſh'd: printed in a pamphlet, entitled, *An Eſſay on Ways and Means to maintain the Honour and Safety of* England, *&c.* publiſh'd by Sir *Henry Sheers*, Knt. 4to. 1701. There was a *certificate*, touching *Dover-haven*, from Mr. *William Borough*, author of ſeveral other maritime diſcourſes, in a volume of Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s *State-Papers*, relating to the navy, fol. 216; as I find in his *Table-book* of their contents (before-mention'd) p. 41.

ſeveral

ſeveral inſufferable defects in it; as Mr. *John Bond*, who, among other arguments, was not for expoſing the Eccleſiaſtical authority among their enemies, as more impotent than a twelve-penny fine. At laſt there was a proviſo added to it, "That if any man came eight times a "year to church, and ſaid the uſual divine ſervice twice every *Sunday*, and holy-day in his "houſe, with his whole family, that ſhould be a ſufficient diſpenſation." But the bill, weak enough of itſelf, was overthrown by this conjunction, after Sir *Walter Ralegh* had ſhewed, "That all the church-wardens of every ſhire muſt come to the aſſizes, to give information to "the grand jury. Say then there be a hundred and twenty pariſhes in a ſhire, there muſt now "come extraordinarily two hundred and forty church-wardens; and ſay, that but two in a "pariſh offend in a quarter of a year, that makes four hundred and eighty perſons (with the "offenders) to appear: what great multitudes this will bring together! what quarelling and "danger may happen, beſides giving authority to a mean church-warden! how prejudicial this "may be!" with divers other reaſons againſt it, and inſtances of the ambiguities and equivocations in it: and as for the proviſo newly added, "it was a plain toleration from coming "to church; and the parſon could not prevent or conſtrain any, if they read ſervice at home." Hereupon it was put to the queſtion, and the houſe was divided; the *Yeas* went forth, and were a hundred and five, and the *Noes* within were a hundred and ſix: ſo it was thrown out by one voice. But the *Yeas* urging they had the ſpeaker's voice, which would make it even; this grew a queſtion, whether he had a vote? Sir *Edward Hobby* thought he had one; but Sir *Walter Ralegh* argued, "that he was foreclos'd of his voice, by taking that place "which it had pleaſed them to impoſe upon him; and that he was to be indifferent for both "parties;" withal ſhewed, "that by the old order of the houſe, the bill was loſt:" the ſpeaker himſelf confirm'd his obſervation, and confeſs'd, he had not, by cuſtom, any vote. Then Mr. *Boyer*, ſecretary to the lord-treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, would have retrieved it, by ſuggeſting, there was ſome foul play; declaring, a member was pulled back by the ſleeve at going out, and charged Mr. *Dale* of the *Middle-Temple*: to which Sir *Walter Ralegh* anſwer'd, in a humorous manner, "Why! if it pleaſe you, it is a ſmall matter to pull one by the ſleeve, for "ſo I have done myſelf oftentimes;" which, tho' a familiar phraſe for checking or reproving one's ſelf for any weakneſs or error, yet a very diſingenuous and incongruous conſtruction was forced upon it by the *Comptroller* and *Cecyll*; as if, "large was his conſcience, or very flexible, "that, in a matter of this conſequence, would be drawn backwards or forwards by the ſleeve," *Ralegh* took no notice of them, and the ſpeaker being allowed to have no voice, the bill was thrown up, and they took their leave of it. Beſides the ſpeeches *Ralegh* made in parliament, which we have thus drawn together, as far as they are upon record, he appears in the committees of many other bills, and in ſeveral conferences with the lords, as may be ſeen in the journal books of both houſes; but being only mention'd in general, we need not here be ſo particular as to recite them: therefore ſhall only obſerve, that the commons, having granted the queen a liberal ſubſidy, and her majeſty given her royal aſſent to nineteen publick and ten private acts, this laſt parliament, in her reign, was diſſolv'd on the 19th of *December*.

Againſt the defects in the *Sabbath* bill.

In the beginning of the year 1602, Mr. *Carew*'s *Dedication* of his *Survey* of *Cornwall* is dated, as was before intimated; wherein that author has, with ſuch energy, copied forth the moſt amiable diſtinctions of *Ralegh*'s mind: this agreeable picture thereof, and the many other noble attitudes in which we have ſeen it diſplay'd, have made me inquiſitive what portraitures remained of his *perſon*, that we might better judge of the correſpondence between them; how well, in one aſpect, the ſprightleneſs of genius conſorted with the ſolidity of judgment; how well, in one figure, the roughneſs of war, with the ſplendor and magnificence of courts. I have, at laſt, had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing theſe characters united in that portrait of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, ſtill remaining with the deſcendants of his family.[a] It is a half length, repreſenting him in the ſilver armour before-mention'd, and richly adorn'd in the ſkirts, the ſword and belt with diamonds, rubies and pearls. It ſeems, by the darkneſs and fulneſs of the hair, with the freſhneſs and clearneſs of the countenance, to have been the picture of him before his *Guianian* expedition above related; but the inſcription, upon another very old draught in the ſame poſture and habit, mentions his government of *Jerſey*.[b] Farther, to deſcribe this piece here, will be needleſs, ſince it is now brought into ſculpture by an excellent hand, and ready to be made publick. Another painting I have alſo ſeen of him, and this is at full length; probably an

His picture.

[a] 'Tis in the poſſeſſion of captain *William Elwes*, nephew of the lady *Elwes*, grand-daughter of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; and to that gentleman we are oblig'd for the liberty of bringing the ſame into print.

[b] Among the collections of his grace the duke of *Derſet* at *Knowle* in *Kent*.

original

original. It agrees very well with the foregoing, in the form of the face, and colour of the hair and beard; at leaſt as far as may be expected from the hands of different artiſts, ſome alteration perhaps by repairs, and ſome difference of years in the object; whereby he ſeems, in this laſt, more ruddy and tann'd than the other. For, by the inſcription thereon, partly ſtill legible, it appears, that this picture was painted in this laſt year of the queen, above-mention'd; and that his ſon *Walter*, who is likewiſe here drawn by him, was then eight years of age. Further, in this picture the ſtature of Sir *Walter Ralegh* meaſures about ſix feet, is well ſhap'd, and not too ſlender: he is apparell'd in a white ſattin pink'd veſt, cloſe ſleev'd to the wriſt; and over the body of it a brown doublet, finely flower'd and embroider'd with pearl; his belt of the ſame colour and ornament, in which hangs his ſword; and on the other ſide, over the right hip, is ſeen the pommel of his dagger. In his hat, which he has on, is a little black feather, with a large ruby and pearl-drop at the bottom of the ſprig in place of the button. His trunks or breeches, with his ſtockings and ribbon-garters, fring'd at the end, are all white; and buff ſhoos, tied with white ribbons. His ſon, ſtanding under his left elbow, is fair and pret- His ſon's.
tily featur'd; dreſs'd in a blue ſilk jacket and trowſes, guarded down with narrow ſilver gal-
loon; ſtockings blue, and white ſhoos; gloves in the right hand, hat or cap in the left, and a ſilver ſword by his ſide.[a] A year before this, the lady *Ralegh*'s picture was alſo painted, as appears by the date upon it. It is a half-length like the firſt, but painted on board; a high finiſh'd piece, in the labour'd manner of thoſe times, by ſome maſterly hand; has been well
kept, and is doubtleſs an original. It repreſents her a fair handſome woman, turn'd perhaps And his
of thirty. She has on, a dark colour'd hanging-ſleeve robe, tuffted on the arms; and under lady's.
it, a cloſe-bodied gown of white ſattin, flower'd with black, with cloſe ſleeves down to her wriſt; has a rich ruby in her ear, bedrop'd with large pearls; a lac'd whiſk riſing above the ſhoulders; her boſom uncover'd, and a jewel hanging thereon; with a large chain of pearl round her neck, down to her waiſt.[b] Theſe are all the paintings I have ſeen of them, that I can count authentic, or moſt likely to bear any true reſemblance. But have been credibly inform'd of a picture of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in miniature, taken not long before his death; and another at large, repreſenting him alſo in a white ſuit, which he had, beſet with jewels, to the value of threeſcore thouſand pounds; and that one diamond thereof, worth a hundred His rich ap-
pounds, remained in the family till the beginning of the late queen's reign. In this picture parel.
there is a ribbon-garter, fring'd at the ends, ty'd about his left arm. This, according to the tradition that remains in his family, was his lady's (otherwiſe might be thought one of the queen's favours at the *Tilt-Yard*) which he brought one morning, when he was oblig'd to attend her majeſty early, as a token, that, for diſpatch, he had rode a hundred and twenty miles ſince he took leave of her late the night before. But ſuch a number of jewels, which might be call'd extravagance in others, was no expence to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who had many other kinds of treaſure, as well as this in *Spaniſh* prizes, or otherwiſe in traffick with foreign nations; and as for his ſtately appearance in, by wearing of them upon ſome ſpecial occaſions, it is not only confirm'd by circumſtances, in part before-mention'd, but alſo by ſome authors; who are not expected to take notice of it with great commendation: yet the Jeſuit *Drexelius* might perhaps have found more dazling examples to dreſs out his *Dialogue* upon *Attire*, nearer the time he wrote it,[c] and to have parallel'd with the *Roman* emperors he produces, than *Ralegh*; even tho' Sir *Walter* might, upon ſome great aſſemblies at court, have his very *ſhoos* bedeck'd with precious ſtones, that exceeded the value of *ſix thouſand ſix hundred pieces of gold*, as that author relates.[d] All I think here further obſervable upon the pictures of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, is, that after ſo many which may be called genuine, and many more pretended to be ſo, ſtill in being, there have been ſuch frequent occaſions of engraving his effigies for his books; yet we have

[a] This picture of Sir *Walter* and his ſon, did belong to the *Carews* of *Beddington*, whence, by marriage with a daughter of the late Sir *Stephen Leonard* Baronet, it was removed to *Weſt Wickam* in *Kent*; near which place, at a gentleman's ſeat, where there is a copy that was taken from it, I lately ſaw it.

[b] This alſo remains with captain *Ekwes* before-men-tion'd.

[c] As lord *Hay* and others in king *James*'s reign, but above all the duke of *Buckingham*, with whom it was common, at an ordinary dancing, to have his cloaths trimmed with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond hatbands, cockades and earings; to be yoked with great and manifold ropes and knots of pearl; in ſhort, to be manacled, fetter'd and impriſon'd in jewels; inſomuch, that, " at his going over to *Paris* in 1625, he had 27 " ſuits of cloaths made, the richeſt that embroidery, lace, " ſilk, velvet, ſilver, gold and gems could contribute: " one of which was a white uncut velvet, ſet all over, " both ſuit and cloak, with diamonds, valued at *four-* " *ſcore thouſand pounds*, beſides a great feather ſtuck all " over with diamonds; as were alſo his ſword, girdle, " hatband and ſpurs." This from a MS. in the *Harleyan* library. B. H. 90. C. 7. fol. 642.

[d] His words are, " Gualterus Raiolæus, *ille apud An-* " *glicanam* Cleopatram *nimis gratioſus homo, viſus eſt in* " *aulâ crepidas geſtare ita gemmis diſtinctas, ut* 6600, hoc " eſt, *ſex millium ſexcentorum aureorum, et amplius, æſti-* " *marentur. Vide* Triſmegiſtus Chriſtianus: ſeu *triplex* " *cultus, conſcientiæ, cælitum, corporis.*" Authore *Hieremiæ Drexelio*. Duaci 8vo. 1633. lib. 3. cap. 10. ſect. 5. p. 469.

never had, till now, more than *two ſculptures*, which can pretend to have been taken from any paintings; that even theſe are different from any above deſcrib'd; and that all the reſt of the copper prints we have of him, whereof near half a ſcore might be reckon'd, are copies only from the laſt of thoſe two.[a]

AMONG the reſt of the particulars, we ſhall briefly relate of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in this laſt year of the queen's reign; a voyage, which he now ſet out for the ſupply of his colony in *Virginia*, is principally to be remember'd. For tho' he had made an aſſignment of his patent to other undertakers, as is before obſerv'd; yet they making no ſucceſsful progreſs, he was ſo regardful of the *Engliſh* he had planted there, that he ſent to them almoſt every other year, even from the time of the ſaid aſſignment. For, beſides the five voyages before epitomiz'd, which himſelf chiefly was at the expence of, for the firſt plantation of *Virginia*, we are well inform'd of five voyages more; which, ſince thoſe, he ſet forth thither[b] for the relief of his countrymen, as well as for further diſcoveries of thoſe parts, and alliance with the people; and that the laſt of theſe voyages, under the command of captain *Samuel Mace*, was made this year. In all which, Sir *Walter Ralegh* might very well have diſburs'd forty thouſand pounds, as was before obſerv'd; ſince, in a *French* author (lately come to hand) I have found the two firſt voyages only to *Virginia* coſt him and his friends threeſcore thouſand crowns:[c] yet were not the *Engliſh* ſo ſecurely eſtabliſh'd in this moſt promiſing plantation, as Sir *Walter Ralegh* would have had them; for, from the ſhort account we have of this laſt voyage, and other circumſtances, we may obſerve the ſaid colony was much impair'd by the barbarous *Indians*, as indeed *Ralegh*'s purſe ſeems alſo to have been by theſe frequent communications to it. Nor was it without much blood, as well as money, that this ſettlement was at laſt fix'd by the ſucceeding undertakers in the next reign: and all owing to the want of that timely and competent aſſiſtance from the queen or ſtate, whereby the moſt worthy attempts for the publick good were even in theſe, as well as other times, ſo generally ſtarv'd. But *Ralegh* afterwards gave ſome emphatical reaſons for this unhappineſs; whence we may evidently pe rceive, it was to the queen's conſulting ſo much, and relying upon the perſuaſions of her *ſcribes*, men unexperienc'd in all warlike or adventurous enterprizes, narrow domeſtick politicians, or mere courtiers, who were moſt conſtant at her ear; that ſhe ſo frequently *did things by halves*,[d] as well in conqueſts and diſcoveries, as in rewards and preferments, eſpecially of military men.[e]

The number of voyages he ſet forth to *Virginia*.

Thus

[a] Of theſe two *ſculptures* or *prints* of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, the firſt is an extraordinary rarity; inſomuch, that many *virtuoſi* and antiquaries, who have ſearched after, and collected the graved heads of eminent perſons, for many years together, have not ſo much as ever heard of it: the felicity and the favour are therefore the greater, that I have been oblig'd with the ſight of it by general *Dormer*, who has procur'd a freſh and fair impreſſion of it from *France* into his choice and coſtly *collections*; for it is a *French* piece, in the *Octavo* ſize, and graved by *Thomas Leau*, an artiſt, who was encouraged by ſome of our nobility in theſe times for the excellence of his hand. It repreſents him in a cloſe-bodied ſilk coat, laced; agrees pretty well in the features with thoſe before deſcrib'd, eſpecially the high forehead and cornering up of the hair above the right temple. It has a compartment or group at the bottom, diſplaying his victory over the fleet in the bay of *Cadiz*; yet, in the large *Latin* inſcription, expreſſing his titles and offices of command, there is mention made of his government of *Jerſey*: ſo I conclude it was graved between his preferment thereto, and the queen's death. The other print of him, is that which we ſee prefix'd to moſt of the editions of his Hiſtory of the World, whether to the firſt edition I am not yet certain, the oldeſt that I have ſeen being among the heads, annexed to *Henry Holland*'s *Baſilogia*, was graved by *Simon Paſs* in the year 1617, repreſenting him in a cloſe-bodied ſuit, thickly laced; a full laced ruff and truncheon in his hand: alſo when he was more aged and corpulent, than we ſee him in any of thoſe before-mention'd. By the viſible eraſement of a long inſcription that was at the bottom, for the ſubſtitution of that which is more brief, the plate ſhould ſeem to have been graved before that year; but by the truncheon in his hand, not till he had his command as general for his laſt expedition; yet, being probably taken from ſome authentic painting, it lay moſt ready to be copied, when any print was wanting for his leſſer works. This is all I ſhall here obſerve upon the pictures of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; and, for much of this, we are obliged to the knowledge and induſtry of the ingenious Mr. *Vertue*.

[b] See an excellent diſcourſe upon the benefits that may grow to *England* by *American* plantations, entitled, *Virginia*'s *Verger*; in *Purchas*'s *Pilgrims*, vol. 4.

[c] This particular I find in that ſcarce book, mention'd before in this life, fol. 34. entitled, *L'Hiſtoire Notable* de la *Floride*, *&c.* 8vo. *Paris* 1586, dedicated by M. *Baſanier*, an eminent mathematician, *A illuſtre et vertueux Seigneur* Walter Ralegh *Chevalier Anglois*, &c. That editor, in this dedication, expreſſing, among other commendations, the laudable and unſhaken conſtancy wherewith *Ralegh* perſever'd, in advancing the honour and profit of his country, inſtances as moſt evident and freſh in memory, *Les deux voyages faits depuis deux ans ença, par vos vaſſeaux, vers les parties occidentalles; ou vous & aucuns de vos amys n'avez moins employe de* Soixante Mil' eſcus. This dedication is followed with ſome *Latin* verſes on Sir *Walter Ralegh*, by *Johannes Auratus*, the *French* king's poet and interpreter of the *Greek* tongue, an epigram in *Latin*, and an anagram upon Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s name, in *French*, by *Martin Baſanier*: And laſtly, another *Latin* poem, in praiſe of thoſe who had made diſcoveries in the new world, by *Richard Hakluyt*, then in *France*; from all which it will appear, how highly Sir *Walter Ralegh* was diſtinguiſh'd by his ſaid contemporaries among and even above the preceding diſcoverers of unknown countries. For the ſight and uſe of this ſcarce treatiſe among others, as well as ſeveral curious obſervations relating to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, I muſt acknowledge myſelf much beholden to the rare library and courteous communications of Sir *Hans Sloane*.

[d] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s diſcourſe, touching a marriage between prince *Henry* of *England* and a daughter of *Savoy*, fol. MS. p. 14.

[e] "That her majeſty, in her advancement of her men of "war, ſays Sir *Walter Ralegh*, did ſooner believe other "men, than herſelf; a diſeaſe unto which many wiſe "princes beſide herſelf have been ſubject: I ſay, that "ſuch a confidence, altho' it may ſeem altogether to ex"cuſe her noble nature, yet can it not, but in ſome ſort, "accuſe her of weakneſs. And exceeding ſtrange it "were, were not the cauſe manifeſt enough, that *where* "*the*

Thus thoſe ſpeculative counſellors, tho' they could not hinder brave and active ſpirits from budding out into noble beginnings, of moſt hopeful benefit to the common-wealth; yet could, by ſtopping the channel of ſupplies or encouragements, *blite* them from advancing to any fruitful or profitable concluſions; and this, only to bring down thoſe of ſuperior ſervice and merit, to a level with themſelves.

WHETHER the expence of thoſe voyages was the cauſe of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ſelling, about this time, his eſtate, or ſome part of it in *Ireland*, is not ſo expreſly told us, as that it was become leſs advantageous to him ſince the late rebellion in that kingdom. But we find, that a little before Sir *George Carew*, now preſident of *Munſter*, took the caſtle of *Carrigfoyl Kerry*, Mr. *Richard Boyle* (afterwards earl of *Cork*) not only bought a ſhip of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s, call'd the *Pilgrim*, but ſoon after the ſaid preſident conquer'd *Bere-haven* caſtle, he, having adviſed the ſaid Mr. *Boyle* to buy alſo Sir *Walter*'s lands in *Munſter*, ſent him into *England* with two letters; the one to ſecretary *Cecyll*, giving an account of Mr. *Boyle*'s abilities, deſired, that he would introduce him to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and recommended him to this great man (ſays my author) as a proper purchaſer of his ſaid lands; the other letter was written, by Sir *George Carew*, to Sir *Walter Ralegh* himſelf, acquainting him, that the bearer was capable of making the purchaſe; and that he thought he might be willing to diſpoſe of it, ſince the management thereof, in thoſe turbulent times, gave him a great deal of trouble, and the income it produced was very inconſiderable: ſo, after a meeting, the bargain was ſtruck up, and conveyances executed. Theſe lands, ſoon after in the peaceable times, became a great eſtate to Mr. *Boyle*: and this purchaſe, as he afterwards gratefully remember'd in the *Memoirs* he wrote of his own *life* when he was earl of *Cork*, *was the third addition and riſe to his eſtate.* [a]

Sells his eſtate in *Ireland*.

As for the eſtate at *Sherborne*, it appears, he now ſettled it upon his ſon *Walter*; and that the deeds were drawn in *Midſummer*, this preſent year, for ſo we have it from his own words. [b] This ſettlement, as I underſtand it, was of the remainder of the leaſe for ninety-nine years: for tho' the biſhop of *Sarum*, Dr. *Henry Cotton*, had the laſt year aſſign'd over to the queen, the fee and inheritance alſo of the ſaid premiſſes, and her majeſty granted the ſame by her letters patent to Sir *Walter Ralegh* before her death, yet he did not make them over to his ſon, till the ſeventh year of her ſucceſſor. [c] The reaſon of ſettling his eſtate upon his ſon at this time, appears alſo to have riſen from a challenge, which he had lately received from Sir *Amias Preſton* (who had been knighted at *Cadiz* by the earl of *Eſſex* ſince we laſt ſpoke of him) and which *Ralegh* ſays himſelf, "he intended to anſwer." [d] The cauſe of their quarrel I never could meet with in print or manuſcript; yet conceive *Ralegh* had good reaſon on his ſide, becauſe he afterwards ſhewed publickly himſelf, how deliberate he was in his preparations for it, by ſorting his writings, and how reſolved, by ſettling his eſtate. [e] But from what excellent hands ſoever Dr. *Fuller* received his information, that, upon ſome diſtaſte, Sir *Amias* ſent *Ralegh* this challenge; we may be pretty certain from what *Ralegh* has mention'd, that the ſaid information, or this author's account of it, is erroneous, where he adds, "that Sir *Walter* declin'd it." Indeed, I agree he might do ſo, "without any abatement to his valour, "wherein he had abundantly ſatisfied all poſſibility of ſuſpicion, and with great advancement "of his judgment; for having (continues *Fuller*) a fair and fixed *eſtate*, with *wife* and *children* "(*child* he ſhould have ſaid) being a *privy-counſellor* (here he miſtakes again) and *Lord-warden* "of the *Stannaries*;" my ſaid author thinks, "Sir *Walter* looked upon it as an *uneven lay* "to *ſtake* himſelf againſt Sir *Amias*, a *private* and *ſingle* perſon, tho' of good birth and cou- "rage; yet of *no conſiderable eſtate.*" [f] But if *Ralegh* did accept of the challenge, as it appears plainly he did, when he might have had ſuch fair reaſons of evaſion; thoſe inequalities

Settles his eſtate in *England*.

In a challenge.

"*the proſperous actions are ſo exceedingly priz'd, the actors* "*are ſo unproſperous and neglected.* The cauſe, I ſay, "which hath wrought one and the ſame effect in all "times, and among all nations, is this; that thoſe, who "are neareſt the perſon of princes (which martial men "ſeldom are) can, with no good grace, commend, or at "leaſt magnify, a profeſſion far more noble than their "own; ſeeing therein, they ſhould only remind their "maſters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving "leſs honour and reward to men of far greater deſerving, "and of far greater uſe, than themſelves." *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 6. ſect. 2.

[a] See an extract of the ſaid *Memoirs*, in the life of the late earl of *Orrery*, by *Euſtace Budgell*, Eſq; 8vo. 1732, p. 13, 18, 19. But, it ſeems, the ſaid earl of *Cork* was afterwards ſadly plunder'd of his great eſtate; for, at the breaking out of the *civil wars*, he wrote theſe words in a letter to another nobleman. "Thus your lordſhip "ſees in what miſerable condition we are fighting, night "and day, to preſerve ourſelves and our caſtles; for all "we had without doors is loſt; and poor I, that, beſides "my houſe, demeſnes, parks, iron-works, fiſhings, "and other commodities, had a revenue of *fifty* "*pounds per diem*, cannot now truly ſay, that I have *fifty* "*pounds per annum* in certain revenue." Thus in the earl of *Cork*'s letter to the lord *Newbourgh*, chancellor of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland* MS. in the *Harleyan* library, B.H. 90. C. 7. fol. 706.

[b] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s letter to his lady, *Anno* 1603. in his *remains* (laſt edition 12°. 1726) p. 194.

[c] The caſe of *Carew Ralegh*, Eſq; at the committee for ſale of delinquents eſtates, MS. from the collections of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Baker*, of *St. John*'s College, *Cambridge*.

[d] See the trial of Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

[e] Idem.

[f] *Fuller*'s *Worthies* of *England* in *Somerſetſhire*.

in

in *Preſton* will either prove Sir *Walter* a generous adverſary, or that the injury he received from Sir *Amias* was indiſpenſable. Now this repreſentation ſeems to have been officiouſly and unneceſſarily ſhaped to make *Ralegh*'s actions conformable with his writings; for (continues our ſaid author) "this is conſonant to what he has written ſo judiciouſly about *duels*, condemning "thoſe for ill honours *where the* hangman *gives the* garland."[a] However, they were afterwards reconcil'd, as *Fuller* concludes; and, upon the whole, Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſeems to have ſhewn a much more creditable conduct herein, than Sir *Francis Vere* a little while before had done in the difference between him and a certain nobleman.[b]

But here we are no longer to take notice of ſuch open adverſaries; for now, in the very cloſe of this year, on the 24th of *March*, ends the long reign of glorious *Elizabeth*, and now ſets the ſun of *Ralegh*'s external honour and felicity; yet, like that ever active planet, will ſhine reſplendently to the heavens, when he is clouded or eclipſed to mankind. How he fell into this eclipſe, record, the only, or greateſt luminary of time paſt, does but dimly or doubtfully diſcover. All we can do, is diligently to aſſemble every unextinguiſh'd ſpark which darts any light this way; then ſee if they will afford that guidance to the truth, by being congregated, which they have not yet been obſerv'd to yield aſunder. And firſt, we may remember to have before read of the prepoſſeſſions which *Eſſex* is affirm'd to have inſtill'd unto king *James* againſt *Ralegh*; and, after the earl's death, there are ſeveral circumſtances implying that *Cecyll* did the like. For tho' *Cecyll* and *Ralegh* join'd againſt *Eſſex* and his faction; yet, when theſe were overthrown, they divided, and ſeem to have had a trial of ſkill with one another. And one author ſays, that "*Ralegh*, wanting ſtrength, tho' not wit, to be the treaſurer's rival, "periſh'd, becauſe not thought to own humility enough to be his ſervant; it being more ſafe "at court to have many enemies of equal power, than one falſe ambitious friend that has at-"tained to the abſoluteneſs of command."[c] In ſhort, *Cecyll* ſeems to have uſed thoſe arts of inſinuation with king *James* before his coming into *England*; to which *Ralegh* could not bend himſelf. That he then held clandeſtine correſpondences with *Scotland*, is apparent from that ſtory in Sir *Henry Wotton*, who tells us, "that her majeſty, taking the air on *Black-heath*, "attended by *Cecyll* when the poſt rode by; and, hearing he came from *Scotland*, ſhe called "for his packet: *Cecyll*, tho' he knew it contained letters, which, to diſcover, were as ſo "many ſerpents, yet, making more ſhew of diligence than doubt, to obey, called in great "haſte for a knife to rip it up; but, approaching at ſome diſtance with it, he told the queen "it looked and ſmelled ſo ill favour'dly, coming out of the filthy budget, that it muſt needs "be air'd firſt, becauſe he knew how offenſive ill ſcents were to her majeſty: ſo got opportu-"nity to ſeparate what he would not have ſeen,"[d] and ſhe ſmelt nothing of the matter. One talent above the reſt *Cecyll* was not wanting in to recommend him to this new ſoveraign; and this was ſuch a faculty of diſcovering plots, as if he thought he ſhould be looked on as uſeleſs without them. For, as a noble author obſerves, "It ſeemed as neceſſary for him, that there "ſhould be *treaſons*, as for the ſtate, that they ſhould be prevented. And, tho' he created "none, yet he fomented ſome conſpiracies, that he might give frequent evidences of his loy-"alty; having not the advantage of others in perſon to gain eſtimation, therefore did it by "theſe eminent ſervices:"[e] and as for king *James*, he was ſo apprehenſive, ſo ſuſceptible of ſuch impreſſions, that, when he was but croſs'd or diſturb'd in his ſports, he would charge people with *treaſon*: nay, we are particularly told by thoſe who were otherwiſe friends to his memory, that his carver, once at table, giving him accidentally a nick on the finger (as he was routing in the diſh) his majeſty, at the ſight of his own blood, could not forbear calling out *treaſon*; and that *Guſtavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweeden*, was wont to make himſelf merry with this expreſſion: and all this inſtanced, by my ſaid author, to ſhew, that for any clamour of this

Circumſtances preliminary to his fall.

a This curious and copious digreſſion againſt duels, which that author alludes to, is in Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. V. cap. III. S. XVII. ſect. 2. Sir *Walter* has alſo, in his *inſtructions to his ſon*, written a chapter againſt *Private Quarrels*; in which he no leſs wiſely, than bravely, ſays, "Thou ſhalt be in as much "danger in contending with a brawler in a private quar-"rel, as in a battle, wherein thou may'ſt get honour to "thyſelf, and ſafety to thy prince and country; but, if "thou be once engaged, carry thyſelf bravely, that they "may fear thee after." And a little further, "I would "not have thee, for any reſpect, loſe thy reputation, or "endure publick diſgrace; for better it were not to live, "than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from "thyſelf; if it does, it ſhall be better to compound it "upon good terms, than to hazard thyſelf; for, if thou "overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the law; if "thou art overcome, thou art dead or diſhonour'd, *&c.*"

b See *the earl of* Northumberland's *challenge, ſent to Sir* Francis Vere, *with a narrative of the whole proceedings upon it, in the* Cottonian *library*, Titus c. IV. 3.

c See the miſcellaneous works of *Francis Oſborne*, Eſq; the eleventh edit. 1722. vol. 2. p. 75. in his political deductions from the hiſtory and death of the earl of *Eſſex*.

d Sir *Henry Wotton*'s parallel, *&c.*

e Earl of *Clarendon*'s diſparity, *&c.*

kind,

kind, king *James*'s *word* was no *ſlander*.[a] But more directly to our purpoſe there is another writer, who, making ſome critical enquiriy into the preliminaries of Sir *Walter*'s fall, ſays, "Sir *Robert Cecyll*, principal ſecretary of ſtate, fearing the great abilities of *Ralegh*, and being "wearied with the troubleſome impertinences of *Gray* and *Cobham*; all which had joined with "him in deſign againſt the earl of *Eſſex*, their common enemy; *had done their errand to* king "*James* (whoſe counſels he deſir'd to engroſs to himſelf alone) *before his coming into* Eng-"land."[b] And when the king was arriv'd, there was matter enough to exaſperate *Cecyll* againſt *Ralegh*, if, through any deſign of recrimination, Sir *Walter* did preſent to his majeſty a *memorial*; wherein "he reflected heavily upon *Cecyll* in the matter of *Eſſex*; and, vindi-"cating himſelf, threw the whole blame upon the other: further laying open (at the end "thereof) the conduct of *Cecyll* and his father alſo, in the matter of the queen of *Scots* (his "majeſty's mother) bitterly charging the death of this unfortunate queen upon them." However, ſays my author, "this had no influence over the king, and only irritated *Cecyll* the more "againſt *Ralegh*."[c] But what ſeems ſufficient to have incenſed the king alſo againſt *Ralegh*, was his being of that party, who, in regard of the inveterate feuds between *England* and *Scotland*, deſired the king might be obliged to articles; for, as another writes, "among theſe "noble and publick ſpirits, were Sir *John Forteſcue*, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, the lord *Cobham*, "*&c.* all frowned upon after by the king, who had yet the luck to live ſo long as to change "his opinion, and wiſh the number of his countrymen had been limited, and they not ſuf-"fer'd, like locuſts, to devour this kingdom."[d] There were not wanting ſtill other particulars, which might render *Ralegh* obnoxious to a man of the king's jealous diſpoſition; for "he had (at the time of his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne) the daughter and heir of *Baſſet* "to his *Ward*, who was to be married to his ſon *Walter*, her eſtate worth three thouſand "pounds *per annum*; but ſhe was (after his condemnation, we ſuppoſe) taken from him, "and married to Mr. *Henry Howard*, who died ſuddenly at table; and ſhe was afterwards "married to the earl of *Newcaſtle*, who profeſs'd he would never have wedded her, if young "*Walter Ralegh* had been alive; conceiving her, before God, to be his wife, for they were "married as much as children could be."[e] Now theſe *Baſſets*, as we find elſewhere, were thoſe of *Umberlegh* and *Heanton-Court* in *Devonſhire*; who, being deſcended from the *Plantagenets*, laid ſome claim at this very time of the king's entrance to the crown of *England*.[f] But whatever diſcountenance *Ralegh* might receive at his firſt meeting of the king, in his journey from *Scotland*,[g] whence he ſet out on the 5th of *April* 1603, and arrived at *Theobalds*, which was *Cecyll*'s ſeat, on the 3d of *May*, and at *London* four days after; it ſeems not to have amounted to a peremptory diſmiſſion from his majeſty's ſervice or preſence: for we are told, "the king uſed *Ralegh* for ſome weeks with great kindneſs, and was pleaſed to acknowledge "divers preſents which he had received from him being in *Scotland*; for which he gave him "thanks. But, finding him a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs and great actions, he "feared leſt he ſhould engage him in a war."[h] That *Ralegh* was in company with the king;

[a] See the *Regal Apology*: or, the *Declaration* of the *Commons*, &c. *canvaſs'd*; wherein every objection, and their whole charge againſt his majeſty, is clear'd, and for the moſt part retorted, 4to. 1648, p. 24, where that inſtance, of king *James*'s fearfulneſs above related, is mention'd, to clear king *Charles* for continuing *Buckingham* in favour, after king *James* had charged the encreaſe of his laſt fatal illneſs to *Buckingham*'s applying a plaiſter, and adminiſtering a poſſet-drink to him.

[b] Dr. *Peter Heylin*'s *Examen Hiſtoricum*: or, a diſcovery and examination of the miſtakes, falſities and defects in ſome *Modern Hiſtories*, 8vo. 1659. in his animadverſions on *Fuller*'s Church Hiſtory, p. 170.

[c] Dr. *Welwood*'s notes on *Arthur Wilſon*'s hiſtory of king *James*, in the ſecond volume of that collection, which is call'd Dr. *Kennet*'s compleat Hiſtory of *England*, fol. 1706, p. 664; and in a note on the preceding page, the doctor tell us, that memorial of *Ralegh*'s to the king againſt *Cecyll* above-mention'd, is ſpoken of in a manuſcript written by one *Buck*, ſecretary to chancellor *Egerton*.

[d] *Francis Oſborne*'s *Trad. Memorials* of the reign of king *James*, in the ſecond volume of his works, p. 102.

[e] *Obſervations* on ſome particular *perſons* and *paſſages*, in a book lately made publick (by *William Sanderſon*) entitled, a *Compleat Hiſtory* of the lives and reigns of *Mary* queen of *Scotland*, and her ſon *James* the ſixth of *Scotland*, and firſt of *England*, *&c.* by a lover of truth, 4to. 1656, p. 12.

[f] "Sir *Robert Baſſet*, by his grandmother, deſcended "from the *Plantagenets*, and of the blood royal, in the "beginning of king *James*'s reign, made ſome preten-"ſions to the crown of *England*; but, not being able to "make them good, was forced to fly into *France* to ſave "his head; to compound for which, together with his "generous way of living, he greatly exhauſted his eſtate, "ſelling off no leſs than thirty manors of land; tho' there "is now a fair eſtate belonging to the heir of the family." *Prince*'s *Worthies* of *Devon*, fol. 114. See alſo *Wood*'s Ath. Oxon. vol. I. col. 366.

[g] Sir *Richard Baker*'s Chronicle. Alſo Sir *John Hawles*, in his *Reply* to the *Magiſtracy* and *Government* of *England*, *vindicated*, &c. fol. 1689. more expreſly ſays, "*Cobham* "and *Ralegh* were not permitted to come at the king, "upon his journey into *England*, and had word ſent them, "*they might ſpare their labour*." But *Stow* ſays, when the king came towards *York*, his train increaſed by ſuch numbers of gentlemen from the South, as made proviſion ſo dear, that he was fain to publiſh an inhibition againſt the inordinate acceſs: ſo that many were ſtop'd in their way. Thus perhaps the countermand might not be particular of any perſon; however ſome, as we ſee, apply it to *Ralegh*, as others have alſo done to *Cobham*; affirming, the king check'd him for his abſence from his charge at that dangerous time, being then Lord-warden of the *Cinque-Ports*. Dr. *Heylin* as before.

[h] A brief relation of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s troubles, *&c.* 4to. 1669. p. 1. A ſcarce tract in the *Harleyan* library, B. H.

and that ſome of his converſation turned upon this ſubject we have from his own words, where he ſays, "I offer'd his majeſty, at my uncle *Carew*'s, to carry two thouſand men to invade "the *Spaniards* without the king's charge."[a] And this agrees with his writing a diſcourſe, which he did or intended to deliver to his majeſty *againſt the peace with* Spain now in treaty, which ſeems to be the ſame that was a hundred years afterwards publiſh'd by his grandſon.[b] Herein he adviſed his majeſty to protect the *Netherlands*; for, ſays he, *a poor neighbour's houſe, ſet on fire, is to be better guarded or watched, than a great city afar off.* Herein he perſuades the king to deliberate, and not come to a haſty concluſion of peace with the *Spaniards*; *for, when the houſe is built, it is ill mending the foundation.* Herein he ſays, "I dare not "write all I deſire; for I know not to whoſe hands theſe may come. This I beſeech your "majeſty to know, that it proceeds from an humble and a faithful heart, which your majeſty "cannot beat from the love of your royal perſon and good eſtate."[c] And laſtly, I ſhall obſerve, that herein he alſo mentions another diſcourſe, "*how war may be made againſt* Spain "*and the* Indies; which I will, ſays he, alſo preſent your majeſty, if you will vouchſafe the "reading thereof:"[d] but this, I think, has never appear'd in print. The former of theſe diſcourſes is humbly and diſcreetly addreſs'd with variety of arguments and obſervations from his own knowledge and experience; alſo ſtrengthened with many hiſtorical examples of foreign countries, and political maxims or ſentences from the ancient claſſicks: all which he had plentifully at command in any topic he undertook to write, or even ſpeak of: ſuch the extenſiveneſs of his remarks and his reading; ſuch the felicity of his memory and talents of application. But, if reaſon would have prevail'd, it was not wanting alſo from other hands; ſo that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was not ſingular in his diſſuaſions of the king, but had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing foreigners, as well as his own countrymen, ſubſcribe to his ſentiments;[e] and the lord *Henry Howard*, tho' otherwiſe brought into the court-meaſures, yet could not, it ſeems, conſent to theſe of a general pacification; therefore was, as well as *Ralegh*, excluded from the benefit of thoſe rich preſents, which the marquis of *Roſny*, ambaſſador from *France*, made to all thoſe courtiers who promoted the ſame; inſomuch that *Howard*, being aſked by the king *How it happen'd he had not a jewel as well as the reſt?* anſwer'd, in alluſion to *Eſop*'s fable, *Non ſum* gallus, *itaque non reperi* gemmam.[f] The cauſes, which moved the king of *Spain* to ſue for this peace, *Ralegh* did afterwards, with great perſpicuity, lay open;[g] but his preſent oppoſition of it, and the conſequences of that, ſeem to have been the hinges upon which his whole fortune now turn'd; I ſay, the moſt apparent cauſe to me of all thoſe ſorrows and ſufferings which fill up the melancholy remains of his ſtory. This unfortunate event, which he was above ſhunning, by trimming and temporiſing in a matter which he knew ſo highly concern'd the honour and advantage of his country, he has himſelf ſo excellently accounted for, where he ſhews the ill ſucceſs which attends ſuch ſincere conduct, and how proſperity is the fruit of ſlaviſh or hypocritical compliances;[h] that I could not, but from the ſaid occaſion of the greateſt viciſſitude in his life, form the introduction to this account of it.

His writings againſt the peace with *Spain*.

THUS

[a] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Remains, the laſt edit. 12°. 1726. p. 190.

[b] Being one of the *three Diſcourſes* of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, publiſh'd by *Philip Ralegh*, Eſq; 8vo. 1702.

[c] So in a MS. of this *Diſcourſe*, with which I have been favour'd by a noble hand; but the latter part of the period is wanting in the printed copy, p. 45.

[d] Idem, p. 26.

[e] The learned *Dominicus Baudius*, among his *poems*, reprinted at *Leyden*, 8vo. 1607, has one elaborately written to king *James* againſt this peace. At the end of his *Epiſtles* alſo, reprinted at *Amſterd.* 8vo. 1642. p. 523. there is a long *oration* by this author to that prince on the ſame ſubject. And at home, beſides others, a diſcourſe againſt this peace with *Spain* was written, and dedicated by *John Aſkham* to his majeſty, *Anno* 1603. the MS. whereof is extant in the *Harleyan* library, 35. C. 18.

[f] Lord *Bacon*'s Apophthegms, new and old, p. 222.

[g] *Ralegh* lays down five reaſons for the king of *Spain*'s making this peace with *England* and the *Netherlands*: "as *firſt*, his having ſo exhauſted his treaſure, that he "was no longer able to maintain the archduke's army. "*Secondly*, the great interruption of his trade, and loſſes "of his merchants, to the breaking of both his banks at "*Seville*. *Thirdly*, his fear that the *Engliſh* and *Netherlands* would plant in the *Weſt-Indies*. *Fourthly*, to recruit his coffers, and enable himſelf to break into war "again. *Fifthly*, that the *Engliſh* may decline, and forget the paſſages and pilotage to the *Weſt-Indies*, and "their ſea-officers may be worne out; for, except a little "trade for tobacco, there is not a ſhip that ſails that way: "and ſeeing the Spaniards *may hang up the* Engliſh, or "put them to death by torments, as they do; and that "the *Engliſh* dare not offend the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts, "a moſt notable advantage gotten in the concluſion of "the peace! it is certain, that the *Engliſh* will give over "that navigation to the infinite advantage of the *Spaniſh* "king both preſent and future. For theſe cauſes of importance it was, that the Catholic king ſought the "peace of *England* and the *Netherlands*; and ſo much all "men of judgment diſcern." See theſe reaſons more at large in Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Dialogue* between a *Jeſuit* and a *Recuſant*, among the *genuine Remains*, publiſh'd at the end of an *abridgement* of his *Hiſtory* of the *World*, by *Philip Ralegh*, Eſq; 8vo. 1700.

[h] In a curious diſcourſe, where he learnedly and religiouſly reconciles fortune with reaſon and providence, *Ralegh* has theſe words. "But it may be objected, that, "if *fortune* and *chance* were not ſometimes the cauſes of "*good* and *evil* in men, but an idle voice whereby we "expreſs *ſucceſs*, how comes it then, that ſo many worthy and wiſe men depend upon ſo many unworthy and "empty-headed fools? that riches and honour are given "to external men, and without kernel; and ſo many "learned, virtuous and valiant men, wear out their lives "in poor and dejected eſtates? In a word, there is no "other inferior or apparent cauſe, beſides the partiality "of men's affection, but *the faſhioning and not faſhioning* "*ourſelves according to the nature of the times wherein we* "*live*. For whoſoever is moſt able, and beſt ſufficient to

THUS have we ſeen ſeveral circumſtances, and theſe are all I have met with in this interval, whereby *Ralegh* might undeſignedly and unluckily become diſagreeable to a man of king *James*'s temper; but, on the other ſide, little or nothing that could ſo inflame *Ralegh* againſt the king, as to make him run headlong into ſuch violent conſpiracies, as could only end in his own ruin. Suppoſe the king did diſcourage *Ralegh*'s attendance upon him at his entrance, diſlike his patent for wines, or removed him from the guards, to oblige Sir *Thomas Erſkin*, his countryman and favourite, whom he afterwards preferr'd to higher dignities; and this is all I have met with that could give offence on the king's part: will this be thought ſufficient provocation for a man of *Ralegh*'s reaſon and judgment, ſo tender of fame and reputation, ſo ſettled in family, ſo well ſituated in his fortune, no leſs than three thouſand pounds a year, as was confeſs'd at his trial, beſides many other profitable, and I may ſay princely poſſeſſions on the ſeas, as well as the land, to plot commotions or inſurrections; yet enervate himſelf for the execution of them, by reſigning, as he ſays himſelf he did, his office of chiefeſt power, the wardſhip of the *Stannaries*? Nay, further, to herd with a motly and disjointed crew of prieſts, alſo with profeſs'd enemies to himſelf, not to mention knaves and fools; and, on a ſudden, reſolve to turn rebel, ruffian and cut-throat; to be the *Coryphæus*, to murder the king with his own hand, and all his innocent progeny! for this is the charge that the fertile pens of *French* writers have heap'd upon him. Indeed, I was ſomewhat ſtartled, when I read it in a hiſtory that bears the name and character of *Thuanus*, tho' I thought he might poſſibly come at it by miniſterial direction to an *Engliſh* reſident, till at laſt I found his author to be no other than one of his own countrymen, whom *Camden*, as I have before obſerv'd, has refuted in other paſſages that are even more credible. Now theſe tell over this deſperate ſtory thus. In the month of *June* Sir *Walter Ralegh*, *a man equally dexterous at conſultation or action*, ſays *Thuanus*, *and famous for his memorable expeditions to the Indies*, taking leave of his ſiſter at *London*, intreated her to commend him to God in her prayers, for he was going to a place from whence he expected never to return. She, ſuſpecting that he was going to fight a duel, with the ſame levity diſpers'd it among the ladies of her acquaintance, till the rumour came to court. Then *Ralegh*'s friends and relations flock'd about him to know this enterprize; he, apprehending himſelf detected, readily made a whole *confeſſion* and diſcovery of the matter. The king was inform'd, and greatly aſtoniſh'd, but would needs have *Ralegh* before him, who, then aſking his pardon, acknowledg'd, that ſeeing his majeſty give more countenance to the *Scots* than the *Engliſh*, and had depriv'd him of his command in the guards, and that many great men expected, when he was eſtabliſh'd on the throne, he would be reveng'd for the death of his mother, he had therefore enter'd into a conſpiracy with others, whom he named, to ſhed his royal blood; and that they had unanimouſly deputed him to be his majeſty's executioner, when he rode a hunting. Hereupon the ſaid conſpirators were taken up and try'd, as theſe authors proceed to relate. [a] If there had been any truth in this ridiculous ſtory, which I think no one has before taken the pains to relate in *Engliſh*, that *confeſſion* had neither eſcap'd the attorney-general *Coke* at *Ralegh*'s trial, when they were ſo lamely put to it to bring him in guilty without ſufficient proof, nor king *James*'s apologetical *Declaration* after *Ralegh*'s death, in which his majeſty, and his coun-

Accounts of his pretended *treaſon*.

" to diſcern, and has withal an honeſt and open heart, " and loving truth; if princes, or thoſe who govern, endure no other diſcourſe than their own flatteries; then, " I ſay, ſuch a one, whoſe virtue and courage forbids " him to be baſe, and a diſſembler, ſhall evermore hang " under the wheel; which kind of deſerving well, and " receiving ill, we always falſely charge fortune withal: " for whoſoever ſhall tell any great man, or magiſtrate, " that he is not juſt; the general of an army, that he is " not valiant; and great ladies, that they are not fair; " ſhall never be made a counſellor, a captain, or a courtier. Neither is it ſufficient to be wiſe with a wiſe " prince, valiant with a valiant, and juſt with him that " is juſt; for ſuch a one has no eſtate in his proſperity; " but he muſt alſo *change with the ſucceſſor*, if he be *of* " *contrary qualities*; ſail with the tide of the time, and " alter form and condition, as the ſtate or ſtates-maſter " changes: otherwiſe, how were it poſſible that the moſt " baſe men, and ſeparate from all imitable qualities, " could ſo often attain to honour and riches, but by ſuch " an obſervant ſlaviſh courſe?" A little further, having quoted out of *Menander*, " That every fool is won " with his own pride, and the flattering applauſe of " others:" he infers, " That whoſoever will live altogether out of himſelf, ſtudy other men's humours, and " obſerve them, ſhall never be unfortunate. On the contrary, that man, who prizes truth and virtue, except " the ſeaſon wherein he lives be of theſe, and all ſorts of " goodneſs, fruitful, ſhall never proſper by the poſſeſſion " or profeſſion thereof." So, after other learned authorities and proper examples, concludes with the following ingenious alluſions, " Whoſoever therefore will ſet " before him *Machiavel*'s two *marks* to ſhoot at, *riches* " and *glory*, muſt *ſet on*, and *take off*, a *back* of *iron* to a " *weak wooden bow*, that he may fit both the *ſtrong* and " the *feeble*. For as he, who firſt deviſed to add ſails to " rowing veſſels, did either ſo proportion them, as, being faſtened aloft, and towards the head of his maſt, " he might abide all winds and ſtorms, or elſe he ſome " time or other periſh'd by his own invention: ſo that " man, who prizes virtue for itſelf, and cannot endure to " *hoiſt* and *ſtrike* ſail, as the divers natures of *calms* and " *ſtorms* require, muſt cut his ſails and his cloth of mean " length and breadth, and content himſelf with a ſlow " and ſure navigation; to wit, a mean and free eſtate." Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Hiſtory *of the* World, lib. I. cap. 1. ſect. 15.

[a] *Chronologie Septenaire* de *L'Hiſtoire* de la *Paix*, entre les Roys de *France* et *D'Eſpaigne*; par *P. Victor Cayet*, 8vo. *Paris* 1605. p. 424. alſo, L'Unzieſme Tome du *Mercure François*: ou *L'Hiſtoire de noſtre Temps*. 8vo. *Paris*, 1626. p. 352. alſo *Thuanus*, Tom. V. lib. CXXIX. fol. 1056.

cil together, have no leſs lamely offer'd weaker reaſons for taking away his life, as will be fully repreſented in its proper place.

By our *Engliſh* accounts it appears there was ſomewhat of a plot, but it was never prov'd that *Ralegh* was engag'd in it; however, his great enemy, the attorney-general *Coke*, affected to compare him with the conſpirators, "to *Sampſon*'s foxes, which were join'd in the tails, tho' their "heads were ſever'd." What ſhare he had in that plot may further be judg'd by the promotions which the conſpirators intended themſelves upon the ſucceſs of it; for whereas one was to be lord chancellor, another lord marſhal, this lord treaſurer, that maſter of the horſe, and t'other ſecretary of ſtate: how comes it, as one author well obſerves, that *Ralegh*, able to officiate any, had no office in the ſtate aſſign'd him? [a] But perhaps the beſt means to clear him, may be the very *trial*, by which he was condemn'd. 'Tis too common, and too tedious, to be thought needful of tranſcribing it here at length; not to ſay ſo full of barbarous partiality and foul language, eſpecially by *Coke* himſelf, that he was expoſed for it upon the publick theatre; [b] and thoſe, who revere the laws of our country, have been ſo aſhamed of it, as rather to wiſh the proceedings have been falſely related, than believe ſuch a ſentence could paſs upon ſuch unſufficient evidence. But the character of this *trial*, and of that *attorney-general*, I leave to others; [c] and ſhall here only, from the ſeveral copies or accounts of it I have met with, draw out a ſhort regular narrative of the moſt material matters of fact, wherein *Ralegh* appears any way concern'd; and it is as follows:

There was one *Matthew de Laurencie*, a merchant of *Antwerp*, attendant on count *Aremberg*, who now, about the beginning of *June*, came over ambaſſador-extraordinary from *Albert*, archduke of *Auſtria*, to congratulate king *James*, and aſſiſt in compoſing the general peace. With this merchant the lord *Cobham* had held intelligence ſome years before, upon matters of ſtate, with licence. Five days after *Aremberg*'s arrival, that is to ſay, about the 9th of the ſame month, *Cobham* repair'd to him with *Laurencie*, and that night *Cobham* ſupp'd, with Sir *Walter Ralegh*, at *Durham-houſe* in the *Strand*; whereby *Ralegh* came to underſtand, that *Cobham* had freſh negotiations with *Aremberg*; and was, as the chief of thoſe who oppoſed the peace, offered a ſum of money by *Cobham* to be a promoter of it; tho' that offer, alſo made to *Ralegh* before *Aremberg* came, [c] was afterwards pretended, as will appear, to have been for treaſonable purpoſes. In the next month, thoſe perſons with whom *Cobham* tranſacted the conſpiracy (or part of it) then on foot, were diſcover'd; either by the *Spaniſh* faction in revenge to *Ralegh*, the greateſt enemy of *Spain* alive, thinking he was then too far hamper'd in, or acquainted

[a] *Fuller*'s Church Hiſtory, lib. X.

[b] See Mr. *Theobald*'s *Shakeſpear*, 8vo. 1733. vol. II. in the comedy call'd, *The Twelfth-Night*; act 3. p. 503.

[c] The learned and ingenious author of the preface, to the collection of *State-Trials* in ſix volumes folio, having ſpoken of ſuch counſel as are wont to preſs nothing illegal againſt the priſoner, or unreaſonable, nor uſe any artifices to deprive him of his juſt defence, adds, "Theſe will "appear in a different light from thoſe, who, with rude "and boiſt'rous language, abuſe and revile the unfortu-"nate priſoner, who ſtick not to take all advantages of "him, however hard and unjuſt, which either his igno-"rance, or the ſtrict rigour of the law, may give them; "who, by force or ſtratagem, endeavour to diſable him "from making his defence; who browbeat his witneſſes "as ſoon as they appear, tho' ever ſo willing to declare "the whole truth; and do all they can to put them out "of countenance, and confound them in delivering their "evidence, as if it were the duty of their place to *con-*"*vict* all who are brought to *trial*, right or wrong, "guilty or not guilty; and as if they, above all others, "had a peculiar diſpenſation from the obligations of "truth and juſtice. Such methods as theſe ſhould be be-"low men of honour, not to ſay men of conſcience; yet, "in the peruſal of this work, ſuch perſons will too often "ariſe to view: and I could wiſh, for the credit of the "law, that that great oracle of it, the lord chief juſtice "*Coke*, had given leſs reaſon to be number'd among this "ſort." So, as a moſt notorious example, refers us to the trial of Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

Another author before this, having ſhewn us with what temper and ſuperior command Sir *Walter Ralegh* behav'd himſelf under all the ſcurrilities which the *attorney-general* threw upon him, goes on thus. "We have given the "reader a taſte of the eloquence of the bar in that reign, "to ſhew how far the hopes of places and preferment "will ſometimes carry men of ſenſe and learning from "reaſon and juſtice. This *Billingſgate* way of arguing "is the more remarkable in a perſon of the lord *Coke*'s "character, whoſe writings are ſtill oracles in *Weſtminſter-*"*hall*; and ſcolding and calling of names were commonly "the refuge of ſuch wretched lawyers as were the tools "of a party; who, having neither ſenſe, law, nor lan-"guage on their ſide, thought to ſupply the want of them "with railing and impudence: which kind of baiting "and worrying of *ſtate priſoners* to death, by the king's "*counſel*, was reviv'd by judge *Jefferies* in king *Charles* "and king *James* II's reign; and it being much eaſier to "call a man rogue, than to prove him ſo, the example he "ſet was followed by too many, till the reverend bench of "judges in the reign of king *William* and our preſent "ſoveraign queen *Anne*, frown'd upon that cruel practice, "and put an end to it." The *Life* of Sir *Walter Ralegh* in *Lives Engliſh* and *Foreign*. 8vo. 1704. vol. I. p. 124.

And before all this, even to *Coke*'s own face, as much was objected, when he himſelf was humbled, and fallen into diſgrace, by one of his own acquaintance, who told him, "As your pleadings were wont to inſult over miſery, "and inveigh bitterly againſt the perſon, ſo are you ſtill "careleſs in this point, to praiſe and diſgrace upon ſlight "grounds, and that ſuddenly; ſo that your reproofs or "commendations are for the moſt part neglected and "contemn'd, when the cenſure of a judge, coming ſlow, "but ſure, ſhould be a brand to the guilty, and a crown "to the virtuous. You will jeſt at any man in publick, "without reſpect to the perſon's dignity or your own. "This diſgraces your gravity, more than it can advance "the opinion of your wit; and ſo do all actions which "we ſee you do directly with a touch of vain-glory. "You make the laws too much lean to your opinion; "whereby you ſhew yourſelf to be a *legal tyrant*, &c." Thus in a *letter admonitory* to the lord *Coke*, MS. ſign'd A. B. in a volume of *State-Letters*, among the curious collections of the lord *Coleraine*, fol. 772. This *Letter* is alſo printed in the *Cabala*, and an extract of it in *Arthur Wilſon*'s Hiſtory of king *James*.

[c] The arraignment of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, printed in *J. Sherley*'s account of his life, 8vo. 1677. p. 124.

with

with it to escape; or by some one of the *English* conspirators to secure himself: and, when the lord *Cecyll* (for he was lately made baron of *Essenden*) found, upon the first news of *Anthony Copley*, one of these conspirators, who was apprehended the 6th of *July*,[a] that the king's person was to be surpriz'd by the lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and *George Brook*, brother to the lord *Cobham*, he suspected *Cobham* himself was in the secret; and *Cobham*'s great intimacy with *Ralegh* at this time, who was now buying an estate for him, and settling his household affairs, drew *Ralegh* also into suspicion. Hereupon *Cecyll*, meeting *Ralegh* upon *Windsor* terrace, tells him, "the lords of the council had something to say to him;" so he was examin'd about the *surprizing treason*, and particularly about *Cobham*, as appears from his own words,[b] whom he fully cleared. After examination, *Ralegh* further said: "Whatsoever correspondence there "was between *Cobham* and *Aremberg*, *Laurencie* might be better able to give account of it, there- "fore advised to the calling upon him;" tho', as he further explain'd, "he knew of no intelli- "gence between them, but such as might be warranted:" and that advice he wrote also in a letter to *Cecyll*. When *Ralegh* return'd from examination a private prisoner to his own house, *Cobham* sent to him to know what had pass'd; *Ralegh* writ an answer by captain *Keymis*, "that he was examin'd, and had clear'd him of all;" and *Keymis* bid *Cobham* "be "of good comfort, for one witness could not condemn him:" this precaution, to arm *Cobham* against making discoveries, was, after his confession of it, objected against *Ralegh*; but he utterly deny'd, that he sent any such verbal message.[d] Now when *Cobham* was brought to his examination at *Richmond*, one date whereof appears to have been *July* 18; and after he had, by a constant denial, cleared both himself and *Ralegh* of all that was question'd against them, *Cobham* was, *by device*, says my author (in an epistolary narrative of his trial, at which he was present[e]) induced to think, that *Ralegh* had first impeach'd and betray'd him. For that part of *Ralegh*'s letter aforesaid to *Cecyll*, referring the lords to *Laurencie* for *Cobham*'s transactions with *Aremberg*, being shewed to *Cobham*, and accompanied, it seems, with such artful suggestions as were proper to inflame a man of *Cobham*'s weakness, had the desired effect; for he being led thereby to imagine that *Ralegh* had accus'd him of all, or more than he knew, burst out into vehement exclamations against *Ralegh*, and in his rage, or madness, made the following confession. "That having a passport to go to the *Spanish* king, he in- "tended first to confer with the archduke; and, because he knew he had not money to pay "his own army, meant from thence to go to *Spain*, to deal with the king for *six hundred* "*thousand crowns*, then to return by *Jersey*; and that nothing should be done about the "distribution of that money to the discontented in *England*, till he had spoken with Sir *Wal-* "*ter Ralegh*: Further, that he had never enter'd into these courses, but by his instigation. "He spake also of plots, but of the particulars could give no account; yet acknowledg'd he "was afraid that *Ralegh*, upon his return to *Jersey*, would have him and the money to the "king."[f] After all this, before *Cobham* departed to the stair-foot, he retracted his confession, and profess'd he had done *Ralegh* wrong:[g] nor does it appear, says my author, that he did subscribe it.[h] In another branch of his examination, *Cobham* said he had of *Ralegh* a book, written against the king's title, which he gave to his brother *Brook*, and that *Ralegh* said it was foolishly written. But this he also retracted, as we shall hear. Upon this, and other parts of his confession more foreign to *Ralegh*, concerning the advancement of lady *Arabella Stuart* to the crown, as also from that of *George Brook*, a known enemy to *Ralegh*, as *Cecyll* could not deny; "asserting his brother *Cobham* told him (tho' *Cobham*, in his confession, re- "fused to own it) the lord *Grey* and others were only on the *bye*, but he and *Ralegh* were "on the *main*; thereby *meaning*, said *Brook*, the taking away of the king and his issue;" together with what *Ralegh* acknowledg'd in his own examination; "That *Cobham* offer'd him "*eight thousand crowns* for his furtherance of the peace, tho' the lord *Cecyll* and earl of *Nor-* "*thumberland* were to have the same proffers;"[i] and that in some discourses he might have said, "the way to invade *England* was to begin with stirs in *Scotland*." Upon these circumstances, I say, *Ralegh* was indicted at *Stains* on the 21st of *September* following;[k] and from hence that heavy indictment appears to have been accumulated upon him, which we see prefixed to

Accused by lord *Cobham*.

Who retracts the accusation.

[a] *Stow*'s Annals, fol. 826.
[b] Arraignment, in *Sherley*'s Life of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, &c. p. 98.
[c] Id. p. 110.
[d] Id. p. 140.
[e] Letter from a member of parliament to Mr. *John Donne*, concerning the arraignment of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, MS. among the collections of *Rodney Fane*, Esq; The same is also printed in Sir *Toby Mathews*'s collection of letters, 8vo. 1660. p. 281.
[f] Arraignment of Sir *Walter Ralegh* as before, p. 97.
[g] Id. p. 109.
[h] Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s copy of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s arraignment, printed 4to. 1648, p. 15.
[i] Idem, p. 12.
[k] *Stow*'s Annals, fol. 830.

his trial. Three days afterwards *Cobham* and *Grey* were alſo indicted at the ſame place; and, not long after this, they were all three return'd priſoners to the tower of *London*. When the time of their trial drew nigh, that is to ſay in the beginning of *November*, *Ralegh* got a poor fellow in the tower to caſt up a letter, faſten'd to an apple, in at *Cobham*'s window, while the *lieutenant* was at ſupper, to intreat him (becauſe he then knew not but *Cobham* might be arraign'd before him:) "for God's ſake, to do him juſtice by his anſwer, and ſignify to him, "that he had wronged him in his accuſation;" and *Cobham* did, by an anſwer under his hand, confeſs the ſame; which not being perhaps ſo full and expreſſive as *Ralegh* expected, he afterwards ſent *Cobham* another letter, deſiring he would publiſh his innocence at his arraignment. But, notwithſtanding that *Ralegh* did not now requeſt any further juſtification under his hand, *Cobham* ſent him another anſwer,[a] clearing him in the moſt ſolemn and perfect manner, as will preſently appear. Now by reaſon of the plague, which raged ſo violently in and about *London*, the *term* having been proclaim'd to be held at *Wincheſter*, the ſtate-priſoners, who were thus indicted for the plot, were conveyed thither in great pomp. I find, that *Ralegh* went in his own coach, under the cuſtody of Sir *Robert Manſell*, on the 10th of *November*, to *Bagſhot* in *Surrey*, twenty-four miles from *London*; and, two days after, from thence, the other thirty miles, to the caſtle at *Wincheſter*. The conſpirators conducted thither at the ſame time, were *George Brook*, under the charge of Sir *William Wade*; Sir *Griffin Markham*, under Sir *Robert Wroth*; beſides Sir *Edward Parham*, *Bartholomew Brookſby*, *Anthony Copley*; alſo *William Watſon* and *William Clark*, two prieſts, under-wardens of the *Tower*, and the keeper of the *Gate-houſe*, together with a guard of fifty light horſe: as for *Cobham* and *Grey*, they ſet out ſix days, and arrived three days before, at the ſaid caſtle, under the like guard.[b]

And acknowledges the wrong.

Arraign'd at *Wincheſter*.

And here *Cobham* having been prevail'd on to make freſh accuſations in a letter to the lords, at leaſt ſubſcrib'd with his name, which will be produced a little further, *Ralegh*'s trial was firſt brought on; and this was on the 17th of the month aforeſaid. He excepted not againſt his *Jury*, being all ſtrangers: but we are told by one, who ſeems to have had good intelligence of this matter, "That there was appointed for *Ralegh* another jury, the foreman of "which was Sir *Michael Stanhope*, the next Sir *Edward Darcy*, the next Sir *William Kille-*"*grew*, all men of honour, and near ſervants to the late queen *Elizabeth*: but theſe be-"ing found not for their turn, they were all changed over night, and thoſe others (named in "the common printed trial) put in their places."[c] After the indictment had been opened, and aggravated by ſerjeant *Heath* and attorney *Coke*, in ſpeeches, manifeſtly fathering the treaſons of the reſt upon *Ralegh*, for no other reaſon that I can ſee, but becauſe *he was a man of wit, and a ſwordſman*: *Cobham*'s examination was read as before quoted. Here *Ralegh* firſt ſhewed the unreaſonableneſs and improbability of the accuſation therein againſt him, as follows: "It is ſtrange for me, ſaid he, to deviſe with *Cobham*, that he ſhould go to *Spain* to perſuade "the king to diſburſe ſo much money, he being a man of no love in *England*; and I "having reſign'd my room of chiefeſt command, the wardenſhip of the *Stannaries*; it is ſtrange "for me to make myſelf a *Robin Hood*, or a *Ket*, or a *Cade*, I knowing *England* to be in "better ſtate than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* united, *Ireland* quieted, *Denmark* aſſur'd, "which before was ſuſpected. I knew, that having a lady, whom time had ſurpriz'd, we "had now a lawful ſucceſſor. The ſtate of *Spain* was not unknown to me. I had written a "diſcourſe, which I intended to preſent unto the king againſt the peace with *Spain*. I knew "the *Spaniard* had ſix repulſes, three in *Ireland*, and three at ſea; and once in 1588, by my "lord-admiral, alſo at *Cadiz*. I knew he was diſcourag'd and diſhonour'd. I knew the king "of *Spain* to be the proudeſt prince living, but now he comes creeping to my maſter for a "peace. I knew, whereas he had before in his ports ſix or ſeven ſcore ſail of ſhips, he has "now but ſix or ſeven. I knew, of twenty-five millions he had from his *Indies*, he has ſcarce "one left. I knew him ſo poor, that the Jeſuits in *Spain* were fain to beg at the church-door. "Was it ever read or heard, that any prince ſhould diſburſe ſo much money, without a ſuf-"ficient pawn? I knew her own ſubjects, the citizens of *London*, would not lend her majeſty "money, without lands in mortgage. I knew the queen did not lend the ſtates money, with-"out *Fluſhing*, *Brill*, and other towns, for a pawn; and can it be thought he would let *Cobham* "have ſo great a ſum? I never came to the lord *Cobham*'s, but about matters of his profit, "as the ordering of his houſe; and I had of his, when I was examin'd, four thouſand pounds "worth of jewels for a purchaſe, a pearl of three thouſand pounds, and a ring worth five

[a] *Overbury*'s Arraignment, p. 23.
[b] *Stow*'s Annals, fol. 828, 829.
[c] Obſervations on the hiſtory of *Mary* queen of *Scots* and king *James*, a ſcarce tract in the *Harleyan* library, printed 4to. 1656, p. 8.

"hundred

" hundred pounds. If he had had a fancy to run away, he would not have left ſo much " money to have purchas'd a leaſe in fee-farm. I ſaw him buy three hundred pounds worth " of books to ſend to his library at *Canterbury*, and a cabinet of three hundred pounds to " give Mr. *Attorney* for drawing the conveyances; and God in heaven knows, not I, whe- " ther he intended to travel: but for the practice with *Arabella*, or letters to *Aremberg*, or " any diſcourſe with him, or in what language he ſpake unto him; if I knew any of theſe " things, I would abſolutely confeſs the indictment, and acknowledge myſelf worthy of a " thouſand deaths." And a little further concerning *Cobham*'s examination: " He that hath " been examin'd, has ever been aſked if it be according to his meaning, and then to *ſubſcribe*. " Methinks, my lords, when he accuſes a man, he ſhould give ſome account and reaſon of it; " it is not ſufficient to ſay we talked of it. If I had been the plotter, would not I have " given *Cobham* ſome arguments, whereby to perſuade the king of *Spain*, and anſwer his " objections? I knew *Weſtmoreland* and *Bothwell*, men of other underſtandings than *Cob-* " *ham*, were ready to beg their bread." [a] Here being obſtructed by other matters, the attorney fell at laſt into that paſſage of *Cobham*'s telling *Brook*, " You are on the *bye*, *Ralegh* and I are on the *main*." But *Cobham* would not confirm his ever having ſaid ſuch words. [b] *Brook*, who had pretended he did ſay them, was allowed to have been *Ralegh*'s enemy; [c] ſo the expreſſion was not proved. Another matter they kept ſome coil about was, the book *Cobham* ſaid he had of *Ralegh*, written againſt the king's title. This was nothing more than a *Defence of the* queen's *Proceedings againſt* Mary *queen of* Scotland, written by one *Robert Snag*, a lawyer, and found by *Ralegh* in the library of the late lord-treaſurer *Burghley*, which he had liberty of ſearching for ſome geographical deſcriptions of the *Weſt-Indies*. *Ralegh* had declared to *Cobham* that it was fooliſhly written, but deny'd that he gave it him; and tho' *Cobham*, in his examination, ſaid it was given him by *Ralegh*, he revoked that confeſſion upon being further queſtion'd about it (as one of the lords of the council own'd;) and ſaid, the truth was, " he took the ſame of himſelf out of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ſtudy when he was " aſleep;" [d] ſo much to be depended on were lord *Cobham*'s accuſations. But there was nothing acted thereby to the king's prejudice, for the book was burnt. [e] As for the evidence of a rumour in *Lisbon*, brought into court by one *Dyer*, a pilot, who anſwering to a queſtion, " when " the king would be crown'd?" made by ſome-body or other there, that " he hop'd 'twould " be ſhortly;" was told again, " it ſhould never be, for Don *Ralegh* and Don *Cobham* would " cut his throat firſt:" *Ralegh* made light of it, as of ſuch a rumour and ſuch a witneſs he might; and ſaid, " If *Cobham* had practice with *Aremberg*, it might well be known abroad: " and that the duke of *Buckingham* was named with *Jack Straw*'s treaſon to countenance it." [f] But none of theſe little circumſtances were much inſiſted on; and we are told by one who was preſent, that, " touching the *ſetting up* of *Arabella*, nothing at all was proved; nor " touching the *invaſion here*, or *ſedition* in *Scotland*, or even the *deſtruction* of the king, *&c.* The " proof againſt *Ralegh* (as the ſame writer continues a little further) did reſt only upon *Cob-* " *ham*'s accuſation, and ſome preſumptions, whereof that only was the ground: therefore *Ra-* " *legh* ſpent moſt of the time in diſabling that accuſation, as being only utter'd in fury and " paſſion," [g] through the *device* aforeſaid, of making *Cobham* believe that *Ralegh* had firſt accuſed him. Beſides, that he had renounced and repented it; and altho', " afterwards *by* " *practice*, ſays my ſaid author, he did affirm it, yet would he never be brought to ſet his " hand to the examination: all which was clear." Then *Ralegh*, ſeeing this retraction ſo unjuſtly overlook'd, " labour'd to prove theſe two points out of ſcripture, civil law, ſtatute " law, common law and conſcience; in every of which he had been plentifully read (as the " ſame auditor of his arraignment goes on:) firſt, that there ought to be produced againſt " him two witneſſes: ſecondly, that his accuſer might be brought to accuſe him face to face." Agreeable hereto are *Ralegh*'s own words, after he had urged the ſtatutes of *Edward* III, *Edward* VI, and queen *Elizabeth*; produced the opinions of judges in the law, and precedents from their writings; beſides teſtimonies from the Old and New Teſtament; where he ſays, " If by the ſtatute, civil law, and God's word, it be requir'd that there muſt be two wit- " neſſes at leaſt, bear with me, if I deſire but one." [h] But truly it was an unreaſonable requeſt; thoſe ſtatutes were repeal'd, and the law would not allow of it now; tho' we are inform'd

[a] Arraignment of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in his Life aforeſaid, p. 101, 106.
[b] Idem, p. 133.
[c] *Overbury*'s Arraignment of *Ralegh*, p. 7.
[d] Idem, p. 8.
[e] *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, 8vo. 1650, p. 83.
[f] Arraignment of *Ralegh* in *Sherley*, p. 147, 148.
[g] Letter of a member of parliament in Sir *Toby Matthews* as before, p. 280.
[h] Arraignment in *Sherley*, p. 115.

that

that king *James* himſelf, taking notice how *Cobham* was with-held, ſhould ſay, "If he could "have ſpoken any thing againſt *Raleigh*, they would have brought him from *Conſtantinople* "to have accuſed him."[a] Well therefore might he deſire the jury to conſider, "There is no cauſe "ſo doubtful, which the king's counſel cannot make good againſt the law.[b] These men do "uſually defend bad cauſes every day againſt men of their own profeſſion, and as able as "themſelves: if they can do ſo, what may they not do with me, who never ſtudied law till "I came into the tower of *London*; who have been practis'd in other affairs; am weak of "memory, and feeble as you ſee? (for he was fain to have a pen and ink to help him in the "long ſpeeches that were made againſt him.") Then ſaid he, more cloſely to them, "If "you would be content to be judg'd upon Suſpicions and Inferences: if you would not have "your accuſation ſubſcrib'd by your accuſer: if you would not have your accuſer brought to "your face (being in the ſame houſe too) where you are arraign'd: if you would be con-"demn'd by an accuſation of one that has recanted, and is truly ſorrowful for it: if you, "in my caſe, would yield your bodies to torture, loſe your lives, your wives and children, "and all your fortunes, upon ſo ſlender a proof; then am I ready to ſuffer all theſe things:"[c] or (as the common trial has it) "If you would be contented to be ſo judged, judge ſo of "me."[d] Now tho' *Raleigh* at laſt put himſelf on it, that if *Cobham* would only ſpeak before God and the king, "that ever he knew either of *Arabella*'s matter, or the money out of *Spain*, "or of the ſurprizing treaſon, or would accuſe him with things equivalent, in any main point, "or any ways to have been an inſtigator of him to deal with the king of *Spain*;"[e] yet would they not let *Cobham* confront him, or give his teſtimony *vivâ voce*: and tho' *Raleigh* did not directly conſent to be determin'd by *Cobham*'s accuſation, if they ſhould now produce it juſti-fied under his hand;[f] yet he was forced to ſubmit to what they had in reſerve of this kind, which was the letter above-mention'd, written to the lords at *Wincheſter* the day before the trial. Some ſay, this letter was not written by *Cobham* himſelf; but that Sir *William Wade*, one of *Cecyll*'s creatures, tampering with his weakneſs, got *Cobham* to write his name to a blank; to which, ſays my author, *Wade* no queſtion wrote the accuſation.[g] Others imply, that *Cobham* did himſelf write it; tho' after he was inſtructed by a letter from his lady, that there was no way to ſave his own life, but to accuſe *Raleigh*; and that it was ſo reported upon the going together of the jury.[h] This letter was read with great triumph and exultation by *Coke*, as follows. "I have thought it fit to ſet down this to my lords, wherein I profeſs on "my ſoul to write nothing but the truth. I am come now near to the period of my time; "therefore I confeſs the truth before God and his angels. *Raleigh*, four days before I came "from the *Tower*, cauſed an apple to be thrown in at my chamber window; the effect of it "was, to intreat me to right the wrong I had done him, in ſaying that I would come home "by *Jerſey*; which under my hand to him I have retracted. His firſt letter was thrown in "the ſame manner; wherein he prayed me to write him a letter, which I did. He ſent me "word the judges met at Mr. *Attorney*'s houſe; and that there was good hope the proceed-"ings againſt us ſhould be ſtaid; he ſent me another time a little tobacco. At *Aremberg*'s "coming, *Raleigh* dealt with me to procure him a penſion of fifteen hundred pounds a year, "for which he promiſed, that no action ſhould be againſt *Spain* but he would give knowledge "before-hand. He told me the ſtates had audience with the king. He hath been the origi-"nal cauſe of my ruin; for I had no dealing with *Aremberg*, but by his inſtigation. He hath "been the cauſe of my diſcontentment; he adviſed me not to be overtaken with preachers, "as *Eſſex* was; and that the king would better allow of a conſtant denial, than to accuſe any."[i] But this advice to a denial, and by that example, and the deſire of any ſuch penſion from *Spain*, *Raleigh* proteſted to be falſe. And further, to ſhew them what a baſe diſhonourable recreant *Cobham* was, he pull'd out the letter which *Cobham* a few days before wrote to him voluntarily in the *Tower*, deſiring the lord *Cecyll* to read it, becauſe he knew his hand; and that the jury would obſerve, if *Cobham*'s teſtimony were of any credit with them, how much more ſolemnly it was writ to clear, than the other to condemn him; being in theſe words: "Seeing myſelf "ſo near my end; for the diſcharge of my own conſcience, and freeing myſelf from your "blood, which elſe will cry vengeance againſt me: I proteſt, *upon my ſalvation, I never "practis'd with* Spain *by your procurement; God ſo comfort me in this my affliction, as you are*

Accuſed by *Cobham* again.

Cleared by him again.

[a] Obſervations on *Sanderſon*'s Hiſtory of *Mary* queen of *Scots* and king *James*, 4to. as before, p. 8.
[b] Arraignment in *Sherley*, p. 148.
[c] *Overbury*'s Arraigment, p. 21.
[d] In *Sherley*, p. 149.
[e] Idem, p. 145.
[f] *Overbury*, p. 19.
[g] Sir *Anthony Weldon*'s court and character of king *James*, 8vo. 1650, p. 35.
[h] *Overbury*'s Arraignment, p. 24.
[i] The Arraignment in *Sherley*, as before, p. 156.

a true

" *a true ſubject for any thing that I know.* I will ſay with *Daniel*, Purus ſum à ſanguine hujus: " *So God have mercy on my ſoul, as I know no treaſon by you.*" [a] This was the laſt evidence given; yet the jury brought in their verdict guilty: this letter, *laſt produced* to *acquit Ralegh*, not prevailing with them ſo much, it ſeems, as the letter before, which was *laſt*, tho' leſs forcibly, *written* by *Cobham* to *accuſe* him, " *which*, all things conſider'd, ſays the " perſon, who heard the whole trial, *was no more to be weigh'd than the barking of a dog*; *and* " *I would not* (continues he) *for much, to have been of the jury, to have found him guilty.*" [b] Condemn'd.
" Some of his jury, we are further told, were, after he was caſt, ſo far touch'd in conſcience, " as to demand of him pardon on their knees;" [c] and even *Coke*, the attorney himſelf, being " retir'd into a garden to take ſome air, when his man brought him word that the jury had " condemn'd *Ralegh* of *treaſon*, anſwer'd, Surely thou art miſtaken, for I myſelf accuſed " him but of *miſpriſion* of treaſon; and this relation, upon the word of a Chriſtian, I have " received, ſays my author, from Sir *Edward Coke*'s own mouth." [d] Sentence being given, *Ralegh* humbly deſir'd, the king might know the proofs againſt him; that he ſtill perſiſted in his loyalty, notwithſtanding that verdict; which he would pray, that his ſaid jury might never anſwer for: and only craved pardon for concealing lord *Cobham*'s offer to him, which he did through a confidence that he had diverted him from thoſe humours. So accompanied the ſheriff to the priſon " with admirable erection, yet in ſuch ſort as a condemn'd man ſhould " do." [e]

THUS was he " tired out of his life, as one obſerves, by the bawling of the king's counſel " on one ſide, and the bench's inſiſting on a confeſſion, extorted from the lord *Cobham* out " of fear, on the other, rather than convinced:" [f] and thus did his adverſaries reap diſhonour and reproach in their victory, while he received triumphant applauſes in his overthrow, like ſome flowers which are ſweeter in their fall, than others in their bloom. He ſtood at a bay with them from morning till night, " to the great admiration of the hearers, [g] who all thought " that a man of ſuch underſtanding and experience, would hardly be drawn into a plot ſo " foul and ſo fooliſh." [h] " Divers, who went thither his enemies, went away with commiſe- " ration of his injuries and misfortunes, thinking never man ſpake better for himſelf." [i] One of his auditors ſays, " He behaved himſelf ſo worthily, ſo wiſely, ſo temperately, that in half " a day the mind of all the company was changed, from the extremeſt fate, to the extremeſt " pity:" [k] and another ſays, That " Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s carriage was moſt remarkable; " firſt, to the *lords*; humble, yet not proſtrate: towards the *jury*; affable, but not fawning; " rather ſhewing love of life, than fear of death: towards the king's *counſel*; patient, but " not inſenſibly neglecting; not yielding to imputations laid againſt him in words: and it was " wonder'd, that a man of his heroic ſpirit, could be ſo valiant in ſuffering; that he was " never overtaken in paſſion, *&c.*" [l] On the other ſide, as to *Coke*'s behaviour, we ſhall, to what has been ſaid, only obſerve, as one means to account for it, that if *Eſſex* was known to have ever been in any wiſe a friend or patron to him, as it appears he was in a private memorial of an honourable perſon, who was of the ſame college in *Oxford* with *Ralegh*, and almoſt of the ſame ſtanding; then *Coke* might perhaps think of retrieving himſelf in the eye of the world, and making atonement for his *ingratitude* to the ſaid earl, alſo at his trial, and to his memory after his death, by his *inhumanity* now to one of the contrary faction. *Cecyll*, on the other ſide, play'd a ſmooth edge upon *Ralegh* throughout the trial; his blade ſeemed ever anointed with the balſam of compliment or apology, whereby he gave not ſuch rough and ſmarting wounds, tho' they were as deep and fatal as the other. But *Ralegh* could diſtinguiſh crooked friendſhip, and perhaps the grounds of it, in this place, as well as he has done crooked wiſdom in another; [m] when, to thoſe ſpeeches, where *Cecyll* ſaid, " My affection, " to you Sir *Walter Ralegh* was not extinguiſh'd, but ſlaked, in regard of your deſerts: " and, excepting your faults (I call them no worſe) by God I am your friend:" he anſwer'd, " Whoever is the workman, it is reaſon he ſhould give account of his work to the work- " maſter." [n] As to any impertinences that occurr'd in the trial, they appear no-where ſo much as in the perſonal reflections made by the ſaid attorney *Coke*, and the lord chief juſtice

[a] The Arraignment in *Sherley*, as before, p. 160.
[b] In Sir *Toby Matthews* as before, p. 283.
[c] *F. Oſborne*'s Memoirs of king *James*, in the 2d vol. of his works, p. 108.
[d] Obſervations on the hiſtory of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, and her ſon *James*, as before, p. 9.
[e] *Overbury*'s Arraignment, p. 25.
[f] *Oſborne*, as before.
[g] *Speed*'s Chronicle, fol. 1243.
[h] Biſhop *Carleton*'s Hiſt. Collect. of Deliverances, *&c.* 4to. 1624, p. 179.
[i] Obſervations on the hiſtory of the queen of *Scots* and her ſon, *&c.* as before.
[k] In Sir *Toby Matthews*, p. 279.
[l] See this character more at large in Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Arraignment of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, p. 6.
[m] *Hiſtory* of the *World*, lib. V. cap. VI. Sect. VII.
[n] *Arraignment* of Sir *Walter Ralegh* in his *Life*, as before, p. 144, 146.

Popham, whom *Camden* juſtly calls a cenſorious man;[a] they being foreign to the matters *Ralegh* was charged with, therefore he wiſely looked over them. But theſe, and the other irregularities throughout the whole proceedings, which have left men ſo unſatisfied in the juſtice of them againſt Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and ſo little inclin'd to believe him the criminal his enemies made him,[b] being ſumm'd up by an able hand, and one whoſe province it more properly was to judge of them, I ſhall take my leave of the ſaid trial, with a reference to his obſervations on it.[c]

THAT *Ralegh* expected nothing leſs than this kind of treatment from thoſe hands, is plain by the letter which he wrote to the king himſelf juſt before his trial; wherein having ſaid, "I know, that, among many preſumptions gather'd againſt me, your majeſty has been perſuaded, that I was one of thoſe who were greatly diſcontented, and therefore the more likely to prove diſloyal; but the great God of heaven and earth diſclaim me from both worlds if I were not the contrary, and if I took not great comfort to behold your majeſty; always learning ſome good, and bettering my knowledge by your majeſty's diſcourſe: and having humbly beſeeched him not to believe any of thoſe, who, under pretence of offences to kings, do eaſily work their particular revenge;" he ſays a little further, "For my part, I proteſt before the ever-living God, that I never intended treaſon, conſented to treaſon, or perform'd treaſon againſt you; and yet I know I ſhall fall into their hands, *e quibus non poſſum evadere*, unleſs by your majeſty's gracious compaſſion I be ſuſtain'd."[d] Another letter, which he wrote to the lords, gives us ſome further light or aſſurance, that the offer made to him for one intention, and to others for another, was conſtrued as made to him for both; where, ſpeaking of the two principal accuſations againſt him, he ſays, "the firſt was, that money was offer'd me with a pretence to maintain the *amity*, but the intent was to have aſſiſted his majeſty's *ſurprize:* the other, that I was privy to my lord *Cobham*'s *Spaniſh* journey. For the firſt, it ſeems, this money was offer'd to others long after it was offer'd to me, and upon other *conſiderations* than it was to me. For myſelf I avow, upon my allegiance, that I never knew or ſuſpected either the man or the *new intention*. To me it was but once propounded, and in three weeks after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe that he had any commiſſion to offer it: for, if that word *amity* had been uſed to me *colourably*, I muſt have been alſo made acquainted with the *true end* for which it ſhould have been given; which it ſeems was for the *ſurprize:* but of any ſuch horrible purpoſe, if ever I had ſo much as a ſuſpicion, I refuſe your lordſhips favour, and the king's mercy. I know your lordſhips have omitted nothing to find out the truth; but, as you have not err'd, like ill ſurgeons, to lay on plaiſters too narrow for ſo great wounds, ſo I truſt that you will not imitate unlearned phyſicians, to give medicines more cruel than the diſeaſe itſelf. For the journey into *Spain*, I know I was accuſed to be privy thereto; but I know your lordſhips have a reputation of conſcience, as well as induſtry. By what means that revengeful accuſation was ſtirr'd, you, my lord *Cecyll*, know right well, that it was my letter about *Keymis*; and your lordſhips all know whether it be maintain'd, or whether, out of truth, and out of a Chriſtian conſideration, it be revok'd." A little further he ſays, "God knows, and I can give an account of it, that I have ſpent forty thouſand pounds of

[a] *Annal. Eliz.* 1592.

[b] Dr. *Heylin*'s *Examen Hiſtoricum*, as before, p. 171.

[c] Sir *John Hawles*, ſollicitor-general to the late king *William*, in his *Reply* to a ſheet of paper, entitled, The *Magiſtracy* and *Government* of *England vindicated*; printed in fol. 1689. having obſerved, that the *accuſations* of Sir *Walter Ralegh* did not amount to a *legal proof*; ſays further, p. 35, as follows: "Not to mention all that might be excepted to in the trial of the caſe cited; I would know, *by what law is the* depoſition *of a perſon, who might be brought face to face to the* priſoner, *read as* evidence? I would know, *by what law it is* forbidden, *that the* accuſer *ſhould be brought* face to face *to the* accuſed? I would know, *by what law* Brook's depoſition *of what the lord* Cobham *told him of* Ralegh, *was* evidence *againſt* Ralegh? I would know, *by what law the ſtory* Dyer *told of what an* unknown man *ſaid to him at* Liſbon *of Don* Ralegh, *was evidence againſt* Ralegh? I would know, *by what* ſtatute, *the ſtatutes of the* 25th *of* Edward III, *and* 5th *of* Edward VI. *are repeal'd?* This *trial* was ſo *very irregular throughout*, that I would willingly believe it was not ſo as it is related; but, if it were ſo, I am ſure *none can defend it:* and even for that reaſon, if any ſuch reſolution was in the caſe, as is cited, I am ſure *it ought to carry no credit with it:* and there is no reaſon to believe there was any ſuch reſolution; there being no occaſion for it; the queſtion being only fact, which Sir *Walter* deny'd. The circumſtances of his trial, in which the court always over-rul'd the priſoner, were ſomewhat like the lord *Ruſſel*'s; he complained of the ill uſage of the king's counſel, as well as the lord *Ruſſel*; and both had reaſon ſo to do. *Hearſay* was admitted to be given in evidence againſt both; all that either of them ſaid for themſelves, tho' very material, was ſlighted. The one was put in mind, at his trial, of the death of the earl of *Eſſex*; as the other was, of the death of the viſcount *Stafford*; both, in their dying ſpeeches, vindicated themſelves of thoſe aſperſions. The principal witneſſes, in both caſes, had, before the trials, affirm'd, they knew nothing againſt them: they were both accuſed with having heard what other perſons had ſaid in their company, and had not diſcover'd it; they both gave the ſame anſwer, that they could not help other men's talk. I think it is plain, at this day, that of Sir *Walter Ralegh* is thought a *Sham-plot*; what the lord *Ruſſel*'s is thought, let the author ſay."

[d] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s letter to king *James*, before his trial at *Wincheſter*; in the ſupplement to the *Cabala*, call'd, *Scrinia Sacra*, 4to. 1654, p. 85. and in *Ralegh*'s Remains, edit. 1726, p. 185. collated with MS. copies thereof, in the *Harleyan* library, *&c.*

my

" my own againſt that king and nation;[a] that I never reſerved ſo much of all my fortunes,
" as to purchaſe forty pounds *per annum* land; that I have been a violent perſecutor and fur-
" therer of all enterprizes againſt that nation: I have ſerved againſt them in perſon; and how,
" my lord-admiral and my lord of *Suffolk* can witneſs. I diſcover'd, myſelf, the richeſt part
" of all his *Indies*; I have planted in his territories. I offer'd his majeſty, at my uncle *Ca-*
" *rew*'s, to carry two thouſand men to invade him without the king's charge. Alas! to what
" end ſhould we live in the world, if all the endeavours of ſo many teſtimonies ſhall be blown
" off with one blaſt of breath, or be preſented by one man's word?" " Think therefore (ſays
" he a little further) I beſeech you, on my great affliction with compaſſion; who have loſt
" my eſtate, and the king's favour, upon one man's word; and as you would that God ſhould
" deal with you, deal with me." He concludes in this manner: " Your lordſhips know,
" that I am guiltleſs of the ſurprize intended; you know, or may know, that I never accept-
" ed of the money, and that it was not offered me for any ill; and of the *Spaniſh* journey,
" I truſt your conſciences are reſolved. Keep not then, I beſeech you, theſe my anſwers and
" humble deſires from my ſoveraign lord, *qui eſt rex pius et miſericors, et non leo coronatus.*"[b] In
another letter which he wrote to the king after his trial, he has theſe words: " Loſt I am for
" hearing a vain man, for *hearing only*, and never believing or approving; and ſo little
" account I made of that ſpeech of his, which was my condemnation, that I never remember'd
" any ſuch thing, till it was at my trial objected againſt me." This letter he nobly concludes,
with a deſire only to *repay* a *lent life* with a love and affection equal to the goodneſs wherewith
his majeſty ſhould pleaſe to beſtow it.[c]

If theſe letters had any good effect, it appeared not immediately, *Ralegh* being kept near a month at *Wincheſter* after he was condemn'd, in daily expectation of death. We find, that when the report of the arraignments was made to the king in his privy-chamber at *Wilton*, he carried himſelf ſo reſervedly, that no-body could gueſs how well he was ſatisfied with the equality of condemnation, till he made, himſelf, a difference in the puniſhment. The two prieſts were executed on the 29th of *November*, and *George Brook* on the 5th of *December* following. His majeſty alſo ſign'd warrants for *Cobham*, *Grey* and *Markham*, to be beheaded on the 9th day of the ſaid month. But, in the particular *narrative* of this proceeding to execution, *Ralegh* is not ſo much as mention'd; and this might be owing to the extraordinary diſappointment of that purgation, which was expected from one of thoſe three next to be executed: for the day aforeſaid being come, *Markham* was firſt brought to the ſcaffold; and, having ended his ſpeech, prayers, with all he had to ſay, and being on his knees, ready to receive the ſtroke of the ax; up ſteps *John Gibb*, groom of the king's bed-chamber, to Sir *Benjamin Tichbourne*, the ſheriff of *Hampſhire*, with his majeſty's *warrant* to ſtay the execution; ſo *Markham* was told he muſt withdraw a while into the hall, to be confronted by the lords. Then lord *Grey* was brought upon the ſtage; and he is ſaid to have poured out his prayers and his confeſſion, tho' not one word of them recorded in our *narrative* aforeſaid; then was he alſo call'd aſide. Laſtly, *Cobham* was brought, and expos'd in the ſame manner; and his devotions to God are mention'd; but not a word of the treaſon, his guilt or innocence, or concerning any promoter of his diſloyalty or diſcontent: ſo when he had done, the ſheriff found it time to unravel the *plot*, by proclaiming and magnifying his majeſty's *mercy*, as we have it in the ſame author; who yet cannot forbear comparing his own relation to a *comedy*, " repreſenting ſo
" many lively figures of juſtice and mercy in a king, of terror and penitence in offenders,
" and of ſo great admiration and applauſe in all others as appear'd in this *action*, carried on
" only and wholly by his majeſty's own direction."[d] But whereas *Coke* had (after his outragious manner) charged *Ralegh* in the *trial* frequently with being the chief plotter and traitor in all this conſpiracy: we now ſee the king, in his *warrant* aforeſaid, contradicting him, where he ſays, to uſe his own dialect, that, " the tuo prieſtis, and *George Brooke*, vaire the principall
" plotteris and intiſairs of all the reſt, to the embracing of the ſaidis treaſonabill machina-
" tions:"[e] and yet you find, in the trial again, that *Brook*'s treaſon was diſtinct, and to be

[a] As the king's counſel, in *Ralegh*'s *trial*, uſed arguments, grounded on preſumptions, to prove him guilty; ſo did he there alſo uſe others to clear himſelf, grounded on theſe of his great expences againſt the *Spaniards*, and his having always been ſuch a noted enemy to their faction. But the ſum of 40,000 *l.* in this letter above, is only call'd ſo many *crowns* in the ſaid common *trial*.

[b] *Ralegh*'s Remains, the laſt edit. as before, p. 188, *&c.*

[c] Idem, p. 192, *&c.*

[d] The copy of a *letter*, written from maſter T. M. near *Saliſbury*, to maſter H. A. at *London*, *concerning* the *proceeding* at *Wincheſter*, where the late lord *Cobham*, lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffin Markham*, all attainted of high treaſon, were ready to be executed on *Friday* the 9th of *December*, *&c.* imprinted at *London* by R. B. (*i. e. Barker* the king's printer) 4to. 1603. reprinted in *Stow*'s Annals, and lately in Mr. *Joſeph Morgan*'s *Phœnix Britannicus*.

[e] See king *James*'s warrant in the pamphlet aforeſaid, p. 11.

kept

kept ſecret from *Raleigh*, becauſe there *Brook* tells *Markham* "take heed how you make "lord *Cobham* acquainted; for, whatever he knows, *Raleigh* the witch will get it out of "him." [a] In ſhort, the whole proceeding is ſo full of inconſiſtences, ſlanders, and other like odious effects of a falſe and malicious proſecution, that we may well conclude with that hiſtorian, who ſays, "the king had ground enough to ſhew *mercy*, which ſome of the condemn'd "party obtain'd." [b]

BUT *Raleigh*, it ſeems, did laſt taſte of it, and for no other apparent reaſon, but becauſe he was the only one whom his enemies ſtill wanted matter to exclude from it; as may be gather'd from what *Cecyll* wrote to a correſpondent three days after the king's warrant of ſuſpence, to the others before-mention'd; where, among theſe wonderful inſtances of his majeſty's clemency, we are told, "He pretended to forbear Sir *Walter Raleigh* for the preſent, "till the lord *Cobham*'s death had given ſome light how far he would make good his accuſa-"tion:" [c] and tho' we hear not that he ever did make it good, yet was the pretended *time* of *Raleigh*'s execution ſo determin'd, however we find not, that he, like the reſt, was ever brought to the *place*; that he wrote, what he intended for his laſt words, to his wife, the night before he expected to be put to death, in a very moving letter, full of the moſt generous acknowledgments, of the wiſeſt, moſt religious and affectionate advice to her, no leſs than of the moſt heroic and magnanimous ſentiments in regard to himſelf, and to that ſuffering which ordinary ſouls ſo naturally ſhrink at. It is too long to recite in this place, beſides has been often printed, and may be eaſily met with in his works. The hiſtorical paſſages in it acquaint us, that his lands were conveyed to his ſon, as is before-mention'd: that he intended his wife the profits of his wine-office, half his goods, and all his jewels, except ſome one to his ſon: that *Baily* owed him two hundred, or, as other editions have it, a thouſand pounds; [d] and his brother *Adrian Gilbert* ſix hundred: that he had alſo much money owing him in *Jerſey*, beſides the arrearages of the wines, which would pay all his debts. Towards the concluſion, he intreats her "to get thoſe letters, if it be poſſible, which I writ, ſaid he, to the lords, where-"in I ſued for my life. God is my witneſs, that it was for you and yours that I deſir'd "life. But it is true that I diſdain myſelf for begging it; for know it, dear wife, that "your ſon is the ſon of a true man, and one, who, in his own reſpect, deſpiſes death, and "all his miſhapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much; God knows how hardly I ſteal "this time, while others ſleep; and it is alſo high time, that I ſhould ſeparate my "thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was deny'd thee, and either "lay it at *Sherborne*, if the land continue, or in *Exeter* church, by my father and mother. "I can ſay no more; time and death call me away." And as, in the former part of this letter "he truſts that his blood will quench their malice, who had thus cruelly *murder'd* him:" ſo in the concluſion, "he prays to God, that he may forgive his perſecutors and accuſers." [e]

Priſoner in the *Tower* of *London*.

BUT after all this uſage, *Cobham* never confirming his accuſation of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, they both were, with the reſt of the priſoners, returned, on the 15th of *December*, to the *Tower* of *London*: [f] thoſe, of whom the leaſt profit was to be made, were either acquitted, or did afterwards get their liberty; among whom was *Markham*, who travell'd abroad, but endured greater diſtreſs in his ſtate of freedom, than he had in his reſtraint. [g] But *Grey*, it ſeems, died in the *Tower*, [h] and with *Cobham* it went nigh to fare ſtill worſe; for he would have ſtarved there, being ſo cloſely fleec'd as he was by the court-beggars of his great eſtate, had they not alſo laid thereby a kind of a fine upon his majeſty for his offences; the crown being impoſed upon to ſupport him in his many years confinement, as *Raleigh* himſelf has ſufficiently diſcover'd. [i] And here, to diſpatch what more remains of this lord relating to our preſent

[a] The Arraignment in *Raleigh*'s Life, as before, p. 91.

[b] *Ruſhworth*'s Hiſtorical Collections, vol. I. fol. 4.

[c] Sir *Ralph Winwood*'s Memoirs, vol. II. fol. 11.

[d] See this letter in the edit. of *Raleigh*'s Remains, 12°. 1651.

[e] *Idem*, and, beſides the other editions of his *Remains*, alſo at the end of Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s relation of his *Arraignment*, and at the end of *Raleigh*'s Life in *Prince*'s *Worthies* of *Devon*, fol. 543.

[f] *Stow*'s Annals, as before.

[g] *James Wadſworth*, in his *Engliſh Spaniſh Pilgrim*, 4to. 1630, p. 66, ſpeaking of the ſtate and demeanor of the *Engliſh* fugitives under the king of *Spain*'s dominions, ſays, "This Sir *Griffin Markham*, at his firſt ar-"rival in *Bruxels*, being kept under by the Jeſuits, was "driven to ſuch an exigency, that he was conſtrain'd to "pluck out the inlaid ſilver of the hilts of his ſword, to "buy flour to make a haſty-pudding for his dinner: "but he afterwards (ſays the ſame author) took the beſt "way to raiſe his fortunes; having got into favour with "the duke of *Nuburge*, who gives him the ſureſt pen-"ſion of all."

[h] *Oſborne*'s Memorials of king *James*, p. 106. alſo Sir *William Dugdale*, who ſays, that this *Thomas* lord *Grey* (ſon of *Arthur* before-mention'd in this Life) died in the *Tower* on the 6th of *July* 1614, being the laſt lord *Grey* of *Wilton*. *Baronage* of *England*, vol. I. 1675, fol. 716.

[i] The lord *Cecyll*, who was created earl of *Saliſbury* in 1605, and lord-treaſurer, upon the death of *Buckhurſt*, earl of *Dorſet*, in 1608, did very much engroſs the revenues of the crown, as *Raleigh* made appear to the king himſelf, in an excellent *Dialogue* he dedicated to his majeſty; where, among the particulars, of *Cecyll*'s neglecting an increaſe of 40,000 pounds to the king's eſtate, the conferring a 10,000 *l.* fine upon *Devonſhire* and his miſtreſs, the engroſſing to himſelf many goodly manors, and the exchange of *Theobald*'s for *Hatfield*, which the greateſt ſubject or favourite queen *Elizabeth* had, never durſt

preſent hiſtory, we may obſerve, that ſome years after their confinement, *Ralegh* is ſaid to have himſelf procur'd a re-examination of *Cobham*, and to have been abſolutely cleared by him. But the practices which were uſed againſt him therein, are repreſented ſo foul and wicked, as to have given ſome, whoſe intereſt it was to favour the adminiſtrations of theſe times, occaſion to ſuſpect the aſſertion; tho' it is corroborated by ſeveral material circumſtances, as well as the teſtimony of coeval writers. The author, in whom we firſt meet with this paſſage, and whoſe ſhorter account of it is before related, to ſhew that *Ralegh*'s life was ſurreptitiouſly taken away, gives it us again more circumſtantially, and as a true ſtory, thus, "Queen "*Anne*, that brave princeſs, was in a deſperate, and ſome believed incurable diſeaſe, whereof "the phyſicians were at the furtheſt end of their ſtudies to find the cauſe, at a *non plus* for "the cure. Sir *Walter Ralegh* being, by his long ſtudies, an admirable chymiſt, [a] undertook "and perform'd the cure; [b] for which he would receive no other reward, but that her majeſty "would procure, that certain lords might be ſent to examine *Cobham*, whether he had accuſed "Sir *Walter Ralegh* of treaſon at any time under his hand? the king, at the queen's requeſt "(and in juſtice could do no leſs) ſends ſome lords and others of the council (which, as our "author goes on, were the duke of *Lenox*, *Saliſbury*, *Worceſter*, *Suffolk*, Sir *George Carew*, "and Sir *Julius Cæſar*) to demand of *Cobham*, whether he had not, under his hand, accuſed "Sir *Walter Ralegh* at *Wincheſter*, upon that treaſon he was arraign'd for? *Cobham* did pro-"teſt, never, nor could he; [c] but, ſaid he, that villain *Wade* did often ſollicite me, and, "not prevailing that way, got me, by a trick, to write my name upon a piece of white "paper, which I, thinking nothing, did; ſo that, if any charge came under my hand, it was "forged by that villain *Wade*, by writing ſomething above my hand, without my conſent "or knowledge. [d] Theſe ſix returning to the king, the reſt made *Saliſbury* their ſpokeſman; "who ſaid: Sir, My lord *Cobham hath made good all* that ever he *wrote* or *ſaid*. Where it is "to be noted, that this was but an equivocating trick in *Saliſbury*; for it was true, that *Cob-*"*ham* had *made good* whatever he had *writ*, but *never wrote any thing to accuſe Ralegh*; by "which you ſee the baſeneſs of this lord, the credulity of the king, and the ruin of Sir *Wal-*"*ter Ralegh*." [e] As for the miſerable end this lord *Cobham* made, the ſame author relates it; [f] and it is alſo confirm'd by others, who were well acquainted with the hiſtory of theſe times, and

His cure of queen *Anne*.

durſt have named to her; he farther inſtances, that, "It "had been an honeſt ſervice to the king, to have alſo "added 7000 *l.* lands of the lord *Cobham*'s, with his "woods and goods, worth 30,000 *l.* more. For thoſe "lands, remaining with *George Brook*'s children but "during their lives, had been the king's for ever in ef-"fect; but to wreſt them from the king, and draw the "inheritance upon himſelf, the treaſurer perſuaded his "majeſty to relinquiſh his intereſt for a petty ſum of "money; and, that there might be no counter-working, "he ſent *Brook* ſix thouſand pounds to make friends; "whereof lord *Hume* had two thouſand pounds back "again, *Buckhurſt* and *Berwick* had the other four thou-"ſand pounds, and the treaſurer and his heirs the maſs "of land for ever." *What then came to the king by this confiſcation?* (ſays one of the correſpondents in the ſaid *Dialogue*.) "*His majeſty* (anſwers t'other) by all thoſe "goodly poſſeſſions, woods and goods, *loſes five hundred "pounds a year*, which he gives in penſion to *Cobham* "to maintain him in priſon." See Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Prerogative* of *Parliaments* in his *Remains* (laſt edit.) p. 249, *&c.*

[a] The author here quoted, ſeems to have been well acquainted with Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s character, by this circumſtance; for there is ſtill in being a volume of *Chymical* and *Medicinal Preparations*, in *Ralegh*'s own hand-writing, as will more particularly be obſerv'd a few pages farther.

[b] The author of *Aulicus Coquinariæ* thinks, he ſufficiently anſwers this paſſage; where he ſays, p. 97, "the "queen was never cur'd of her diſeaſe, but by death, "that ends all maladies." Now the diſeaſe, which this queen *Anne* died of, was a *dropſy*, but not till after Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s death, and above fifteen year after this his impriſonment; whereas the diſeaſe, from which *Ralegh* recover'd her, was a *fever*, as Dr. *Welwood* informs us in his *Notes* on *Wilſon*'s *Hiſtory* of king *James*. In the ſame place he ſays, it was ſome time before the illneſs of prince *Henry*; and *Camden*, in his *Annals* of king *James*, telling us, when Sir *Julius Cæſar* was made a privy-counſellor, we may conclude this cure was perform'd between the years 1607 and 1612.

[c] Thus much is confirm'd by another writer, who obſerves, "that *Ralegh* and *Cobham* being priſoners, upon "the ſuit of queen *Anne* (who was thereunto preſſed by "Sir *Walter Ralegh*) *Cobham* was re-examin'd before "ſome of the lords of the council at the *Tower*, and did "clear Sir *Walter Ralegh* from all treaſons whatſoever." *Obſervations* upon ſome *perſons* and *paſſages* in the *Compleat Hiſtory* of *Mary* queen of *Scotland*, and her ſon *James*, 4to. 1656, p. 12.

[d] An author before cited, has attempted to diſprove this particular thus: "How could *Wade* tamper with "*Cobham* to write his name to a blank, to which *Wade* "framed the accuſation againſt *Ralegh*; when it appears, "*Cobham* never ſigned at all to his examinations?" *Aulic. Coquin.* p. 190. But it is plain this trick of *Wade*'s, if ſuch he committed, could not be meant of *Cobham*'s examinations, for they were taken at *Richmond* and at *London*; but the queſtion put here was, Whether *Cobham* had not, under his hand, accuſed Sir *Walter Ralegh* at *Wincheſter?* which could relate only to this letter of accuſation before quoted, which was ſubſcrib'd with *Cobham*'s name, and pretended to be written by him the night before *Ralegh*'s trial there.

[e] Sir *Anthony Weldon*'s court and character of king *James*, p. 38, 39, 40.

[f] He tells us, that, "as lord *Grey* died pitied, *Cobham* "died ſcorn'd, and his death as baſe; for he died louſy "for want of apparel and linnen; and had ſtarv'd, had "not a trencher-ſcraper, ſome time his ſervant in court, "relieved him with ſcraps, in whoſe houſe he died, be-"ing ſo poor a houſe, as he was forced to creep up a "ladder into a little hole to his chamber; which was a "ſtrange judgment, and unprecedented for a man of "ſeven thouſand pounds *per annum*, and of a perſonal "eſtate of thirty thouſand pounds; of all which the "king was ſo cheated (or of what ſhould have eſcheated to "him) that he could not give him any maintenance, as "in all caſes the king does, unleſs out of his own re-"venue of the crown; which was the occaſion of this "lord's want (his wife being very rich, and would not "give him the crumbs that fell from her table) and this "was a juſt judgment of God on him." Thus *Weldon*, p. 37, *&c.* *Oſborne* alſo, much to the ſame ſenſe, tells us, from the authority of *William* earl of *Pembroke*,

and from whom we learn, that *Cobham* ſurvived not Sir *Walter Ralegh* above two or three months. [a]

BUT to return to more early paſſages in *Ralegh*'s impriſonment, and to conſider his ſtate, as it appears at his entrance therein, we may very eaſily believe, he was at firſt in very great trouble to be ſo ſuddenly, and in ſuch a manner, depriv'd of power, fortune, liberty and reputation; but find nothing to confirm the extraordinary dejection one writer, who has been before ſpoken of, deſcribes him under; where he ſays, "In the publick joy and jubilee of the "whole realm, when favour, peace and pardon were offer'd even to offenders; he, who in "*wit*, in *wealth*, in *courage*, was inferior to few, fell ſuddenly (he cannot tell how) into "ſuch a downfall of deſpair, that his greateſt enemies would not have wiſhed him ſo much "harm, as he would have done himſelf;" [b] for we have ſeen he had enemies, who would have done him the injury that could not be exceeded, had not the king, in ſome degree of juſtice, rather than mercy to him, interpos'd, and ſecured him, as well from being quite deſtroyed by, as taking revenge on them: beſides, that letter to his wife before-mention'd, when his fate appeared neareſt and moſt unavoidable to him, demonſtrates the firmneſs and fortitude of a man, who could receive death as an acquaintance, rather that a ſtranger, or one, who, having ſo often gone to face him among the foes to his country abroad, could, with equal ſteadineſs and compoſure of mind, meet him from thoſe at home. Indeed, the affairs of a perſon, who had ſuch various and extenſive dealings or commerce with mankind, could not but be ſomewhat perplex'd and embarraſs'd, upon a fall ſo ſudden and precipitous; therefore, to find him employing agents for collecting in debts, and ſatisfying creditors, is to be expected. Thus, in one of his letters to Sir *Michael Hext*, he deſires him to ſpare *John Shellbury* for a little time, he being bound for him in a ſum of fifteen hundred pounds; and, if he was reſtrained, ſo that he could not recover the wine-arrearages, which (as we find from *Ralegh*'s letter before to his wife) would clear all his debts, they muſt remain unpaid. The date endors'd upon this letter, probably by Sir *Michael* himſelf, is *November* 12, 1604. [c] In the middle of *February* following, we find a grant made by the king, to that *John Shellbury* and another perſon, to this effect: "That Sir *Walter Ralegh*, late of *Sherborne*, *&c.* being at"tainted of high treaſon, whereby all his goods and chattels, real and perſonal, moveable and "immoveable; debts, duties, ſums of money, bonds, *&c.* are forfeited. His majeſty therefore, "in conſideration that the ſaid debts, which Sir *Walter Ralegh* did truly owe before the ſaid "attainder and conviction, may be juſtly and truly paid; as alſo for the help and maintenance "of dame *Elizabeth* his wife, his child and family; and for other conſiderations, grants to "*John Shellbury* and *Robert Smith* of *London*, gentlemen, all the ſaid goods, *&c.*"

THUS we ſee a great diſtinction made already between him and *Cobham*, and ſhall find more favour extending towards him in a little while. 'Tis ſaid to be much owing to the earneſt and unwearied interceſſions of his lady at court, who, that ſhe might be more ſerviceable to him, ſoon after he was committed to the *Tower*, petition'd the king, that ſhe might be a priſoner with her huſband, or live with him there in his confinement; and her requeſt was granted. Here, manifeſtly after the grant aforeſaid to *Ralegh*'s truſtees, becauſe that mentions but one of his ſons, ſhe was deliver'd of the other, and he was chriſten'd *Carew*, who was yet born, as authors compute, within the year above-mention'd. To this ſatisfaction, *Ralegh* had others afterwards, which greatly alleviated the loſs of his liberty; ſo that his reſtraint, which was intended as a mortification, his prudence in time ſo converted, that it proved only a retirement, or the quiet enjoyment of a domeſtick life; and he felt certain comforts ariſe from the conſtant company of his little family, which, in the pomp of courts, the pride of conqueſts, the glory of diſcoveries, and the ſweetneſs of freedom itſelf, he had never taſted. But this tranquillity appears not to have ſuddenly arriv'd, being for a while diveſted of all his eſtate; and, having ſome contentions at law with thoſe who were conſiderably indebted to him, and could not otherwiſe be brought to account; one inſtance whereof we have in *Wil-*

His younger ſon born.

"that *Cobham* died in a room aſcended by a ladder, at "a poor woman's houſe in the *Minories*, formerly his "laundreſs, rather of hunger, than of any more natu"ral diſeaſe. Thus miſerable was his fate, in meeting "with a prince ſo inconſiderately profuſe to ſtrangers, "that he forgot the owner, not leaving him wherewithal "to buy bread: an impiety not found among infidels, "*who ever deem'd it leſs injuſtice to take away* life, *than "the* means *to maintain it.*

[a] *Camden*'s Annals of king *James*, and *Dugdale*'s Baronage.

[b] Sir *John Harrington*'s Brief View of the Church, p. 93.

[c] Sir *Walter Ralegh* to Sir *Michael Hext*, the original in the choice and valuable library of *James Weſt*, Eſq; F. R. S.

[d] *De Conceſſione* Johanni Shelbery *et* Roberto Smyth, *de Bonis et Catallis quæ fuerunt* Walteri Ralegh *Militis Attincti*. *In* Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVI. fol. 569.

liam

liam Sanderſon the elder, " who was of kin to *Ralegh*;[a] and (as we are told) in the time of his " proſperity and greatneſs, was his ſervant, intruſted with receiving great ſums of money for " him out of his office of wines, and his other places, by which he became in arrear to *Ra-* " *legh* in divers great ſums; which, after his troubles, he ſent for to *Sanderſon*, who was ſo far " from paying them, that he pretended *Ralegh* ſhould owe him two thouſand pounds: where- " upon Sir *Walter*, in great anger, commenced a ſuit againſt *Sanderſon*, which was managed " by his ſervant and ſollicitor *John Shellbury*; and *Sanderſon*, being overthrown, and found in " arrear to *Ralegh* in very great ſums, was caſt into priſon, where he died a beggar. Hence " ſprung all the ſpleen and malice of *William Sanderſon* the younger (in his hiſtory of king " *James*'s reign) towards Sir *Walter Ralegh*," as the author of the pamphlet whence this paſ- ſage is extracted, and which was written many years after *Ralegh*'s death, to detect the errors and falſities in that hiſtory, continues.[b] Now this expoſure both of that author's father and his own hiſtory, ſo enraged the ſon, that he forthwith publiſh'd an *anſwer* to the ſaid *pamphlet*, in which he not only endeavours to ſupport what he had written of Sir *Walter Ralegh* in his hiſtory, tho' with no authorities or ſatisfactory reaſons, but falls moſt foully upon *Carew Ra- legh*, as if he was the author of the pamphlet aforeſaid againſt his hiſtory; and that, with ſuch womaniſh ſpleen and ſlander as might have betray'd, had not himſelf own'd, that his wife had a hand in writing it. But of the paſſage here laſt quoted, tho' he contradicts ſeveral particulars, he does not deny the main point; which is, that Sir *Walter Ralegh*, now after his reprieve, did commence ſuits by *Shellbury* againſt his father, which might naturally ſharpen the ſon's pen, and warp his impartiality, when he was repreſenting him in his hiſtory, and the rather if *Ralegh* was ſuch a debtor beſides to his father, as he deſcribes him.[c] But, who- ever was the author of thoſe *obſervations* on the ſaid hiſtory, he has not more unfavourably treated it, than others who examined it afterwards.[d]

When *Ralegh* had got over theſe troubleſome conteſts, all things appear'd, for a while, about him as ſerene, as in ſuch a gloomy ſtate could be hoped for; and he, who lately was upon the very brink of diſſolution, had all his offices, lands and goods, ſeiz'd upon, and was himſelf committed a cloſe priſoner, had not only his life reprieved, and his confinement ſweetned with ſome degrees of latitude, but even his eſtate alſo reſtor'd to him. For theſe lands (as ſhould have been before obſerv'd, had *Carew Ralegh*'s *caſe*, whereof I had then but an imperfect extract, been, as it is now at hand) were actually made over by Sir *Wal- ter Ralegh* to his ſon, both inheritance and fee, before queen *Elizabeth* died, as formerly was alſo the leaſe for years;[e] ſo that, as he obſerves again in another place, " being entail'd on " Sir *Walter*'s heirs, he could not forfeit them, but during his own life; and the king, finding " in himſelf the iniquity of Sir *Walter*'s condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited " again."[f] Herewith agrees likewiſe Sir *John Harrington*, who not only tells us by whoſe

His eſtate reſtor'd him.

[a] For the ſaid *William Sanderſon* the elder, who was much engag'd among the merchant-adventurers in queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, and one of her commiſſioners for the *Spaniſh* prize-goods; alſo of note for the great globes, which, by his encouragement, were brought to perfection; married, about the year 1571, *Margaret Snedale* or *Snow- dale*, the daughter of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ſiſter *Mary*, by her huſband *Hugh Snedale*, a commander in the queen's royal navy, as we gather from a pamphlet written by their ſon *William Sanderſon*, more particularly mention'd a little lower.

[b] Obſervations on the hiſtory of *Mary* queen of *Scot- land*, and her ſon *James*, *&c.* p. 2.

[c] See an *Anſwer* to a ſcurrilous pamphlet, entitled, *Obſervations* upon a compleat *Hiſtory*, *&c.* of *Mary* queen of *Scotland*, and her ſon king *James*, *&c.* by *William Sanderſon*, Eſq; 4to. 1656.

[d] The character he gives of *Sanderſon*'s ſaid *Hiſtory* of king *James*, is as follows: " His whole *Hiſtory* is a " *Rhapſody* of notes and ſcatter'd papers from other men, " collected without *order* or *method*; exceedingly defec- " tive both in *time*, *place* and *nominations*; and written " in ſo unſeemly and disjointed a *ſtyle*, that you may " eaſily perceive he has taken up other mens words with- " out underſtanding their matter; and unleſs it be where " he rails on perſons of honour (which he does plainly, " and often, tho' ſometimes very falſely) his language " is dark, harſh and unintelligible." Dr. *Heylin* thought this character ſo juſt, that he has recited it in his *Survey* of *Sanderſon*'s *Hiſtory* of *Charles* I, annexed to his *advertiſements* on the ſaid author's *Hiſtory* of the *queen* of *Scots* and king *James*, in his *Examen Hiſtoricum* before-mentioned; and farther confirms it with this character of his own: " *Sanderſon*'s *method* is intricate and perplex'd, " backwards and forwards, without care of time or or- " der; telling the ſame thing over and over, and many " times diſagreeing in one place, from that which was " affirm'd in another: his *language* rough and unpoliſh'd " in moſt parts of the book, and in ſome parts ungram- " matical; ſo that no ſenſe can be pick'd out of it, but " by circumſtances, and in the way of conjecture only." A little further he alſo gives it as the opinion of a judi- cious friend, " That *Sanderſon* writes nothing like an " hiſtorian, either for ſtyle or compoſure: his ſentences " many times nonſenſe, and his digreſſions tedious and " impertinent."

And Dr. *Welwood*, in his notes on *Wilſon*'s hiſtory of king *James*, ſays, nothing could inhance the value of it more than " a moſt wretched one publiſh'd by one *Wil-* " *liam Sanderſon*; who pretends, in ſeveral places, to " ſome ſecret memoirs or diſcourſes with great men, to " make good the paſſages of his hiſtory. But the truth " is, the whole is nothing elſe but an ill-compil'd *collec-* " *tion* out of other authors; wherein he, for the moſt " part, miſtakes or perverts their meaning. In curſorily " reading over this hiſtory, I have ſometimes taken no- " tice of above four or five groſs *errors*, either in *names*, " *things* or *chronology*, in one ſingle page."

[e] *Carew Ralegh*'s caſe at the committee, for ſale of delinquents eſtates, MS. before quoted.

[f] A brief relation of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s troubles; with the taking away of the lands and caſtle of *Sherborne* in *Dorſetſhire*, *&c.* 4to. 1669, p. 6.

mediation

mediation *Ralegh* recover'd his ſaid eſtate, and his enlargement in priſon, but how laudably he employ'd himſelf there at the time of this author's writing, which might be about the year 1607; where he ſays, "God put it into the king's mind, againſt man's expectation, to ſave "his life; and ſince, by the ſuit of his faithful wife, both to preſerve his eſtate, and to eaſe "his reſtraint, in ſuch ſort as many, who are at liberty, taſte not greater comforts than he doth "in priſon; being not barr'd of thoſe companions, meaning books, that he may, and per- "haps does, take more true comfort in them, than ever he took of his courtly companions in "his chiefeſt bravery."[a]

But this proſpect was ſoon overcaſt; for there was a young *Scotchman*, named *Robert Car*, who, ſoon after the ſaid reſtitution, ſprang up in great favour at court; and, having no fortune of his own, it was contrived by thoſe who had gaped in vain for *Ralegh*'s eſtate themſelves, to lay the foundation of this favourite's future greatneſs upon his ruin: for, being thus fruſtrated of the effects of Sir *Walter*'s attainder, they pretended to find a flaw in his laſt conveyance of the fee and inheritance of *Sherborne* to his ſon; and to this purpoſe an information was exhibited in the *Exchequer* by the attorney-general *Hobart*, to which *Ralegh* put in his anſwer; and therein the ſaid grant or conveyance was ſet forth to be made over, as above: yet, for want of a *ſingle word* (which was found notwithſtanding in the paper-book, and was only the overſight of the clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and *Sherborne* abſolutely forfeited to the crown; a judgment to be foreſeen without witchcraft; ſince his chief judge was his greateſt enemy, and the caſe argued between a friendleſs priſoner and the king of *England*.[b]

And taken away again.

Then was *Sherborne* given to this *Car*, afterwards earl of *Somerſet*. The lady *Ralegh* and her children earneſtly petition'd the king for compaſſion; but could now obtain no other anſwer from him, than that *he* mun *have the land*, *he* mun *have it for* Car. And ſhe, a woman of high ſpirit, on her knees, prayed to God, that he would puniſh thoſe who had thus wrongfully expoſed her and her children to ruin.[c] We have an elegant letter of *Ralegh*'s extant, to *Car* himſelf, upon this occaſion; but, having been corruptly printed, as I have elſewhere obſerv'd,[d] it may appear from ſeveral ancient manuſcript copies more correct, as follows: "After ſome great "loſſes, and many years ſorrows, of both which I have cauſe to fear I was miſtaken in the "end; it is come to my knowledge, that yourſelf, whom I know not but by an honourable "fame, has been perſuaded to give *me* and *mine* our laſt fatal blow, by obtaining from his "majeſty the inheritance of my children and nephews, *loſt* in the *law* for *want* of a *word*. "This done, there remains nothing with me but the name of life, deſpoiled of all elſe but "the title and ſorrow thereof. His majeſty, whom I never offended (for I ever held it un- "natural and unmanly to hate goodneſs) ſtay'd me at the grave's brink; not, as I hope, that "he thought me worthy of many deaths, and to behold all mine caſt out of the world with "myſelf; but as a king, who, judging the poor in truth, has received a promiſe from God, "*that his throne ſhall be eſtabliſh'd for ever*. And for yourſelf, Sir, ſeeing your fair day is but "now in the *dawn*, and mine drawn to the *evening*, your own virtues and the king's grace "aſſuring you of many favours and much honour, I beſeech you not to begin your firſt *build-* "*ing* upon the *ruins* of the innocent; and that their ſorrows, with mine, may not attend your "firſt plantation. I have been ever bound to your nation, as well for many other graces, as "for their true report of my *trial* to his majeſty, againſt whom had I been found malignant, "the hearing of my cauſe would not have changed *enemies* into *friends*, *malice* into *compaſſion*, "and the minds of the greateſt number preſent into the commiſeration of my ſtate. It is not "the nature of *foul* treaſon to beget ſuch *fair* paſſions; neither could it agree with the duty "and love of faithful ſubjects, eſpecially of your nation, to bewail his overthrow, who had "conſpir'd againſt their moſt liberal and natural lord. I therefore truſt, Sir, that you will "not be the firſt that ſhall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo "their curſe, who enter the field of the fatherleſs; which, if it pleaſe you to know the truth, "is far leſs fruitful in *value* than in *fame*: but that ſo worthy a gentleman as yourſelf will "rather bind us to your ſervice, being, Sir, gentlemen, not baſe in birth or alliance, who "have intereſt therein; and myſelf, with my utmoſt thankfulneſs, will ever remain ready to

[a] Brief View of the State of the Church of *England*, p. 93, 94.

[b] Thus in the brief *Relation* of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Troubles*, and *Carew Ralegh*'s *Caſe* as before. *Ralegh* has himſelf alſo made ſome ſharp reflections upon judges for their deprivations of this kind. In his *Diſcourſe* of the original and miſery of invaſive war, p. 19.

[c] A brief relation of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s troubles, as before, p. 7.

[d] In an *Eſſay* on *Epiſtolary Writings*, &c. MS. p. 31. from archbiſhop *Teniſon*'s Obſervation in his *Baconiana*, printed 8vo. 1679. p. 77. where, ſpeaking of the corrupt and embaſed copies, from which ſeveral of the letters in the *Cabala* were printed, he gives a particular inſtance in this letter of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s to Sir *Robert Car*; having compared it with the *original*, and found no fewer than forty differences between them, of which ſome were of moment.

obey

"obey your commandments." This letter, in one or two old copies, is dated *December* 1608.[a] But this ſo little prevailed upon *Car*, or any other applications *Ralegh* might make to the king, with his majeſty himſelf; that beſides *Sherborne*, and the manors belonging to it, thoſe other lands which *Ralegh* himſelf had purchaſed, call'd, *Pinford* and *Primeſly*, *Barton*, and the manors appertaining alſo thereunto, forfeited with the reſt by his attainder, were alſo granted the following year 1609, or the ſeventh of his majeſty's reign, to the ſaid favourite.[b]

How much reſpected by the prince of *Wales*.

BUT now, or not long after, *Ralegh* was grown into high eſteem with that great hope and heir of theſe kingdoms, prince *Henry Frederick*, the king's eldeſt ſon, who, being ſatisfied of his loyalty, and well inform'd of his great qualifications and experience in civil and military affairs, with his hazardous ſervices for the honour and defence of his country, no leſs than his many publick-ſpirited adventures, both to enlarge and enrich it, teſtified not his own merits more in any one particular, than in diſtinguiſhing thoſe of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; and, notwithſtanding the many little envious detractions of ſome undermining courtiers about him, did both encourage his epiſtolary addreſſes to him from the *Tower*, and ſend for his counſel or opinion upon ſeveral emergent occaſions. It was, perhaps, one of the brighteſt rays in the ſhining orb of this rare prince's actions; that he never left invading the king with the moſt perſuaſive ſolicitations, that he would beſtow *Sherborne* upon him, with full deſign to return it to its juſt owner, till his majeſty at laſt granted his requeſt: but by what cruel fate *Ralegh*'s hopes were eclipſed again, and indeed thoſe of the whole kingdom, we ſhall ſuddenly hear.

IN the mean time, we muſt here endeavour to give ſuch light of that intercourſe which paſſed between the ſaid prince *Henry* and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as thoſe *letters* and *diſcourſes*, which he addreſſed to his highneſs, and are extant, will afford; and firſt, when he found how commendably the prince was inclined to the ſtudies of navigation; how much delighted he was with a view of the fleet at *Chatham*; how inquiſitive, or deſirous to inform himſelf, by conſultation with the moſt experienced commanders, in the knowledge of building ſhips moſt artfully, fitting them out moſt commodiouſly, ſailing them moſt dexterouſly, and fighting with them moſt ſucceſsfully, in order to execute thoſe great deſigns he had upon the *Weſt-Indies* and *Spain* itſelf, whenever the king thereof ſhould give cauſe of publick hoſtility, as one of his own ſervants acquaints us, and would have done more diſtinctly, had he not been manacled in a courtly maxim ſo diſcrepant with all *perſonal* narrative; *That to publiſh particulars, agrees not with rules of ſtate*:[c] *Ralegh* compoſed and communicated to his highneſs ſeveral *tractates* upon theſe ſubjects. Such was his *letter* touching the *model* of a *ſhip*, which the prince intended to build;[d] and ſuch his *diſcourſe* of a *maritimal voyage*, with the *paſſages* and *incidents* therein,[e] which he ſeconded with ſome neceſſary *obſervations* on the *royal navy* and *ſea ſervice*,[f] alſo dedicated to his highneſs; and wherein he appears to have been a moſt worthy and earneſt counſellor of the prince, to a due *regard* and *regulation thereof*. For, ſays *Ralegh* to him, in anſwer to any objection that might be made to the maintenance of ſo great a fleet, in the perfection and readineſs which he recommends, now in times of peace: "Tho' "the *ſword* is put into the *ſheath*, we muſt not ſuffer it to *ruſt*, or ſtick ſo faſt, that we ſhall "not be able to *draw* it readily when need requires;" and, a little further, "we may be aſſur'd, "that if thoſe powerful means, whereby we reduced our enemies to the courteſy of ſeeking "peace of us, were neglected, ſo as we could not again, upon occaſion, readily aſſume the uſe "and benefit of them, as we have done; thoſe proud maſtering ſpirits, finding us at ſuch "advantage, would be more willing to *ſhake us by the ears as enemies, than to take us by the "hands as friends*. Therefore, far be it from our hearts to truſt more to that friendſhip of "ſtrangers, which is but diſſembled upon policy and neceſſity, than to the ſtrength of our "own forces, which has been experienced with ſo happy ſucceſs. I confeſs, that *peace* is a "bleſſing of God, and bleſſed are the *peace-makers*; therefore doubtleſs bleſſed are thoſe *means* "whereby peace is gain'd and maintain'd. For well we know, that God works all things "here among us, mediately and by a ſecondary means; the which means, of *our defence* and "*ſafety*, being *ſhipping* and *ſea-forces*, are to be eſteemed as his gifts; and then only available "and beneficial, when he withal vouchſafes his grace to *uſe them aright*."[g] To this end,

His advice to the prince about the *Royal Navy*.

[a] One copy is in a thin folio volume of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Letters, among the MS. collections of Sir *Hans Sloane*; and the other, in the library of *James Weſt*, Eſq;

[b] *Carew Ralegh*'s Caſe, as before.

[c] A *Diſcourſe* of the moſt illuſtrious prince *Henry*, late prince of *Wales*, written *Anno* 1626 by Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Kt. ſome time treaſurer of his highneſs's houſe. Dedicated to prince *Charles* by *J. B.* printed 4to. 1641. p. 12, 13, *&c.*

[d] In Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Remains (laſt edit.) p. 160.

[e] Mention'd by Sir *Walter Ralegh* in his Obſervations on the Royal Navy, *&c.* p. 1.

[f] Printed in his *Eſſays*, 8vo. 1650.

[g] Id. p. 44, *&c.*

Ralegh alſo wrote another *diſcourſe* for the ſaid prince, *Of the art of war by ſea*:[a] But the untimely death of his highneſs, as we ſhall too ſoon find, deprived both him and poſterity of the advantages which a ſubject ſo uſeful and uncommon, from an author ſo able and experienc'd, did promiſe.

THERE is nothing in theſe diſcourſes, or any other I have met with, which ſhew *Ralegh* any ways concerned in writing thoſe propoſitions or *arguments* for *foreign wars*, which were delivered to prince *Henry* by ſome of his military ſervants, and which were afterwards *abſtractedly* publiſh'd, together with an *anſwer* at *large*, written, very conformable to the taſte of king *James*, by the learned Sir *Robert Cotton*;[b] tho', to the firſt edition of this treatiſe, the bookſellers, having prefixed Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s picture, have thereby miſled ſome writers of his life, careleſly to inſert this book into the catalogue of his writings.[c] 'Tis true, *Ralegh* has obliquely and ſubordinately touch'd this branch of the ſubject in ſome of his diſcourſes upon *war*, but in other arguments than are here anſwer'd, nay after this anſwer was written; nor are they addreſſed to the prince, but indeed written alſo after his death.[d] In ſome places, he has given the greateſt diſcouragements to a military life, from knowing, how many are deluded to be the executioners of other men's ambition, and to *lay down* their lives for what they ſhould not *venture* them;[e] yet withal, the greater diſproportion of honour and reward which attends that profeſſion, than others of leſs perſonal hardſhip and danger, as was before partly obſerved.[f] In other places, he has written againſt wanton and cauſeleſs invaſions, for the mere ſake of brutiſh and vain-glorious victory; againſt waging *war* with our enemies, till we beat the *art* of it into them; till cowards are learnt to be couragious, and defenders become aſſailants: yet has elſewhere, in a very ingenious ſimilitude, ſhewn, that *martial policy* is one of the principal ſupports of government.[g] However, when a prince has thereby got authority, or the *ſharpeſt* means in his power, he would have the *mildeſt* uſe; and the one acquired in full ſtrength, only that the other may be exerciſed with perfect ſafety: for he ever preferr'd reaſon and love as ſtronger chains of government than conſtraint or violence,[h] and thought that *royal dealings* was ever ſureſt of meeting with *royal ſucceſs*.[i] Such were the principles Sir *Walter Ralegh* infus'd not only into the prince of *Wales*, but all other readers throughout his writings; and agreeable hereto is the tenor of that letter he wrote to the ſaid prince, *Auguſt* the 12th 1611, concerning the moſt *eligible* power *in an* Engliſh *ſoveraign*, where he has, with the ſpirit of a true patriot, ſaid: "Let me not doubt but all plans, which do not carry in "them the mutual happineſs of prince and people, will appear as abſurd to your great under-"ſtanding, as diſagreeable to your noble nature."[k]

And concerning the beſt *plan* of *government*.

BUT now *Ralegh*'s pen was engaged upon a different ſubject in the prince's ſervice, and by his command: for, "the firſt overtures of a marriage between this prince and the eldeſt "daughter of *Spain* being put off,"[l] the like motion was now made by the *Savoyan* ambaſſador, not only for a marriage between prince *Henry* and a daughter of the duke of *Savoy*, but for another, of his ſon Don *Phillibert*, prince of *Piedmont*, with princeſs *Elizabeth*, the daughter of *England*. *Ralegh* wrote *two diſcourſes*, upon this occaſion, in the year laſt mention'd; and that he particularly was requeſted by the prince to give his opinion of the ſaid

[a] Hereafter mention'd more particularly in the catalogue of his writings.

[b] *Wars* with *foreign* princes *dangerous*, or *reaſons* for foreign wars *anſwer'd*, 8vo. 165— reprinted under the title of *An anſwer* to ſuch *motives* as were offered by certain *military* men to prince *Henry*, inciting him to affect *arms* more than *peace*, publiſh'd by Sir *John Cotton*, Bart. 8vo. 1665. But this ſecond edition has very properly exchanged Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s picture for Sir *Robert Cotton*'s.

[c] *Anthony Wood* in *Athen. Oxon.* vol. I. col. 440. and *Prince's Worthies* of *Devon*, fol. 541.

[d] As in his *Diſcourſe* of the original and miſeries of *invaſive war*, 8vo. 1650, *&c.*

[e] His words are: "It may be affirm'd, the number of "thoſe that have been ſlaughter'd by their fellow-crea-"tures, exceed the number of all the inhabitants that "ever were at one time living upon the face of the earth; "yet very few of this infinite number, thus untimely "ſlain, were ever maſters of the grounds of the diſputes "for which they ſuffer'd, or the true reaſon of their "being led to the battle; the truth, with much artifice, "being kept from all, but what were parties to the de-"ſign reſolved on. What deluded wretches then have "a great part of mankind been, who have either yielded "themſelves to be ſlain in cauſes, which, if truly known, "their hearts would abhor, or been the bloody *executio-"ners* of other men's ambition! It is a hard fate to be "*ſlain* for what a man ſhould never willingly *fight*; yet "few *ſoldiers* have laid themſelves down in the bed of "honour under better circumſtances." *Ralegh*'s *Three Diſcourſes*, p. 110.

[f] From his *reflections* on the unhappineſs of a *military* profeſſion, in his Hiſtory *of the* World, lib. 5. cap. 6. ſect. 2.

[g] It is as follows: "They ſay, that the goodlieſt *cedars*, "which grow on the high mountains of *Libanus*, thruſt "their roots between the clifts of hard rocks, the better "to bear themſelves againſt the ſtrong ſtorms that blow "there. As *nature* has inſtructed thoſe *kings* of *trees*, ſo "has *reaſon* taught the *kings* of *men* to root themſelves in "the hardy hearts of their faithful ſubjects. And, as "thoſe kings of trees have large tops, ſo have the kings "of men large crowns; whereof, as the firſt would ſoon "be broken from their bodies, were they not underborne "by many branches; ſo would the other eaſily totter, "were they not faſten'd on their heads with the ſtrong "chains of *civil* juſtice and *martial* diſcipline." *Ralegh*'s *Remains* (laſt edit.) p. 116.

[h] *Idem*, p. 119.

[i] *Ralegh*'s *Prerogative* of *Parliaments*, in the ſaid edit. of his Remains, p. 236.

[k] See this letter of Sir *Walter Ralegh* to prince *Henry*, in Sir *Richard Steele*'s *Engliſhman*, 8vo. 1714, p. 9.

[l] Sir *William Cornwallis*'s *Diſcourſe* of the moſt illuſtrious *Prince Henry*, as before, p. 19, *&c.*

offers,

offers, appears in his introduction to the firſt of thoſe diſcourſes, inſcrib'd to ſome miniſter of ſtate about his highneſs; in which *Ralegh* has ſo notably diſcover'd what a tool for "avarice "and ambition moſt of the Catholic princes in *Europe* had made of this *ſacrament* of matri- "mony;" and how notoriouſly "the *Caſtilians*, with thoſe of whom theſe princes are de- "ſcended, have gotten no leſs by the *traffick* of their *marriages*, than they have done by the "*trade* of their *Indies*;" that I wonder theſe excellent political diſcourſes were never made publick, for the more eaſy advertiſement of our ſucceeding princes upon this topick. The ſecond of them, upon the match for prince *Henry*, is treated under eight heads; and, in the fourth page of it, *Ralegh* has theſe words: "There is a kind of noble and *royal deceiving* in "*marriages* between great *kings* and *princes*; yea it is, of all others, the *faireſt* and moſt *un-* "*ſuſpected kind* of *betraying*: it has been as ordinary among them to adventure or *caſt away* "a *daughter* to bring ſome *purpoſe* to paſs, as at other times, for *ſaving* of *charges*, to make "them *nuns*." A little farther, having repreſented the duke of *Savoy* ſo tied to the ſee of *Rome*, both by religion and benefit, that he could no more be ſeparated and ſubſiſt, than if his ſoul was divided from his body, he goes on thus, more directly, concerning the marriage: "What "then remains of profit to our prince by this alliance? A *ſum* of *money*, and a *beautiful* lady. "For *beauty* (ſays he) it was never more cheap in any age; and it is ever better loved in "the *hope*, than when it is *had*: for the *million* of *crowns* offered, which makes but *two* of "*our ſubſidies*, I ſpeak it confidently; when thoſe dukes, lords, and great ladies, who will "attend the princeſs in her paſſage hither, ſhall be all preſented with *gifts* according to *their* "degrees and the *king*'s honour; when the *preparations*, *triumphs* and *feaſtings* are paid for, "there will nothing remain but a great encreaſe of *charge*, and, perchance, a great deal of *me-* "*lancholy*." And a little further, *Ralegh* comes cloſer ſtill, to the prince himſelf, in theſe "words: "Now, if by theſe diſlikes of the former alliances, you make judgment that it "is my deſire that the prince ſhould not marry at all; I ſay, my deſire is not, that the prince "ſhould not marry at all, but not as yet; and I am exceeding ſorry that the prince has not "the ſame deſire. For ſeeing his *majeſty* is yet but young, and by God's favour like to live "many years; and that his *highneſs*, if he ſhould now marry, may have many children born "to him, before he be thirty years old; and, ſeeing all his children ſhall be princes, and "muſt be provided for as princes, I think it will much perplex him to find himſelf ſo invi- "ron'd, till his majeſty has ſomewhat repaired his eſtate, and provided beautiful *gardens* to "plant theſe *olive* branches in. While the prince is unmarried, all the eyes of *Chriſtendom* "are upon him; for, with what king ſoever he ſhall be *ballanc'd*, he will caſt the *ſcale*; but, "to have him *weighed* with a *little prince*, I ſhould be ſorry, and he himſelf will be as ſorry "after. All the princes in *Chriſtendom* woo'd *Charles*, duke of *Burgundy*, while his daughter "was unmarried; and while our prince is free (our enemies not knowing upon what ground "to build their practices) his majeſty's ſafety is in the mean while infinitely aſſured; but, the "prince once diſpoſed of, they will preſently *muſter* our forces, *meaſure* our fortunes, *ſound* "us to the bottom, and make their approaches accordingly: they will then ſay, we have "*ſeen* the *utmoſt* of the *Prince* of *Wales*!" Then having obſerv'd, that "ſince there is none but "a *Catholic lady* for us, let us have a *king* on our ſide (ſays he) to boot:" ſo, in conſideration of the many motives to enmity between *France* and *Spain*, which he enumerates; as alſo the many obligations which *France* then lay under, of gratitude to the crown of *England*, and the advantage of retaining the *Netherlands*, he propoſes the daughter of the *French* king. On the other ſide, that it would be a needleſs hazard both to neglect this love and union, and ſuſtain withal the hatred of the *archduke*, the *pope*, and the king of *Spain* together; however diſ- united, they were not to be feared: "For then, if they ſhould combine againſt us, from whom "ſhould we hope for help? If it be from *Savoy* or *Florence*, God help us! Our friends in- "habit beyond the mountains, our enemies at hand! We leave thoſe that are ſtrongeſt and "neareſt us, for thoſe who are weakeſt and furtheſt off! We leave thoſe that can help us, or "harm us, for thoſe that can do neither! Thoſe we leave who depend on themſelves, to "wit, the *French*, for thoſe who depend on others, to wit, the *Savoyans* and *Florentines*!" Thus ends Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *diſcourſe* upon the *marriage* propoſed for prince *Henry*.

His arguments againſt the *match* propoſed for his *highneſs*.

In his other *diſcourſe*, on the match that was offered for the ingenious and accompliſh'd lady *Elizabeth*, that prince's ſiſter, having copiouſly exemplified, as we have obſerv'd, what mercenary ſacrifices had been made, by crown'd heads, of their children, in this grand *market* of *matrimony*; and anſwer'd the objection he foreſaw ſome *eſpanioliz'd* courtiers might make, that ſeeing the kings of *France*, and eſpecially of *Spain*, had ſo often match'd themſelves with the dukes of *Savoy*, Why ſhould not the king of *England* alſo accept of their alliance? He pro-

ceeds

And againſt the *match* for princeſs *Elizabeth.*

ceeds to examine what encreaſe of *honour* and *dignity*, or what great *comfort* or *contentment* this excellent young princeſs could expect or hope for by this match? " For the *firſt*, to wit, " *honour* and *dignity* (ſays he) as ſhe is born the eldeſt, and now only daughter of one of the " mightieſt kings of *Chriſtendom*, ſo is ſhe thereby of higher place and ſtate, than the wife " of a duke of *Savoy*. Beſides, in her birth and blood, both of father and mother, deſcended " of ſuch royal races, as *Savoy* cannot add any greater grace or glory to; and by nature and " education endow'd with ſuch princely perfections, both of body and mind, as may well de- " ſerve to be reputed a worthy ſpouſe for the greateſt monarch of *Chriſtendom*, eſpecially con- " ſidering the *poſſibilities* of a *daughter* of *England*, whereof we have had many precedents; " and, *at this time, is happily manifeſted in the king's majeſty, our ſoveraign, being deſcended of* " *a daughter of* England; whereby the whole iſland, formerly divided, is again now made " one GREAT-BRITAIN, to the mutual ſtrength of either. Now to confer the *poſſibility* of " ſuch a fortune, upon a poor popiſh duke of *Savoy*, that can return no recompence of benefit " to this ſtate, were greatly for his glory, tho' little for the advancement of this noble prin- " ceſs, and leſs for the ſafety of this kingdom, conſidering the dangers that it may draw upon " our worthy magnanimous *prince* and the noble duke of *York*, if the ambition of this match " ſhould tickle the *Savoyan* to look after *poſſibilities*, wherein there would want neither means, " perſuaſions nor pardons from *Rome*, to practiſe any villany in that behalf, whereby to bene- " fit or ſtrengthen an *appendix* of *Spain*, and ſo devoted a ſon to the *Romiſh* ſee. For the " *ſecond*, namely the *comfort* and *contentment* of this worthy young lady by this match, as there " is little in appearance preſently, ſo there is leſs to be hoped for in the future. For, as firſt, " ſhe muſt be removed far from her neareſt blood, both by father and mother, into a country " far eſtranged from our nation, as any part of *Chriſtendom*, and as far differing from us in " religion, as in climate. And what true correſpondence, or matrimonial affection, there can " be maintain'd between thoſe perſons, whoſe minds are different, and oppoſite in the religious " points of their Chriſtian faith, is greatly to be doubted. Moreover it is greatly to be feared, " with what ſafety and ſecurity ſhe can long live free from ſecret practices and treacheries, " in a country ſo near the pope's juriſdiction, inviron'd with the plots of the Jeſuits, who, we " ſee, do daily traffick the lives and fortunes of all princes who are not wholly devoted to the " *Romiſh* obedience; and therefore how they will entertain or tolerate the race of our king, " were too great an error and preſumption to truſt to: ſo as when the worthy lady, hereafter " by her children or otherwiſe, has furniſh'd their deſire, and fully ſerved their turn, ſhe ſhall " be then either forced to wound her conſcience, by forſaking her faith, or elſe to undergo " the ſcorns and danger which ſhall be daily caſt upon her and her family, for the exerciſe of " her religion. And this alſo we may be well aſſured of, that, if ſhe ſhall have any iſſue by " the prince of *Piedmont*, they muſt all be bred and brought up contrary to her conſcience, " which can be no ſmall grief to a virtuous and natural mother, and as little comfort to our " juſt religious king, their grandfather. Laſtly, the very binding cauſe of amity between all " kings, princes and ſtates, is their trade and intercourſe of their ſubjects. Now there is not " any prince or ſtate of *Europe*, the inland countries of *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania* excepted, " but the *Engliſh* have trade withal; yea even with the *Turk*, *Barbarian*, *Perſian* and *Indians*; " only with the ſubjects of *Savoy*, I do not know that we have any medling or interchange at " all: for the duke has no port, his ditch of *Villa-Franca* excepted, which is only capable " of a few gallies, either to furniſh ſhips from, or to receive them, being ſtrangers. And " therefore for his majeſty of *England* to match his eldeſt and only daughter with a prince, " who has his dependance on other kings; a prince *jeſuited*, who can neither head us in time " of war, nor trade with us in time of peace; a prince, by the ſituation of his country, every " way unprofitable to us; and that, no leſs perilous for his majeſty's daughter to live in: I re- " ſolve myſelf, that he is of too excellent a judgment ever to accept of it, and his honourable " council too wiſe and provident to adviſe the proſecution thereof. Now, if his *highneſs* ſhould " be pleaſed to aſk my opinion, with what *Chriſtian* prince he ſhould match his ſiſter, were it " in his own power and choice to make election, I humbly deſire to be excuſed herein; for, " would it become me to preſume ſo far? It is true, I have heard it, that ſome overtures have " been made for the prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; certainly he is as well born as the duke of " *Savoy*, and as free a prince as he is. The nation is faithful; he is of our religion, and by " him we ſhall greatly faſten unto us the *Netherlands*: and, for the little judgment which God " has given me, *I do prize the alliance of the* Palatine *of the* RHINE, *and of the* Houſe *of*

" NASSAU,

"NASSAU, *more than I do the alliance of* ten dukes *of* Savoy." And thus ends his *diſcourſe* on the marriage of princeſs *Elizabeth*.[a]

WHAT follow'd was, that about a twelve-month after the writing of thoſe *Diſcourſes*, the ſaid princeſs was married to *Frederick*, elector palatine of the *Rhine*,[b] afterwards king of *Bohemia*; a match which might have well anſwer'd all the advantages expected from it, at leaſt one that had never been attended with ſuch a ſeries of calamities, were king *James* to have been moved, if not through honour and power, as a *ſoveraign*, yet through nature and affection, as a *father*, to have granted them a ſeaſonable ſupply againſt their enemies. Inſtead of which, his indulging, beyond all apprehenſion of poſſibility, at leaſt all production of precedent, a *bleſſed peaceable* temper, as his flatterers called it, to the ſitting down a quiet ſpectator of his childrens overthrow, and their fortunes, occaſion'd, not only all the lamentable *wars* which ſucceeded throughout *Germany*, to the utter ruin of his ſaid *ſon-in-law*, and all the princes who aſſiſted him; but alſo *thoſe* of his *ſucceſſor* at home, throughout his own dominions: For, daring not to draw his ſword, through fear of offending the *Spaniard*, he ſat muſing at home, one while, how to raiſe money by privy-ſeals, benevolences, crown-lands and woods, either to cram his inſatiable favourites, or elſe to fit out more prodigal and frivolous embaſſies, than would, by arms, have ſettled his children unmoveably in their throne; and, at other times, how to improve his ſoveraignty; or pick quarrels with his parliaments, and entail them to his *heirs-general*.[c]

As for the prince of *Wales*, he is ſaid to have firſt encourag'd the prince *Elector* to attempt his ſiſter; deſiring more to head an army in *Germany*, than he durſt make ſhew of, and would, no doubt, have been bravely follow'd:[d] but alas! that fate, which ſo often ſuffers the unworthy to flouriſh, deprived this kingdom of prince *Henry* in leſs than a month after the arrival of the ſaid *Elector*. Some have inſinuated, as if the *Spaniards*, becauſe his *highneſs* approved *Ralegh*'s *Diſcourſe* touching a *war* with *Spain*, had a hand in his untimely end; alledging, that, if *Philip* the ſecond cut off his own hopeful ſon *Charles*, for but pitying the people of *Flanders*, it can be no wonder he (or his ſon) ſhould promote the deſtruction of a *ſtranger*, who did ſo far applaud the advice of *Ralegh*, as to ſay, *No king, but his father, would keep* ſuch *a* bird *in a* cage.[e] But, from more inteſtine and unnatural ſources, his ſudden death is ſurmiſed by others to have ſprung; the diſeaſe being ſo violent, that the combat of nature againſt it, in the ſtrength of youth (he being almoſt nineteen years of age) laſted but few days. Here it is ſomewhat remarkable, that after Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, with Dr. *Butler*, *Hamond*, and other moſt eminent phyſicians, had uſed the utmoſt of their ſkill in vain, and had the leaſt hopes imaginable left of the prince's recovery, that theſe ſhould be at laſt center'd in ſome relief that might be had from Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and that a *cordial* from him (a ſtate-priſoner) ſhould be ſent for, and, with conſent or approbation, adminiſter'd, when all other means had failed, and were given over, as we may gather from Sir *William Cornwallis*,[f] and other hiſtorians of thoſe times. As to the effect, tho' it came too late, ſo that it might rather prolong pain than life for a few hours, and truly muſt have been a kind of miracle to have reſtored one ſo far exhauſted, and on the point of expiring, for he died the ſame evening, being the 6th of *November* 1612: Yet, to obſervant readers, it is enough to manifeſt, firſt, what high reputation Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s medicinal knowledge, through this *Cordial*, had now gained (and it afterwards encreaſed[g]) among the moſt ſkilful of the faculty; and ſecondly, the

His great *Cordial* ſent for to the *prince*, at the point of death.

[a] Of theſe two MS. *Diſcourſes*, by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, on the *Marriage* betwixt *England* and *Savoy*; more will be ſpoken a few pages further, in the *Catalogue* of his *Works*.

[b] This marriage was celebrated on the 14th of *February* 1612, in ſuch pomp and ſplendor, that the jewels only, which were worn by the king, queen and prince, were valued that day, by his majeſty himſelf (upon occaſion of diſcourſe happening of the bravery then appearing) at *nine hundred thouſand pounds* Sterling. Sir *John Finet*'s Obſervations touching foreign ambaſſadors, 8vo. 1656, p. 11.

[c] See the *Life* and *Reign* of king *Charles*, &c. 8vo. 1651. in Pref. Alſo *Obſervations* on the Hiſtory of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, and her ſon *James*, p. 5.

[d] *Oſborne*'s Memoirs of king *James*, p. 154.

[e] *Idem*, p. 165.

[f] Sir *William Cornwallis*'s *Life* of Prince *Henry*, in 8vo. a different and more copious work than his *Diſcourſe* in 4to. on the ſaid *prince* before quoted, tho' printed the ſame year 1641. See alſo *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, and *Sanderſon*'s *Hiſtory* of King *James*.

[g] Inſomuch, that there has been a diſtinct volume written upon this *Cordial*; whereby I find it is not to be taken for that which is called Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *cordial*, in a book entitled, as I remember, *The Lady*'s *Cloſet open'd*; for that is only a ſimple *ſtrawberry-water*. But this here meant, was his GREAT CORDIAL, as I find *Ralegh*, in one of his *manuſcripts*, has ſtyl'd it himſelf. This *Cordial* roſe into ſuch high repute, for its ſoveraign virtues, in the reign of king CHARLES II, and was ſo much recommended to and admir'd by him, that he commanded NICHOLAS *le* FEBVRE, the royal profeſſor in *chymiſtry*, and apothecary in ordinary to his majeſty's houſhold, to prepare a quantity of this *precious remedy* after the exacteſt manner, which the ſaid chymiſt not only did, but compoſed in *French* alſo, under his majeſty's auſpices and command, a Treatiſe entitled, *Diſcours ſur le* GRAND CORDIAL *de* Sir WALTER RALEGH, which he *dedicates* to the ſaid *king*: and this was at the ſame time tranſlated into *Engliſh* by PETER BELON, ſtudent in chymiſtry. For they were both *licenſed* on the 23d of *April* 1664; tho' the *tranſlation* appears to have been printed firſt, becauſe it is dated that year; and the *original*

the unſteady and incoherent opinions which were entertain'd of one and the ſame man's loyalty; that he, who was accuſed at his trial of a plot to *extirpate* the *royal family*, ſhould yet be ſo far relied on to *ſave* it, as to have the lives firſt of queen *Anne*, as was before related, and now of prince *Henry*, truſted to his experiments. But, in a modern author, we have ſome further circumſtances of this paſſage, which I have not elſewhere met with. For, having ſpoken of the particular eſteem which prince *Henry* had contracted for Sir *Walter Ralegh*, the conſtant correſpondence he kept with him by letters and meſſages, and of the ſollicitations he had ſo repeatedly made to the king for his liberty, as what might contribute towards his majeſty's perſonal prejudice againſt *Ralegh*, he adds: "When the prince fell into his laſt "illneſs, the queen ſent to Sir *Walter Ralegh* for ſome of his *cordial*, which ſhe herſelf had "taken in a fever ſome time before, with remarkable ſucceſs. *Ralegh* ſent it, together with "a letter to the queen, wherein he expreſs'd a tender concern for the prince; and, boaſting "of his medicine, ſtumbled unluckily upon an expreſſion to this purpoſe, *That it would cer-*"*tainly cure him, or any other, of a* fever, *except in caſe of* poiſon. The prince dying, tho' "he took it; the queen, in the agony of her grief, ſhewed *Ralegh*'s letter, and laid ſo much "weight on the expreſſion about poiſon, that to her dying day ſhe could never be diſſuaded "from the opinion, that her beloved ſon had foul play done him." [a] If this was true, there might be a ſtreſs too confidently laid on this medicine, in ſuppoſing that nothing but poiſon could reſiſt the power of it, and perhaps ſome inadvertency in ſtarting ſuch a ſuſpicion in a fond mother, which (in the ſaid modern writer's opinion) there might poſſibly be no ground for, and might, in the conſequence, prove fatal to *Ralegh* himſelf; tho' the ſame author alſo knew, *Ralegh* was not the only man who ſtarted that ſuſpicion; for he knew what the prince's domeſtic chaplain preach'd at *St. James*'s on the diſſolution of his highneſs's family; and he knew what the lord chief juſtice *Coke* not long after ſaid in open court about the poiſoning of

the year after: The *French* is in 12°, the *Engliſh* in 8vo. After the dedication, follows this *introduction* of the *Recipe*: ——— *Eximium* Cordiale Regium *multis rebus neceſſariis auctum, ſecundum conſilium & approbationem illuſtriſſimorum virorum, D. D.* Kenelmi Digby, *Equitis Aurati, & ſereniſſimæ Reginæ* matris *Cancellarii, & D. D.* Alex. Fraiſer, *Equitis Aurati, & ſereniſſimi ac potentiſſimi Regis* Caroli *Secundi*, &c. *Archiatrorum Comitis.* Next follows the Receipt in theſe words:— "RECIPE *Raſuræ* "*Cornu Cervi, libram unam*; Carnis Viperarum cum Cor-"dibus & Hepatibus, *uncias ſex*; *Florum Boraginis, Bugloſ-*"*ſæ, Roris-Marini, Calendulæ, Vetonicæ, Coronariæ rubræ,* "*Roris ſolis, Roſarum rubrarum, & Sambuci, ſingulorum* "*libram ſemiſſem*; *Herbarum Scordii, Cardui Benedicti,* "*Meliſſæ, Dictamni Cretici, Menthæ, Majoranæ, Beto-*"*nicæ, ſingularum manipulos duodecim*; *Granorum Kermes* "*recenter in rob redactorum, Cubebarum, Cardamomi* "*majoris, Baccarum Juniperi, Maceris, Nucis Myriſticæ,* "*Caryophyllorum, Croci, ſingulorum uncias duas*; *Cinna-*"*momi acutiſſimi, Corticis ligni Saſſafras, flavedinis ma-*"*lorum Citriorum & Aurantiorum, ſingulorum uncias tres*; "*Lignorum Aloes & Saſſafras uniuſcujuſque uncias ſex*; "*Radicum Angelicæ, Valerianæ, Carlinæ, Fraxinellæ* "*ſeu Dictamni albi, Serpentariæ Virginianæ, Zedoariæ,* "*Tormentillæ, Biſtortæ, Ariſtolochiæ longæ, rotundæ &* "*cavæ, Gentianæ & Imperatoriæ, ſingulorum unciam* "*unam & ſemiſſem. Omnia inciſa & groſſo modo contuſa* "*in vaſe idoneo poſita cum ſpiritu vini rectificato extrahan-*"*tur ſecundum Artem. Tincturæ filtratæ in extractum* "*mediante, in Mariæ balneo, diſtillatione evaporentur.* "*Magma expreſſum comburatur; cineres reverberati per* "*aquam elixivientur, unde ſal purum lege Artis paretur,* "*quod extracto miſceatur. His ita peractis, huic extracto* "*adde, ut Artis eſt, Pulverem ſequentem cæteráque ingre-*"*dientia.* RECIPE *Lapidum Bezoardicorum Orientalium* "*& Occidentalium verorum uniuſcujuſque unciam ſemiſſem,* "*Magiſterii ſolubilis Perlarum Orientalium uncias duas,* "*Magiſterii ſolubilis Corellorum rubrorum uncias tres*; "*Boli Orientalis, Terræ ſigillatæ veræ,* Unicornu Mine-"ralis, *Cornu Cervi Philoſophicè præparati, & Cornu* "*Cervi calcinati, ſingulorum unciam unam*; *Ambrægri-*"*ſeæ electiſſimæ in Eſſentiam redactæ, unciam unam*; "*Moſchi Orientalis optimi eſſentificati drachmam unam &* "*ſemiſſem*; *Croci ſolis cum tinctura Antimonii* Baſilii Va-"lentini *parati drachmas duas. Sacchari candiſati albi* "*ſubtiliſſime pulveriſati, libras duas. Ex his omnibus* "*mixtis & ex arte unitis fiat Confectio vere Regia, quæ* "*ad uſum reſervetur in pixidibus apprime clauſis.*" Then the author aforeſaid begins his *Diſcourſe* with examples among the ancients of thoſe who have made themſelves famous by their remedies, as *Mithridates*, &c. and among the moderns, *Matheolus, B. Valentine, Paracelſus*, and others; but finds none more worthy, in this particular, than Sir *Walter Ralegh*, becauſe he has not only ſelected moſt judiciouſly whatever is moſt choice and ſoveraign in the *animal, vegetable*, and *mineral* world; but has alſo manifeſted ſo much *art* and *experience* in the preparation of this *great* and *admirable* CORDIAL, as will, of itſelf, render him *immortal:* wherefore he ſays, he could not reſtrain the applauſes owing to his honour and glory, which he has more than merited by that noble labour and profound ſtudy, that acquired him the ſublime knowledge he had in the virtues and qualities of all thoſe ingredients, which unite to the compoſition of this incomparable remedy. So he proceeds to explain, *firſt* the virtues of every individual drug, *which, together, cauſe thoſe rare effects this* CORDIAL *daily produces* (ſays he) *as well towards the heathful, as the ſick. Secondly*, He ſpecifies how *art* helps *nature* in the harmonious and exquiſite method of the preparation. *Thirdly*, Diſtinguiſhes the efficacy of it in *maritime* or *iſlandic* and *northerly countries. Laſtly*, What a *preſervative* it is, as well as *reſtorative*; and concludes with the expoſition of the doſe, the *quantity, time* and *method* of uſing it. Thus much concerning this *Diſcourſe* on Sir WALTER RALEGH's *great* CORDIAL, of which the following particulars may be here farther obſerved: That the author *le Febvre* acknowledging, he had inſerted *two ingredients*, by the counſel and approbation of the aboveſaid Sir *Kenelm Digby* and Sir *Alexander Fraiſer*, which were not mention'd in the firſt preſcription, and which I have marked above in a different character, being the fleſh, heart, and liver of *vipers*, and the *mineral unicorn* which ſome would have to be the *white loadſtone*; it may induce the curious to enquire whether more liberties have not been taken with Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s own genuine RECIPE. To this end, ſhould be conſulted the *Engliſh* copy thereof, in Sir *Kenelm Digby*'s *Collection* of *Receipts*, printed a few years after *le Febvre*'s book. Alſo Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s book of *Chymical Receipts*, an original MS. in Sir *Hans Sloane*'s library, marked B. 387. In which book (all written with *Ralegh*'s own hand) there are, p. 63. b. theſe words, *Our Great Cordial*, and underneath, ſeveral ingredients ſet down, tho' not near the number above cited; but ſcor'd out again with a pen, tho' not illegibly. The next leaf is torn out, where 'tis ſuppoſed *Ralegh* had writ it more compleatly; and that, from this leaf, *le Febvre*'s copy was taken. Laſtly, There is a receipt of this cordial remaining with a lady, who is a deſcendant from Sir *Walter Ralegh*; but, whether agreeing with thoſe in print, I have not, at this juncture, the leiſure for making a requeſt to be ſatisfied.

[a] Dr. *James Welwood*'s Notes on *Wilſon*'s Hiſtory of King *James*, in the Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, vol. 2. f. 714.

Sir

Sir *Thomas Overbury*: that it was to prevent the diſcovery of another crime of the *ſame nature*, committed upon one of the *higheſt rank*, whom he termed a *ſweet prince*;[a] and indeed ſeveral hiſtories of theſe times make no ſecret of it, where they ſhew the bickerings between prince *Henry* and the aforeſaid favourite *Car*, in regard to the counteſs of *Eſſex*, not to mention other motives. However, the phyſicians about the prince gave it under their hands, which was ſpread abroad in ſeveral copies, that he died of a ſtrong malignant *fever*, after they had anatomiz'd him to amuſe the world (ſays another writer) and clear the ſuſpicion of poiſon, as if no venoms could produce the like effects; while the king, to diſpel the clouds and monitors of ſorrow, commanded that no man ſhould appear at court in mourning.[b]

WHATEVER was the cauſe of this excellent prince's death, *Ralegh* had no common ſhare in the loſs of him; his highneſs having, but a few months before he died, obtained *Sherborne*, with intention to return it him, as is already obſerv'd; and we are further inform'd, that king *James*, to ſatisfy his favourite *Car*, who was now viſcount *Rocheſter*, gave him, inſtead thereof, *twenty-five thouſand pounds* in money: ſo far was the crown from gaining by this purchaſe.[c] But now, after the prince's death, this *Rocheſter* got *Sherborne* of the king again; however (as ſome kind of compoſition or amends) his majeſty, we are told by *Ralegh* himſelf, alſo gave his wife and ſon *eight thouſand pounds* for the ſaid eſtate.[d] But how it thrived with *Rocheſter*, is evident enough in the *Hiſtories* of thoſe *Times*; where it appears, that in little more than three years from this prince's death, the ſaid favourite, by the title of earl of *Somerſet*, was arraign'd and condemn'd for that black and ſhameful buſineſs of *poiſoning* Sir *Thomas Overbury*; whereby he not only loſt *Sherborne*, but all thoſe other poſſeſſions which the king had ſo laviſhly heaped upon him; for what merits or ſervices, may better appear in thoſe *Hiſtories*, than it is needful they ſhould do here. As to *Sherborne*, on whom it was next beſtowed, and upon what conſideration, with the attempts made after *Ralegh*'s death by his ſon *Carew* to recover it; ſince the accounts thereof would carry us too far beyond the period in theſe ſheets propoſed, and indeed do more properly relate to the ſtory of the ſon, than the father, I ſhall here refer to an abſtract thereof, in a brief *memorial* of the ſaid *Carew Ralegh*, at the bottom of the page;[e] for as to his elder brother *Walter*, whoſe right it had firſt been to have purſued

The king's *gift* for his *eſtate*.

[a] *Idem*, fol. 689.

[b] *Arthur Wilſon*'s Life and Reign of King *James* I. in the ſame volume, fol. 690.

[c] *Relation* of the *Troubles* of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, &c. p. 8.

[d] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Apology*, p. 47.

[e] *Carew Ralegh* was born, as is before obſerv'd, in the *Tower*, in the latter end of 1604 (or beginning of the next year) being aged about thirteen years at his father's death, as he tells us himſelf: became a gentleman-commoner of *Wadham* college in *Oxford* in 1620, as *Anthony Wood* informs us; but indeed rather ſooner, becauſe *Carew Ralegh*'s own words are, that, after having been five years at *Oxford*, he came to court, and, by the favour of *William* earl of *Pembroke*, his noble kinſman, hoped to obtain ſome redreſs in his misfortunes; but the king, not liking his countenance, ſaid, he appeared to him like his *father*'s *ghoſt*: whereupon the earl adviſed him to travel, which he did till the death of king *James*, which happen'd about a year after. Then returning, and a parliament ſitting, he, according to the cuſtom of this land, petition'd to be reſtor'd in blood, that he might be enabled to inherit whatever lands might fall to him, as his father's heir, or any other way: but his petition having been twice read in the houſe of lords, king *Charles* ſent Sir *James Fullerton* (then of the bed-chamber) for Mr. *Ralegh*, who being brought into the king's chamber by that knight, his majeſty (after uſing him with great civility) told him plainly, that he had formerly promiſed Sir *John Digby*, now earl of *Briſtol*, to ſecure his title to *Sherborne* (it being confer'd on him 14 of *Jac.*) againſt the heirs of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; whereupon *Digby* had given him, being then prince, *ten thouſand pounds*; ſo that now he was bound to make good his promiſe, being king; and therefore, unleſs he would quit all his right and title to *Sherborne*, he neither could, nor would paſs his bill of reſtoration. Mr. *Ralegh* urged the juſtice of his cauſe; that he deſir'd only the liberty of a ſubject, and to be left to the law, which was never deny'd any freeman: but the king was poſitive, and ſo left him. After this, Sir *James Fullerton* uſed many arguments to perſuade ſubmiſſion, as the impoſſibility of conteſting with kingly power, and the many inconveniences of not being reſtor'd in blood: all which conſider'd, together with ſplendid promiſes of great preferment in court, and particular favours from the king, not improbable, wrought much in the mind of young Mr. *Ralegh*, who, being not full twenty years old (as he ſays himſelf) left friendleſs and fortuneleſs, it prevailed ſo far, that he ſubmitted to the king's will. Whereupon there was afterwards an act paſſed 3° *Caroli* for his reſtoration; and, together with it, a ſettlement of *Sherborne* to the earl of *Briſtol*; and, in ſhew of ſome kind of recompence, four hundred pounds a year penſion, during life, was granted to Mr. *Ralegh* after the death of his mother, who had that ſum paid during her life, in lieu of joynture. About a twelvemonth after this, Mr. *Carew Ralegh* married the lady *Philippa*, relict of Sir *Anthony Aſhley*, a rich young widow, by whom he had two ſons and three daughters, and was not long after, at leaſt before the year 1635, made one of the *Gentlemen* of the king's *privy-chamber*. Among the ingenious poems of *Thomas Carew* Eſq; (who was another of thoſe *gentlemen*) printed 8vo. 1640, p. 80. there is a compliment, *To his couſin* C. R. *marrying the lady* A. by which letters are to be underſtood this Mr. *Ralegh*, and that lady *Aſhley*. As for the kind token, which *Anthony Wood* ſays the king honour'd him with at his majeſty's leaving *Hampton-court*, and going into the *Iſle of Wight anno* 1647, it was no more than a picture of the lady *Stanley*, as I remember, which was Mr. *Ralegh*'s own property; therefore the king, among the *letters* he left on the table, deſired, in one of them, the ſaid picture might be returned him, as may appear by thoſe *letters* which were then printed, or the extract of them in *Heath*'s Chronicle. In the year 1650, and afterwards, ſeveral little tracts of his father's were publiſh'd and dedicated to him. In 1651, there was a *committee* for the *ſale* of *delinquents* eſtates; and about that time the earl of *Digby* being fled to *France*, Mr. *Ralegh* had a fair proſpect to recover his eſtate, therefore deliver'd his *Caſe* in to the ſaid committee; and it was order'd, "That this *Caſe* be reported "to the houſe with the opinion of this committtee; *That* "*they conceive him a fit object of their mercy.*" He alſo, about the ſame time, drew up a brief *Relation* of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *troubles*, and addreſs'd it to the parliament. But whether printed before his death I know not, (the edition here uſed being dated three years after) nor wherefore his caſe and petition were laid aſide. In 1656, came out the *Obſervations* on *Sanderſon*'s hiſtory of king *James*, which this hiſtorian ſuppoſing to be writ by *Carew Ralegh*, publiſh'd an *Anſwer* to it the ſame year, with ſome ſcandalous and unworthy reflections therein upon him: But no one has given heed to them. He certainly made his court

ſued whatever proſpect there was of retrieving the ſaid eſtate, he died before their father, as will be more particularly remembred towards the concluſion of this work.

But which of theſe two ſons was attended on in his adventures by *Ben Johnſon*, is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh from the words of an author, who writes, "That *Johnſon*'s mother, having married "to her ſecond huſband a bricklayer, took her ſon from *Weſtminſter* ſchool (where he had "made a hopeful progreſs under the learned *Camden*) and made him work at her huſband's "trade: till being pitied by ſome generous gentlemen, *Camden* got him a better employment; "which was to attend or accompany a *ſon* of Sir *Walter Ralegh* in his adventures, whereby "gaining experience, he made his company acceptable among many." [a] Now if this happen'd before *Ben Johnſon* took to acting or writing of plays, as our ſaid author relates it did, then Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s eldeſt ſon was ſcarce old enough to go to ſchool, much leſs upon adventures. Beſides, this ſon never made, that we can hear of, more than one adventure abroad, from which he never return'd; therefore he could not part with his attendant or companion *Ben Johnſon* in the manner our ſaid author intimates he did after their return. Then if we ſuppoſe it the other brother, *Carew*, he never made any adventures at all, nor ſtir'd out of *England* till ſix years after his father's death, and then only upon a ſhort *tour* for about a twelvemonth; which was near thirty years after *Ben Johnſon* became a dramatick poet or writer for the ſtage; and when he ſeems rather to have wrote himſelf into his penſion from the crown, or otherwiſe into ſuch eaſy circumſtances, as render it unlikely he ſhould attend even on *Carew Ralegh* in thoſe ſorrows and difficulties he was then under; and conſequently in the whole, that either one or other ſhould part with him *not in cool blood*, as our ſaid author thinks, after their return. Had the time of his going abroad with the younger or the elder brother been better adjuſted, that particular of their parting would need no regard; ſeeing by what trifles, what miſunderſtandings between themſelves, or miſrepreſentations by others, ſuch diviſions are made between perſons, who would, or might otherwiſe be moſt ſerviceable and beneficial to one another. If *Ben Johnſon* was of ſuch a ſurly and *hypercritical* diſpoſition, as ſome men's writings, and indeed ſome of his own, have repreſented him; as it makes ſuch parting the more plauſible, if there had ever been any ſuch meeting, ſo it is probable it would have diſtill'd with more acrimony from his pen, when he was giving a character of *Ralegh* as an author, than that he could find nothing to condemn *either in his* judgment *or his* ſtile. [b] But as for *Ralegh*'s temper, to all who had dependance upon him (and they were very numerous in the time of his felicity) eſpecially towards thoſe of any liberal knowledge and education, it appears to have been of ſingular candor and benignity. There are examples, further than what have been beforemention'd, of his courteſy, ſuperior to that of many other great perſons in his time, towards ſuch men of parts as any ways relied on his patronage or protection; and publickly aſſerted by thoſe themſelves, who had taſted the benefits thereof. [c] He has alſo, under his own hand, recommended ſuch generous treatment, as moſt coercive, eſpecially to ſuch as live under the power or command of others; and exploded the auſtere, the imperious *regimen*, as what is liable to betray its practitioners no leſs into peril than diſdain; where he ſhews, how contemptibly the *vain*, with affected *ſourneſs*, counterfeit the gravity of the *wiſe*; becauſe the ſhadow of *reverence*, thereby obtain'd, has power to delude the eyes only of *underlings*; and how thus, the time, wherein, by uſing it well, men might *attain to be ſuch* as they *ought*, they uſually miſpend, in ſeeking to *appear ſuch as they are not:* yet withal, not only how deceivable, but dangerous a courſe this is; procuring, inſtead of the *reſpect* that was *hoped* for, more *indignation* than was *fear'd* [d]. Many other weighty counſels and uſeful precautions to this purpoſe, are diſperſed up and down his writings, both in print and manuſcript, which (for brevity) I forbare, here, to recite.

His great courteſy towards his *dependants*;

court to the commons of *England*, in hopes of getting *Sherborne* by their means. Hence *Wood* ſays, he cringed to men in power, and was made governor of the *Iſle of Jerſey*, by the favour of general *Monk*, in the latter end of *January* 1659, as *Whitlock* has recorded. At the reſtoration of king *Charles* II, his majeſty would have conſer'd ſome perſonal honour upon him, but he declined it in hopes of ſomething better; the king therefore knighted his eldeſt ſon *Walter*, who died ſoon after at *Weſt-Horſely*, in *Surrey*, his father's ſeat, which had, I think, been the earl of *Dorſet*'s; for his will is dated from thence, as a friend who has ſeen it informs me. This was ſold after Mr. *Ralegh*'s death to Sir *Edward Nicholas*, ſecretary to king *Charles*. He had another ſeat at *Kenton-Park* near *Hampton-Court*, which, I think, he ſold himſelf; and dying in 1666, was buried in the [illegible]*mber*, according to *A. Wood*, in his father's grave; who further ſays, he has ſeen ſome ſonnets of his compoſition, and certain ingenious Diſcourſes in MS. alſo a poem ſet to muſick by Mr. *Henry Lawes*. Sir *Henry Wotton*, in his *letters*, gives him the character of a *gentleman of dextrous abilities*, and he is by others mentioned with honour; *but far, God wot* (ſays *Wood*) *was he from his father's parts, either as to the* ſword *or* pen.

[a] Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 608.

[b] *Ben Johnſon*'s Diſcoveries.

[c] See *Thomas Churchard*'s dedication of his *Spark of Friendſhip* to Sir *Walter Ralegh*: a ſcarce old tract, lately communicated from the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, or it had been more particularly made uſe of in the place where it is before mention'd.

[d] *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 2. cap. 22. ſect. 10.

But

But here, as *Ralegh* has been occaſionally mention'd in the character of an *Author*, we are reminded, that it is high time he ſhould be conſider'd more particularly in that light; which cannot in any place more properly be done, than in this ſedentary part of his life, when moſt of his works were written. Here then we are arriv'd at that part of his ſtory, wherein he will appear, rather a collegian than a captive; a ſtudent in a library, than a priſoner in the *Tower*. On this occaſion, we cannot but reflect, how well ſuch productions, in ſuch a ſituation! Such ſpacious exerciſes of genius, in ſuch a contracted ſtate! will prove, that, Tho' the *ſoul* of man, by a *fly*, or a *hair*, may be ſeparated from the body, *tyranny* itſelf cannot confine it to the body; and, at the ſame time, how trifling a calamity *confinement* muſt be, to thoſe who have well employ'd their *liberty*. Some men, impatient under ſo many years reſtraint, would have pined obſcurely away with deſpair; and others, with rage, have made their bonds more galling: but *Ralegh*, as in many other diſaſters, ſo in this, has left us no common example of an heroick mind. In him we may obſerve, there is no levelling a *ſublime ſpirit* with the *ſubalterns* of Nature: preſs it on one part, it will ſtill riſe in another; and be like ſome hardy *plants* we may have ſeen, whoſe *heads* will ſhoot forth and flouriſh in the ſight of mankind, tho' their *roots* are cloſely *fetter'd* in *walls* of *ſtone*. Happy then are they, who in their youth have ſo fortified themſelves with knowledge, and attained to ſuch a reliſh of *literature*, that, whereſoever they are driven by the perſecutions of power, they can make the contemplation of wiſdom beguile the ſenſe of their ſufferings! Who out of the moſt prevailing examples in all ages, of patience and prudence in all exigences, can ſet themſelves leſſons of fortitude, and taſks of imitation! Who can, out of the misfortunes of others, extract conſolations for themſelves; or partake in their proſperity, and make it tributary to their own contentment! Such carry with them an infallible, an undeprivable ſolace; which can relieve them in *poverty* with ineſtimable *treaſure*, and manumiſe them in *priſon* with intellectual *liberty*: for the multitudes of anxieties which ſurpriſe illiterate and uncultivated minds, even in the midſt of the moſt ſplendid affluence or adulation, are inacceſſible to them, under the darkeſt clouds of indigence or reproach.

That *Ralegh*, in his greener years, did attain to ſuch a taſte of letters as all his ſucceeding avocations could never remove; and which proved not only an ornament to thoſe his earlier and happier days, but a relief in his age and afflictions, even ſo as to render him under his darker fortunes and condition more illuſtrious than he was in his brighteſt proſperity, may appear by a *ſurvey* of his *writings* from the juvenile productions of his pen, to the more numerous and mature offſprings of his preſent confinement. But in this ſurvey, we think not the ſimple *chronological* method will be either needful or acceptable; which tho' eaſieſt and readieſt for tranſcribing, would be moſt crude and disjointed in reading; and yet be incapable of admitting all into their true order, becauſe we have not the time that ſeveral of his *pieces* were written. Therefore, that we may carry on our diſcourſe with ſome coherence, we ſhall attempt at ſuch a digeſtion as, upon a little review, will naturally ariſe, or moſt conveniently, at leaſt in this place, lead us, as out of a flowry garden, into the high-road again of publick action: for I might, perhaps, recommend ſome variation, in this arrangement, of the ſame pieces if they were to be reviv'd in a uniform and methodical edition of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Works; ſo that the junior efforts of his *muſe*, or more extemporary products of his *epiſtolary* correſpondence might not, as here for diſpatch, lead up the reſt. His *Writings*.

Now as for theſe productions of his *muſe*, ſince ſeveral of them are mention'd in the former part of theſe ſheets, they need be here only recapitulated; as his poem on *Gaſcoign*'s *Steele-Glaſs*; *The Excuſe*, *The Silent Lover*, the *Anſwer* to *Marloe*'s *Paſtoral*; with his poem of *Cynthia*, and two more on *Spencer*'s *Fairy Queen*. Since the time that theſe ſeven were before ſpoken of, I have met with *four* other ſuch like poetical pieces, which ſeem alſo to have been compos'd by the ſame hand, from thoſe elegant taulologies or *retornellos* wherein his *ſonnets* and *madrigals* are uſually ſo correſpondent with one another. [a] Theſe were all written long *before* this his impriſonment, as were probably ſome alſo in the *Aſhmolean* library; namely, *Erroris Reſponſio*, and Poetical.

[a] *Three* of theſe *pieces* are to be found in an old *Collection of ſeveral ingenious Poems and Songs by the Wits of the Age:* printed in 8*vo.* 1660, and annexed to a comical ſpeech in proſe, call'd *Le Prince d'Amour*, printed the ſame year; which, by the latter part thereof, entitled *Noctes Templariæ*; *or*, *A brief Chronicle of the dark Reign of the bright Prince of burning Love*, appears, in a volume of the *Harleyan* MSS. 90. C. 7. fol. 556, to have been written by Sir *Benjamin Rudyerd*. The *poems* publiſh'd with this *ſpeech* are improperly ſaid, in the title, to be written by the *wits* of the *age* in regard to the time they were publiſh'd: for, as the publiſher owns, in his dedication to the honourable *ſociety* of the *Middle-Temple*, the *wit* in this *collection* was born *long before our unhappy inteſtine diviſions*, and as much in the poems themſelves is evident; there being among them ſeveral written in the time of king *James* and queen *Elizabeth*; and one, or more, as old as king *Henry* VIII. Among the reſt, one we have page 131 entitled, *The Lover's Maze*, a poem of four ſtanzas, beginning thus: *Her Face, her Tongue, her Wit*, &c. 'Tis all compos'd of monoſyllables, and with that ingenious intricacy or tranſpoſure which happily anſwers

and his *Anſwer to the Lie*, &c. Beſides, we find there is a ſatirical elegy on the death of the treaſurer *Cecyll*, earl of *Salisbury*, written *within* this period, likewiſe aſcrib'd to him; [a] and we have ſtill *three* pieces more of his poetry written *afterwards*, and but a ſhort time before his own death. Theſe are of a ſolemn nature; as his *Pilgrim*, his *Epigram in Alluſion to the Snuff of a Candle*; laſtly, a divine ſtanza, which is call'd his *Epitaph*. [b]

Epiſtolary. Next we might ſpeak of thoſe ſhorter pieces alſo in proſe, his *Letters*; and theſe, being written in all parts of his life, cannot perhaps be improperly enumerated in this. I have ſeen of them in print and manuſcript to the number of *twenty-eight*: Fourteen or fifteen of them have already been made uſe of in the foregoing ſheets; and the reſt, as they likewiſe are of perſonal import, will be ſerviceable in the remainder, ſo they need not be more particularly diſtinguiſh'd in this place.

But thoſe more continued compoſitions which were the reſult of experience and occaſion in his ſeveral publick profeſſions or engagements of life, will, perhaps, firſt demand our obſervation; ſuch as relate to his character as a *warrior*, a *ſailor*, a *diſcoverer* of unknown countries, and a *politician* vers'd in the intereſt of nations and the arts of government. Among theſe, we

Military. may firſt mention his *military diſcourſes*; and theſe concern either a *defence* of *England* in particular, or contain general arguments and examples of the cauſes and reaſons of *war* among *mankind*. On the former ſubject, he ſeems to have drawn up ſeveral remonſtrances which are but ſparingly and ſlowly come to light. However, from what has before been obſerv'd, of his having had a principal hand in the *determinations* of the grand *Council* of *War* for putting the nation in arms when it was under immediate apprehenſions of the *Spaniſh Invaſion*, there is good reaſon to believe he was alſo the author of a treatiſe, containing *Notes of Direction for* ſuch *Defence of the Kingdom*: written three years before, when the ſaid enemies were beginning to ſhew their deſigns. To this treatiſe was alſo join'd a *Direction for the beſt and moſt orderly Retreat of an Army, whether in Campaign or Straits*. And theſe were then preſented in MS. to the privy council. Herein, one advice is, ſince *frontier* forces are unlikely to prevent an enemy from landing, that if they ſhould land, through the deficiency or abſence of our ſhipping (for this is the force *Ralegh* was ever for having firſt us'd againſt ſuch foreign invaſions) it were better by driving or clearing the country of *proviſions*, and *temporizing*, to endeavour at growing ſtronger, and rendering the enemy weaker, than to hazard all by a confuſed and diſorderly *deſcent* of the populace to oppoſe the firſt landing, as their cuſtom heretofore was. But this, chiefly, among the ſaid reaſons and poſitions, for preventing an invading enemy, was a little before the approach of the *Spaniſh Armada* oppugned by *Thomas Digges*, Eſq; muſter maſter-general of her majeſty's forces in the *Low-Countries*, in a *Diſcourſe* of the *beſt Order for repulſing a foreign Force*, &c. which he then exhibited in print. This produced an *Anſwer*, which, having been found in an old manuſcript copy among others of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Diſcourſes, has lately been publiſhed; and which, by ſeveral circumſtances therein, agreeing with many in his *life* as well as with ſeveral orders in the aforeſaid *council* of *war*, ſeveral paſſages in his *Hiſtory of the World*, and his other *writings*, offers many reaſons to believe it was written by him. [c] But if we would ſee his opinion upon this ſubject in a more extenſive and univerſal manner,

ſwers the title. This is follow'd in the next page with another, of three ſtanzas, entitled *Farewel to the Court*; beginning thus: *Like truthleſs dreams, ſo are my Joys expir'd:* this is again ſucceeded in the enſuing page by another of equal length, call'd, *The Advice*; with this beginning: *Many deſire, but few or none deſerve*; and all three ſubſcribed *W. R.* They are apparently, by the *ſtile*, written at the time that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was celebrated for ſuch kind of compoſitions, and from the *ſubject*, of the two laſt eſpecially, no leſs manifeſtly to me, written by himſelf; the one juſt before his firſt *Guianian* expedition, the other, to the lady that was his wife. Laſtly, the *fourth* poem above refer'd to, is lately printed in a miſcellany call'd, *The London Magazine*, for *Aug.* 1734.

[a] This *Paſtoral Elegy* on the earl of *Salisbury*, who died in *May* 1612, was firſt printed by *F. Osborne* in his Memoirs of king *James*, and it begins thus: *Here lies Hoſſinol our Paſtor while e'er*, &c. That author tells us, "It came from ſo ſmart a pen, in the king's ſenſe, that "he ſaid, *He hop'd the author would die before him:* who "he was (con inues he) God knows." The firſt perſon I have met with who aſcribes it to Sir *Walter Ralegh* is the author of his *life*, printed in 8*vo.* 1677 (and afterwards in *folio*) whom *Anthony Wood* calls *John Shirley*, the writer of ſeveral romances and ſuch like things. This writer in that life, page 179 ſays, that *Ralegh* for *Cecyll*'s kindneſs, beſtow'd upon him that *epitaph*, "Which "I am, ſays he, upon very good grounds, aſſur'd to be "his."

[b] Theſe are printed in Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Remains*.

[c] 'Tis entitled, *A Military Diſcourſe: whether it be better for* England *to give an* Invador *preſent Battle*, or to *temporiſe* and *defer the ſame*, &c. Now publiſh'd by *Nathanael Booth*, of *Grays-Inn*, Eſq; 8*vo.* 1734. containing 52 pages. The *Author*, in his introduction, tells us, "He "has thought good, firſt to ſet down the *reaſons* alledg'd "on *both ſides*, as he finds them collected by his antago-"niſt; and after a *reply* to his objections, refers himſelf "to the cenſure of the *reader* who is a *ſoldier*; not caring, "in this cauſe, for the diſallowance of any, who will "bring a pound of antique uſages and cuſtoms to weigh "down only an ounce of true reaſon and freſh experience." Then he ſets forth that *Brief Diſcourſe of the beſt Orders for repulſing foreign Forces*, &c. abovemention'd; which having been reprinted under the title of *England's Defence, a Treatiſe againſt Invaſion*, *Folio* 1680, and under the name of *Thomas Digges*, as I have found in the copious library of a learned acquaintance; it is therefore aſcribed to him above. That diſcourſe of *Digges*'s which in this *military diſcourſe* begins at page 4, and ends page 13, is accompany'd in almoſt every article with our *reſpondent*'s marginal *notes*, and attended at the end with a *reply* to the reaſons therein; the whole winding up with the chief points of his former treatiſe, collected into brief *notes of direction*,

manner, it muſt be in his *Diſcourſes* of the original and fundamental *cauſe* of *natural* and *neceſſary*, *arbitrary* and *cuſtomary*, *holy* and *civil wars*; which tho' alſo publiſh'd ſeveral years after his death, have ſufficient marks of genuineneſs upon them. There are other writings of his beſides, which relate to this topick. But as *war* in them is treated of ſubordinately, and rather with reſpect to ſome *national advantages* wherewith it might have been maintain'd againſt our enemies as the poſture of affairs then was, or the *perſonal behaviour* of ſome particular men, ſo we may think it more proper to ſpeak of them under other diviſions.

Among theſe, that which admits of his *Maritime Diſcourſes*, may not perhaps be leaſt obſerva- Maritimal.
ble, being a ſubject ſo ſcarcely handled by men of ſuch learning and experience, yet of ſuch importance to a people in our ſituation. And under this head, that which ſhould here be perhaps firſt ſpoken of, tho' indeed one of the laſt pieces he wrote in this ſtate of durance is, his *Diſcourſe of the Invention of Shipping*, &c. [b] wherein he treats of the uſe, defects, and improvements

direction, as is above obſerv'd, which he had preſented to ſome of the lords of the council in 1585; and which gave occaſion to *Digges* his ſaid *Brief Diſcourſe* in or near the year 1588, and that produced this *Military Diſcourſe* about or ſoon after 1590, including the ſame, and comprifing the whole of the controverſy. The *Editor* of this pamphlet, in his dedication to the *Duke* of *Argyle*, has theſe words to his *Grace*: "Having lately, among ſome "other valuable papers of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, found the "following diſſertation in manuſcript, I thought the "publication thereof was a debt due to my country, as "well as to the memory of *that great man*." And I have in the copy which the ſaid *gentleman* communicated for my peruſal, mark'd out near twenty paſſages and *expreſſions*, which ſo well agree with others in the *life* and *writings* of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that I cannot think any other perſon to have been the author of thoſe notes and reply. Such among the reſt are his being in the wars of *France* and *Flanders*, particularly the battle of *Moucountor*, and that of *Rimenant*; his perfect knowledge of *Dover* haven, and other incidents mention'd before in his *life*: beſides his hiſtorical obſervations of other perſons; which, with ſeveral reaſons and arguments about landing of forces, and the unproportionable ſpeed of *marching* up an army to keep pace with the *ſailing* of a fleet, almoſt in the ſame words as we have before obſerved out of his *Hiſtory of the World*, and his other *writings*.

[a] So I find two diſcourſes of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s properly titled. The firſt is printed in his eſſays, 8*vo*. 1650, and has been reprinted in the *Three Diſcourſes* of Sir *Walter Ralegh* 8*vo*. 1702, beginning thus: "The ordinary theme "and argument of hiſtory is war; which may be defin'd "*the exerciſe of violence under ſoveraign command, againſt* "*withſtanders force*; authority and reſiſtance being the "eſſential parts thereof." But in this laſt edition, improperly *divided*, and the laſt diviſion entitled of *Eccleſiaſtical power*; whereas in the firſt edition, and the leaf F 2 b, which would have been page 40 had it been number'd, this new titled diviſion appears only a continuation of the Original *Cauſe* of War; tho' indeed, through the *papal* power and diſpenſations, by that diſtinction which is called *holy war*. This diviſion is alſo *miſplaced* in the ſaid laſt edition; for there is another diſcourſe of *unnatural* or *civil war* interfering. This, tho' never before printed, I have alſo reaſon to believe genuine from ſome paſſages in it that might be parallel'd with others in his *Hiſtory of the World* and elſewhere: but it ſhould be placed or printed laſt, becauſe the very firſt words of it are, "The laſt "kind of war we ſhall treat of is the unnatural, otherwiſe "called the inteſtine or *civil war*; and tho' it has the "ſame motives of ambition, avarice or revenge as the "arbitrary and cuſtomary war, yet is of a quite different "nature, and muſt be otherwiſe defin'd, *&c.*"

[b] This appears in ſeveral parts to be a genuine piece of our author, but incorrectly printed; as moſt of his poſthumous works are, eſpecially in the proper names. 'Tis the firſt diſcourſe in a book call'd, *Judicious and ſelect Eſſays and Obſervations of that renowned and learned Knight Sir* Walter Ralegh; printed in 8*vo*. 1650 1667, and (this *Diſcourſe* of *Shipping*) reprinted again, among the *Genuine Remains* of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, at the end of an *Abridgment* of his *Hiſtory of the World*, 8*vo*. 1700. That book of *Eſſays* is dedicated, by the bookſeller, to the much honoured *Carew Ralegh*, Eſq; *&c.* And this firſt Diſcourſe therein conſiſts of 42 pages; yet ſeems an unfiniſh'd piece, and at the end, to our great regret, no more than the firſt *chapter* of a larger work. As the time when the Diſcourſe beforemention'd of the *cauſes of war* was written, may be gueſs'd from that paſſage in it mentioning the maritime controverſy between *Selden* and *Grotius*; ſo the time when this *Diſcourſe of Shipping* was compos'd, may be likewiſe infer'd from Sir *Walter*'s reference page 39, to a pamphlet call'd *The Trades Encreaſe*, which I have ſeen and obſerv'd to be printed, 4*to*. 1615: unleſs there was a prior edition. Of both theſe Diſcourſes I have been oblig'd with two old *manuſcript* copies by *Nathanael Booth*, of *Grays-Inn*, Eſq; beforemention'd. They ſeem to have been corrected *from* the printed copies in ſome places, and indeed will not yield many conſiderable corrections *of them* in others. There may need no apology for the following extract from this laſt diſcourſe of our author's obſervations on the *Improvement* of *Shipping* in his *own Time*; ſince he is affirm'd to his immortal glory, to have had himſelf ſo great a ſhare in it.

"Whoſoever was the inventor, we find that every age "has added ſomewhat to *ſhips*, and to all things elſe. "And in my *own time*, the *ſhape* of our *Engliſh* ſhips "has been greatly better'd. It is not long ſince the "*ſtriking* of the *top-maſt* (a wonderful eaſe to great ſhips "both at ſea and harbour) has been deviſed, together "with the *chain-pump*, which takes up twice as much "water as the ordinary one did. We have lately added "the *bonnet* and the *drabbler*. To the courſes we have "deviſed *ſtudding ſails*, *top-gallant ſails*, *ſprit ſails*, *top-ſails*. The weighing of *anchors* by the *capſton* is alſo "new. We have fall'n into the conſideration of *cables*, "and thereby reſiſt the malice of the greateſt winds that "can blow; witneſs our ſmall *Milbrook*-men of *Cornwall*, "that ride it out at anchor half leas over between *England* "and *Ireland*, all the winter quarter: and witneſs the "*Hollanders*, who were wont to ride before *Dunkirk* with "the wind at north-weſt, making a *lee-ſhore* in all "weathers. *For true it is, that the* length *of the* cable "*is the* life *of the* ſhip in all extremeties; and the reaſon "is, becauſe it makes ſo many bendings and waves, as "the ſhip riding at that length, is not able to ſtretch it, "and nothing breaks that is not ſtretch'd. In extremity, "we carry our *ordnance* better than we were wont; be-"cauſe our *nether-overloops* are raiſed commonly from the "water between the lower part of the port and the ſea. "In king *Henry* VIII's time, and in his preſence at "*Portſmouth*, the *Mary Roſe*, by a little ſway of the ſhip "in caſting about, her ports being within ſixteen "inches of the water, was over-ſet and loſt, and in her "that worthy knight Sir *George Carew*, couſin-germain "to the lord *Carew* now living; and with him, beſides "many other gentlemen, the father of the late renowned "Sir *Richard Grenvile*. We have alſo raiſed our ſecond "*decks*, and given more vent thereby to their ordnance "lying on our *nether-overloops*. We have added *croſs-pillars* "in our Royal ſhips, to ſtrengthen them, which being "faſtned from the *kelſon* to the beams of the ſecond deck, "keep them from ſettling or giving way in all diſtreſſes. "We have given longer *floors* to our ſhips than in elder "times, and better bearing under water; whereby they "never fall into the ſea, after the head, and ſhake the "whole body or ſink ſtern nor ſtoop upon a wind, by "which the breaking looſe of our ordnance or diſuſe of "them, with many other diſcommodities are avoided. "And to ſay the truth, a miſerable ſhame and diſhonour "it were for our *ſhip-wrights*, if they did not exceed all "other in ſetting up of our Royal ſhips; the errors of "other nations being far more excuſable than ours: for "the kings of *England* have for many years been at the "charge to build and furniſh a navy of powerful ſhips for "their own defence, and for the wars only; whereas the "*French*, *Spaniards*, *Portugals* and *Hollanders*, till of late, "have had no proper fleet belonging to their princes or "ſtates." Thus far Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in his ſaid *Diſcourſe* of *Shipping*, p. 16, *&c.* And thus much of it may not be thought impertinent in his *life*, at leaſt in this ſubjunctive manner, ſince theſe improvements, or ſome of them

ments thereof; the ſtrength and deficiency of the ſea forces of *England*, *France*, *Spain* and *Venice*, with five cauſes of the *riſe* of the *Hollanders*: his encouragement of a mutual *friendſhip* between *them* and *England*, as alſo of the *Newcaſtle* trade. This might lead us more particularly to his excellent *Obſervations and Notes concerning the royal Navy and Sea Service*, [a] which he dedicated to the prince of *Wales* as is before mention'd; therefore all we need obſerve more of it in this place is, that herein he diſcourſes under diſtinct heads, of the *officers* of the navy, of ſome errors to be reformed in *ſhip-building*; and others, in *harboring* and *manning* the fleet; of ſurcharging them with great *ordnance*; the defects in *ſheathing* and *calking*; the abuſes in *victualling*; inconveniency of the *cook-rooms*; of *muſtering* and preſſing *mariners*; of *arms* and *munition*; and laſtly, of *captains* to ſerve in his majeſty's ſhips. With the ſecond head or chapter in this tract, agrees his *letter* to prince *Henry* before ſpoken of, concerning the *model of a ſhip*. [b] And in his introduction to the ſaid Obſervations, as was alſo ſaid, our author mentions a *Diſcourſe of a maritimal voyage, with the paſſages and incidents therein*, [c] which he had formerly written to that prince. This, if it is now in being, muſt, I think, remain ſtill in manuſcript; for no other knowledge of it have I elſewhere met with; therefore it has, I fear, endured the ſame fate with that other work, probably, more copious and conſiderable, and to which, as what might ſeem deſign'd to bring the others into practice, they may appear only preparatory. This work, tho' taken notice of by no other author who has written of him, is thus mention'd by himſelf. "*Of the Art of War by Sea*, I have written a treatiſe to the lord *Henry*, prince of "*Wales*. A ſubject, to my knowledge, never handled by any Man ancient or modern: but "God has ſpared me the labour of finiſhing it, by the loſs of that brave prince; of which, like "an eclipſe of the ſun, we ſhall find the effects hereafter. Impoſſible it is to equal words and "ſorrows: I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him: *Curæ leves loquuntur; "ingentes ſtupent.*" [d] This may lead us up to ſuch of his diſcourſes as repreſent this art in execution, particularly thoſe two gallant naval actions wherein Sir *Richard Grenvile* loſt his life, and himſelf won a moſt ſignal victory, of which his own pen has preſerved the faithful memorials in his *Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Iſles of* Azores, [e] and his epiſtolary account of the *Action at Cadiz*; [f] both of them before abſtracted into this work. Nor did his care terminate in the beſt advice for the regulation and maintainance of our *ſhipping*, or in recording ſome of the moſt notable *atchievements* perform'd therewith, but extended to the choice and reparation of the moſt convenient *harbours* for their reception; and that not only by his ſpeeches in parliament, as we have already ſeen, but alſo by a *memorial* he preſented to *queen* Elizabeth *touching the port of* Dover in particular; declaring how honourable and profitable to her *majeſty*; how neceſſary and commodious for the *realm*, the rebuilding it would be; with the leaſt expenſive, and moſt perfect manner of performing the ſame. [g]

Geographical

But if we advance to his more extenſive purſuits and performances relating to that topick, they will lead us into a new *Geography*, into diſcoveries and deſcriptions of unknown countries, with the *Voyages* which himſelf and others under his charge and directions made to that purpoſe. And under this head would fall thoſe papers and diſcourſes of his, concerning the diſcovery, plantation, and ſettlement of *Virginia*, which were in the poſſeſſion of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, as was before obſerv'd; [h] but whether now recoverable I know not, nor what is become of his *Trea-*

them ſeem to have a nearer relation to him, than, through his prudence, in the ſtate he now was, or perhaps the notoriety of his ſhare in theſe improvements, it was needful further to expreſs; for I have read in the *Appendix* to a *Hiſtory of the Inventors of Arts and Sciences*, printed 12*mo.* 1686. That we owe the ſerviceable *model* of our modern *ſhip building* to the inventions or directions of Sir *Walter Ralegh*. And to the ſame purpoſe of effectually employing this his ſuperior knowledge in naval architecture to the ſafeguard and ſtrength of the nation, we may preſume thoſe grants were made him by queen *Elizabeth* for *felling of Timber*; one whereof is extant, entitled *a Warrant* to Sir *Walter Ralegh for two hundred Oaks, to be taken in* Sir *Francis Engleſfield*'s *woods*; and it is preſerved in the *Aſhmolean Muſæum* at *Oxford*.

[a] Printed 8*vo.* 1650, in the collection of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Eſſays* abovemention'd; conſiſting of 46 pages.

[b] Printed in Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Remains*, 12*mo.* 1651, and the ſubſequent editions, containing between 3 and 4 pages.

[c] His *Obſervations on the Royal Navy*, p. 1.

[d] *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. ſect. 6.

[e] Of this *Report of the Fight about the Azores*, containing about two ſheets, ſee, in this narrative of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s life, the abſtract and references from fol. 60 to 63, alſo the note to the firſt reference in fol 47. And here further concerning the ſame, we may obſerve that it ſeems to have given matter for an *heroick poem*; which was, a few years after the ſaid *Report*, publiſhed: Entitled *The moſt honourable Tragedy of Sir* Richard Grenvile, *Knt.* 8*vo.* 1595, *dedicated to the lord* Monjoy *by* Jervis Markham. 'Tis compoſed in *ſtanzas* of eight verſes, and near ninety pages in length.

[f] This *Relation of the Cadiz Action*, contains near 7 pages, among the *Remains* at the end of an *Abridgment of Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Hiſtory of the World*, 8*vo.* 1700, was then firſt publiſh'd by *Philip Ralegh*, Eſq; and is apparently a genuine piece, as may be gather'd from thoſe other accounts interwoven and agreeing with it, where it is (moſtly) before inſerted, fol. 95.

[g] This *Memorial touching Dover Port* is alſo before refer'd to, fol. 143. It conſiſts of about two ſheets in the pamphlet there mention'd, call'd *An Eſſay on Ways and Means to maintain the Honour and Safety of* England, publiſhed by Sir *H. Shears*, 4*to.* 1701. The publiſher ſays, page 9, for the part aſcribed to Sir *Walter Ralegh* goes no further; that he found this part of the *memorial*, drawn up by Sir *Walter Ralegh* or Sir *Dudley Digges*, among the rubbiſh of old papers, while he ſerv'd in the *office* of *ordnance*. But I think it could not be writ by Sir *Dudley Digges*, becauſe the author directing himſelf to queen *Elizabeth*, ſpeaks familiarly of things he had ſeen in the *Low Countries* in her time, when Sir *Dudley Digges* had not left the univerſity.

[h] See fol. 33. of theſe ſheets.

tiſe

tiſe of the Weſt Indies, which ſeems to have been a very comprehenſive work by the ſhort ſketch himſelf has given of its contents before quoted. [a] Better luck ſeems to have befal'n his writings upon *Guiana*; for we have at leaſt four of his diſcourſes on that country in being, tho' they, probably, are not all he writ thereon; as firſt, his *Conſiderations on the Voyage for Guiana*, which I never ſaw in print. [b] Secondly, his *Diſcovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of* Guiana, which he printed himſelf, and being, before, largely uſed and ſpoken of, the leſs need be ſaid of it here. [c] Thirdly, his *Journal of his ſecond Voyage to* Guiana. This remains ſtill in manuſcript, and perhaps ſhould do ſo; it being unfiniſh'd and full of chaſms, ſeeming to contain only notes and obſervations for his own memory, when he ſhould have leiſure at his return into *England* to digeſt and fill up the *particulars* in a continued diſcourſe: accordingly it ſeems to have ſupply'd him therewith, when he wrote his *Apology for the ſaid Voyage*. But as both theſe will be made uſe of in the ſubſequent part of our narrative, 'twill be then time enough to ſpeak more diſtinctly of them. And there alſo will be mention'd the four or five *letters* we have of his extant concerning the ſaid laſt expedition.

After his writings, becoming the character of an able commander both by land and ſea, if we look for him as an author in the civil or *political* capacity, we may find him there alſo no leſs eminent; we may behold him in this light no leſs qualified to govern nations, than in the other to conquer and defend them. Some of his compoſitions under this diſtribution, are of a general nature; as that call'd the *Seat of Government*, ſhewing it to be upheld by the two great pillars of *civil juſtice* and *martial policy*; and how this is fram'd out of the *husbandmen*, *merchants* and *gentry* of the realm. The firſt of theſe ranks or degrees he calls the *fruit trees* of the kingdom; or thoſe who gather the honey, yet hardly enjoy the wax: and as theſe *feed*, ſo the ſecond ſort *enrich* it; nouriſhing ſuch trades as have aſſiſted our kings with great ſums of money, and great fleets, upon occaſion; while the third ſort, our *gentry*, he calls the *garriſons* of *good order* throughout the realm; or means rather they have been, or ſhould be ſuch, more than they were in theſe latter times, to agree with a *note* he has elſewhere dropt upon them. [d] But this little eſſay appears, by one expreſſion towards the concluſion (mentioning ſomething to be *hereafter prov'd*, which is not) to be no more than a fragment. [e] The like we apprehend of his *Obſervations concerning the Cauſes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities*, from a word in the very firſt paragraph, referring to *ſuch* people as ſeem to have been before mentioned. [f] Tho' in the main this is a general diſcourſe, it bears ſome particular references to a rude and barbarous people; and might poſſibly be the reſult of ſuch conſiderations as muſt have engaged his mind, when thoſe propoſitions were on foot for founding the *City* of *Ralegh* in *Virginia*, as was before intimated. In this little eſſay, after having ſpoken of the means to civilize and reform ſuch a people, he proceeds, under diſtinct heads, to treat of the beſt *ſituation* of *cities* for ſafety and plenty; of the multitude of *inhabitants*, *religion*, *academies*, *courts* of *juſtice*, *artificers*, Political.

[a] See fol. 91, of theſe ſheets.

[b] The contents of this manuſcript may be conceived from the words wherewith it begins, which are as follows: "Touching the voyage for *Guiana*, it is to be *conſider'd*; "firſt, Whether it be to be undertaken? ſecondly, The "manner of ſubduing it; and laſtly, The means how to "ſubdue it, and annex it to the crown imperial of *Eng-* "*land*." It conſiſts of eight leaves in *quarto*, and is, I believe, a rarity; having no where met with it but among the magnificent collections of Sir *Hans Sloane*.

[c] After the extract from this treatiſe, of what more perſonally concerns Sir *Walter Ralegh*, before inſerted in this *life*, from fol. 77 to 88, follows a *character* of his ſaid *diſcourſe* upon the *diſcovery* of *Guiana* from ſeveral authors; which might ſtill be augmented from the further teſtimony of one of them, namely, *Robert Harcourt* of *Stanton-Harcourt*, Eſq; whoſe voyage to *Guiana* in 1608, having met with, in his own edition, printed *4to.* 1613, among the collections of that learned and worthy gentleman Mr. *George Sale*, I find a preface prefixed thereto, omitted in *Purchas*'s edition before uſed; in which captain *Harcourt*, having declared how *effectually* and *faithfully* Sir *Walter Ralegh* had publiſh'd what he then and there diſcover'd, recommends to the reader's peruſal "This *excel-* "*lent diſcourſe*, proceeding, ſays he, from ſo *wiſe* and "*judicial* an author; who, if ſome known fortunes (mean- "ing his engagements at *Cadiz*, in the *Iſland* voyage, "*&c.*) had not croſſed his firſt intendments, for the pro- "ſecuting that enterprize, had, in all likelihood, long "before this time, encreaſed the honour of our nation, by "the moſt famous and rich *diſcovery* and *conqueſt* that the "world could afford." Beſides the two editions in *Engliſh*, the firſt whereof publiſh'd by *Ralegh*, contains about 13 ſheets, and the other in *Hakluyt*, about 9, alſo one in *Latin* before mention'd, printed in *4to.* at *Noremberg* with a map: there are accounts of two editions of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *voyage* to *Guiana* in *Dutch*, one *4to.* 1612, which muſt be this of his *diſcovery*, and the other in 1619. *Edmund Howes*, in his *Addition* to *Stow*'s *Annals*, ſays, it has been tranſlated almoſt into all languages. But whether the exquiſite tranſlation into *Latin*, he ſays there is of it in one of *Theodore de Bry*'s volumes of *Modern Navigations*, is the ſame with the *Latin* edition in *4to.* before mention'd, or any ſuch there is among thoſe valuable volumes, I am not yet certain; tho' I remember much in one of them, printed at *Frankfort*, *Fol.* 1590, relating to the firſt *Virginian voyages*; whereby it appears, Sir *Walter Ralegh* was a great patron and encourager of the ſaid author, and which would have confirmed or embelliſhed ſome paſſages in that part of theſe ſheets which gives account thereof, had the intelligence, I have ſince been favour'd with by an honourable gentleman, arrived timely enough to have been admitted in its proper place.

[d] Deduced from a *Character* of the *Carthaginians*, in his *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. ſect. 2.

[e] This *Seat of Government* was printed firſt, I think, in *Ralegh*'s *Remains*, *12mo.* 1651, and in the laſt or largeſt edition is not above 4 pages, beginning thus: *They ſay that the goodlieſt Cedars*, &c. as is in a note before quoted.

[f] Theſe *Obſervations* were printed at the ſame time, in the ſame *collection*, and contain about 11 pages: Beginning thus: *That the only way to civilize and reform the ſavage and barbarous lives and corrupt manners of* ſuch *people*, *is*, &c.

privileges, and *triumphs*; ſo concludes with thoſe three cauſes of confirming a city in her greatneſs, *juſtice*, *peace* and *plenty*. Of a more extenſive nature ſtill is that treatiſe we have of his, called *Maxims of State*; [a] being a methodical compendium of government in all or moſt of its forms and branches; with many of its chapters *analytically* digeſted for the ſake of brevity and perſpicuity. Herein having explain'd and defin'd the words *government*, *policy*, *ſtate* and the office of *ſoveraignty*, he proceeds to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral ſorts of *monarchy*, *ariſtocracy*, *free ſtate*, *tyranny*, *oligarchy*, and *commonwealth*. Then of the *founding* a ſtate, with its parts, and of *preſerving* it under thoſe ſeveral forms, by *myſteries* or *ſophiſms*, *rules* or *actions*. Laſtly, the *converſion* of ſtates, general and particular, by foreign *invaſion*, domeſtick *ſedition*, or *alteration* without violence. Thus ends this treatiſe; to which is join'd, as a kind of corollary for the better uſe of the book, two or three paſſages in the ſtory of *David*: from whence an inference is drawn, *that old age is not always unfit for government*; and alſo a defence of that prince for marrying *Abiſhag*: ſo cloſes with a portrait of *political nobility*, in the ſtory of *Adonijah* aſpiring to the kingdom; with obſervations of the marks to diſcern ſuch practices; and another of the *political prince*, in a farther example of the ſaid king *David*; who, tho' aged, deſerted, and rebell'd againſt by many of his nobles, ſtir'd up himſelf to publick action, and thereby ſhew'd his vigor and ſufficiency to manage the affairs of his kingdom. Herewith may be mention'd that larger treatiſe bordering upon theſe ſubjects, which is call'd *The Arts of Empire*, &c. [b] but handled in a different manner. It is divided into twenty-ſix chapters, defining *publick weals*, and differencies of *ſoveraignty*; more particularly the three kinds of *monarchy*, and how to *perpetuate* them. Alſo of *councils* and *counſellors*, *officers*, *commiſſioners*, *magiſtrates* and *miniſters* of ſtate. Of *juſtice*, *treaſure* and *war*. Of *neighbouring princes*. The character of an *excellent prince*. Art of *ruling*. Of princely *authority*, *power* and *force*. Of *conſpiracy* and *treaſon*, publick *hatred*, *diffidence* and *diſſimulation*. Of *war*, defenſive and invaſive, *law* of *arms*, *ſoldiers* and their *diſcipline*. Of *generals* and *commanders*, *councils* of *war*, directions *tactic* and *ſtratagemic*; with advice how to make an honourable *peace*. Of *civil war*; with the cauſes and remedies thereof. And the two laſt chapters contain a collection of *political obſervations*, and *maxims* of *ſtate*; or prudential grounds and polemical precepts concerning all ſtates and forms of policy, *&c.* confirm'd by ſelect *narrations* and hiſtorical *parallels*.

But if we deſcend to thoſe political writings of our author, which were occaſionally compos'd; and with more particular regard to the exigents of ſtate in his own time, through the virtues of a penetrating eye into the drifts of every neighbouring nation, and an undiſcourageable heart for the ſecurity and intereſt of his own; we ſhall find them ſtill more numerous. And theſe, as they moſt of them have a ſpecial regard to *Spain*, might proceed from the perfect knowledge he had of that kingdom and its tyrannical practices. One inſtance hereof we have in that diſcourſe of The Spaniards *Cruelties to the* Engliſh *in* Havanna; which is aſcrib'd to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with other tracts, in a volume among the manuſcripts of a late perſon of honour. [c] His many other obſervations of this kind might well produce his *Conſultation about the Peace with* Spain, and our protecting the *Netherlands*, of which ſome account has been before given; [d] as alſo that other treatiſe, *How War may be made with* Spain *and the* Indies, mention'd in the ſame place. Directions for ſuch an enterprize may be eaſily preſumed to have been effectually enough given by

[a] Firſt publiſh'd under the title of *The Prince*, or *Maxims of State*. *London*, 4*to*. 1642, in 7 ſheets, with Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s picture before it; publiſh'd again in his *Remains*, 12*mo*. 1651, and all the ſucceeding editions thereof. *A. Wood* ſays, 'tis the ſame with *Aphoriſms of State*, 8*vo*. *Lond*. 1661; publiſh'd by *John Milton*. It begins in this manner— *Government is of two ſorts*, &c.

[b] This alſo had the ſame famous editor, being firſt publiſh'd with the title of *The Cabinet-Council*, *containing the chief Arts of Empire*, *and Myſteries of State diſcabineted*, &c. *By the ever-renowned Knight Sir* Walter Ralegh: *publiſhed by* John Milton, *Eſq*; 8*vo*. 1658, who prefixed this motto, *Quis Martem tunica tectum*, *Adamantina digne ſcripſerit?* The editor's opinion of this *book* and its *author*, he farther offers to the reader in theſe words, "Having had the MS. "of this treatiſe written by Sir *Walter Ralegh* many years "in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among "other books and papers; upon reading thereof, I "thought it a kind of injury to with-hold longer the "work of ſo eminent an author from the publick; it "being both anſwerable in ſtile to other works of his "already extant, as far as the ſubject would permit, and "given me for a true copy by a learned man at his "death, who had collected ſeveral ſuch pieces. *John* "*Milton*." In the ſecond edition it was titled, *The Arts of Empire*, *and Myſteries of State diſcabineted*, &c. 8*vo*. *Lond*. 1692; containing 238 pages, and beginning with theſe words, *A commonwealth is a certain ſoveraign government of many families*, &c.

[c] See a *Catalogue of the Library of a Perſon of Honour*, *&c.* with near a *thouſand* choice *manuſcripts* relating to the ſtate of *England* and *Ireland*, 4*to*. without date, p. 10. This library was ſold, in the former part of the late queen's reign, by *Chriſtopher Bateman*, a noted bookſeller, who once told me to whom thoſe manuſcripts did belong; and if my memory fails not, they were a part of *Henry* earl of *Clarendon*'s vaſt collections, yet a different part, I think, from that which is in the poſſeſſion of his grace the Duke of *Chandos*.

[d] See before in theſe ſheets, fol. 150, where there is a manuſcript of this *Conſultation* quoted; which in ſome places is more perfect than the printed copy, and is the property of the reverend and learned Mr. *Harbin*. It begins thus: *May it pleaſe your majeſty: It belongs not to me to judge whether the king of* Spain *hath done wrong to the* Netherlands, *or the* Netherlands *have fail'd in allegiance towards the king*, &c. 47 pages in the printed copy, publiſh'd by *Philip Ralegh*, as was before obſerv'd, 8*vo*. 1702. That manuſcript has, annexed to it, the *Determinations of the Council of War* in 1587, before mention'd fol. 39. A manuſcript alſo of the ſaid *Conſultation*, there was in the library of the earl of *Angleſea*; another in the *Harleyan* library; another in that of Dr. *John Mort*, late biſhop of *Ely*; another in Sir *Hans Sloane*'s, &c. &c.

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the ſame hand that was alſo author of *The preſent State of* Spain, *with a moſt accurate Account of his Catholick Majeſty's Power and Riches: alſo the Names and Worth of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in that Kingdom:* a manuſcript which I have not hitherto been ſo ſucceſsful as to meet with. [a] Yet take it to be a different performance from that alſo written by our author, and entitled, *The preſent State of Things, as they now ſtand between the three Kingdoms,* France, England, *and Spain*; whereof there is a copy in being. [b] Further, it was this intimate knowledge he had in the ſtate of all the *European* princes, which ſo well qualified him to give the approved advice he did in thoſe two *Diſcourſes* he wrote upon *The Match propounded by the* Savoyan, *between the lady* Elizabeth *and the prince of* Piedmont: And that *between prince* Henry *of* England, *and a daughter of* Savoy, of which we have ſeveral manuſcript copies, and, as I have heard, the original alſo extant. [c] The ſame knowledge likewiſe, enabled him ſo dexterouſly to eviſcerate the corrupt doctrines, and pernicious deſigns of the papiſts, in his *Dialogue between a Jeſuite and a Recuſant; ſhewing how dangerous their Principles are to Chriſtian Princes.* [d] Another excellent tract we have of his in this way of writing is, his *Dialogue between a Counſellor of*

[a] *Anthony Wood* tells us, this treatiſe, ſaid to have been written by our author Sir *Walter*, is a MS. going about from hand to hand; and before him, *Shirley*, in his *Life of Sir* Walter Ralegh, calls it an *excellent manuſcript*.

[b] In the *Harleyan* library, N°. 38, B, 3. 'Tis a tract of about *three ſheets* and a *page* in *folio*, copied, as appears, about the reign of king *Charles* I, and begins with theſe words, *The three great kingdoms*, France, England, *and* Spain, *as they now ſtand, may be compar'd to the election of a king of* Poland, *where there are three factions, and in the end,* two *of them join'd together, are able to overcome the* third.

[c] The firſt of theſe diſcourſes by Sir *Walter Ralegh on the Marriage of the Princeſs* Elizabeth begins thus: *To obey the commandments of my lord the* prince, *I have ſent you my opinion of the match lately deſired by the duke of* Savoy, *&c.* It makes about five ſheets and half a page in the MS. before me, which ſeems to have been a good old copy taken ſoon after this diſcourſe was firſt compoſed by our author; tho' four of the leaves towards the beginning are now much damag'd. Join'd to this, is the ſecond *Diſcourſe, touching a Marriage between Prince* Henry *and a Daughter of* Savoy; beginning with theſe words, *There is no body that perſuades our* prince *to match with* Savoy *for any love to the perſon of the duke, nor, as I hope, for his religion,* &c. and this, in the ſame hand, is about ſix ſheets in length. They were both originally written in the ninth year of king *James*'s reign; or *anno Dom.* 1611, as was before obſerv'd; and this copy of theſe *diſcourſes*, was by the intereſt of a noble perſonage procured, for this uſe, from the collections of that worthy divine lately in theſe notes mention'd. There is a copy of this laſt *Diſcourſe on the Prince's Marriage* among the MS. collections of Sir *Hans Sloane*; mark'd in his library, B, 612; and another in the library of *Trinity* college in *Dublin*. In the *Cottonian* library alſo, there is a copy of *this laſt diſcourſe*, but I think not of the other. It was once a fair one, but ſcarcely ſo ancient as that above us'd, and by miſtake, the *amanuenſis* had aſcrib'd it to Sir *A. Gorges*; for this name is ſtruck out and Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s inſerted in the ſame hand. By another miſtake, of the binder, there is but half of this tract to be found in one volume, the remainder being bound in that mark'd with the preceding number. See the ſaid volumes under the buſt of *Vitellius*, C, N°. 17 and 16. But the greateſt miſtake of all was, the ſuffering of women-ſervants to get up their linnen in rooms underneath thoſe where the *Royal library*, with this of Sir *Robert Cotton*, were lately kept at *Aſhburnham*-houſe, in *Weſtminſter*; for thereby, a mantle-tree taking fire, (which lay acroſs a ſtove-grate) on the 23d of *October*, 1731, it made ſuch deſtruction among the ſaid *manuſcripts*, that of *nine hundred forty-eight volumes*, whereof the *Cottonian* library conſiſted, *ſeven hundred forty-ſix* only eſcaped the flames; a *hundred fourteen* being quite loſt or intirely ſpoil'd, and *ninety-eight* damaged: ſo that this library now contains *eight hundred forty-four* volumes, intire and defective; as may be gather'd from Mr. *Whiſton*'s *Narrative of the ſaid Fire*; printed in *A Report from the Committee appointed to view the* Cottonian *Library, and the other publick Records of this Kingdom. Publiſhed by Order of the* Houſe of Commons, *Fol.* 1732. Now among thoſe damaged volumes, were the two above mention'd, which contain this *Diſcourſe* of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s, and which I have obſerved to be ſo burnt all about the margins, even into the writing, that I queſtion if the ſenſe, eſpecially at the top of the leaves, can from thence be, every where, perfectly recover'd. The beſt is, that we may hope in the truth of an information I have received from a gentleman who has great intelligence, as well as great collections of ſuch like curioſities, that Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s original MS. of one, or both theſe *Diſcourſes*, is preſerved in the noble family of the *Paulets*; tho' I have not yet had opportunity of requeſting a ſight, whereby to ſatisfy myſelf and others in the certainty thereof.

[d] This *Dialogue* (as has been before ſaid) was firſt publiſh'd by *Philip Ralegh*, Eſq; among the *Genuine Remains*, at the end of an *Abridgment* of his grand-father's *Hiſtory of the World*, 8*vo.* 1700, *&c.* where it makes 43 pages, and begins thus: *My moſt reverend father, you are well returned into* England, *&c.* The conference herein is held, plainly, by two real perſons, as may be gather'd from the hiſtorical particulars our author makes them deliver in ſome places of themſelves; and in many places there are obſervations, almoſt *verbatim*, the ſame with ſeveral in others of *Ralegh*'s writings. As the defeat of the *Hugonots* at the battle of *Moncounter*: The deſtruction of ſeveral millions of people in *Hiſpaniola*: The *Spaniards* never performing any enterprize againſt our nation by ſea or land. Our driving away the *invincible armada* with *ſquibs*; arming all nations of *Europe* againſt ourſelves, by the tranſportation of our iron *ordnance*; and, not to inſtance any further, his argument proving that, *he who commands the ſea may command the world*, in the 60th page of theſe *Genuine Remains*, compared only with the 9th page of his *Diſcourſe of Shipping* in the ſame collection, may prove ſufficiently they were both written by one hand. The time when this *Dialogue* was written, might alſo be found in it; for it was, both after Sir *George Somers*'s death, and the publication of *Anticoton*, a treatiſe againſt the *Declaratory Letter*, written to the *queen regent* of *France*, by *Peter Coton*, confeſſor to king *Henry* IV; in which *letter* he having apologiz'd for, or too gently and tardily reprov'd the *king-killing* doctrine of *Mariana* and other Jeſuites, the ſaid *Anticoton* was publiſh'd in *French*, and tranſlated into *Engliſh* 4*to.* 1611, to prove them the authors of that execrable parricide the foregoing year on the ſaid *French* king, by the bloody hand of *Ravillac*. Among the holy champions mention'd in this pamphlet, for the ſaid doctrine of *regicide*, I find *Andreas Eudæmon Johannes Cydonius*, as he wrote himſelf in his books: but he was a *French* Jeſuite, and his true name *Jean l'Heureux*. This father *John* publiſh'd in *Latin*, that ſame year the ſaid king of *France* was ſtab'd to death in his coach, an *Apology* for father *Garnet*, and the *powder-plotters*, 8*vo. Col. Agrip.* 1610. And this was anſwered by the learned Dr. *Robert Abbot*, three years after in his *Antilogia*. But as there is a part in the ſaid *Apology*, which touches upon Sir *Walter Ralegh*, he has taken care to anſwer that himſelf: for that Jeſuite writing himſelf of *Cydon*, a town in *Crete*, *Ralegh* takes occaſion, where he is giving the known character of the *Cretans*, not to except this *Eudæmon Jack Andrew*, as one of them, "Who, (continues our author) "in one of his late ſhameleſs libels, wherein he traduces "our king, religion, and country, with all the good "and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, "has, by inſerting my name, twice belied me, in calling "me a *puritan*, and one that has been dangerous to my "ſoveraign. It is an honour to be ill ſpoken of by ſo "diligent a ſupporter of treaſon, and architect of lies; "in regard whereof I may not deny him the commen-"dation of *Creticiſm*, no leſs voluminous, than he in "multiplicity of names, is beyond any *Cretans*, in elder "times; who were always liars, evil beaſts, and ſlow "bellies." *Hiſtory of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 5. ſect. 2.

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State, and a Juſtice of Peace, better known in the printed copies, by the title of his *Prerogative of Parliaments*; dedicated with a true and generous ſpirit of wiſdom and loyalty to king *James*.[a] Theſe two dialogues will give a perfect taſte of our author's manner in theſe his leſſer compoſitions, and are anſwerable to the character before deliver'd of his *Conſultation about the Peace*, abovemention'd. The laſt tract we have to ſpeak of under this partition, except perhaps a ſhort unprinted *Diſcourſe of the Words Law and Right* alſo aſcribed to him, and to be found in the *Aſhmolean* library, is entitled, *Obſervations touching Trade and Commerce with the* Hollander, *and other Nations, as it was preſented to King* James; *wherein is prov'd, that our Sea and Land Commodities ſerve to enrich and ſtrengthen other Countries againſt our own.* But as there are ſome reaſons to doubt whether Sir *Walter Ralegh* was the author of this treatiſe, I need ſay no more of it in this place; yet ſhall throw them into a corner of the page,[b] where they may leaſt interrupt the progreſſive view of his remaining writings.

Theſe

[a] This excellent *Dialogue* is, by ſome deſcribers of its *title*, from certain manuſcript copies that were in the libraries of Sir *William Glynne*, Bart. and the late biſhop *More*, ſaid to have been written by our author in 1610. But this I take to be an error that may be rectified by the very firſt ſpeech in the ſaid *Dialogue*, which is as follows. "Now Sir, what think you of Mr. *St. John*'s "*trial* in the *ſtar-chamber*? I know that the bruit ran, "that he was hardly dealt withal, becauſe he was im-"priſon'd in the *Tower*; ſeeing his diſſuaſion from grant-"ing ā *benevolence* to the king was warranted by law." Whoever knows any thing of the parliamentary proceedings of theſe times can tell, that this Mr. *Oliver St. John* (afterwards lord *Grandiſon*, and lieutenant of *Ireland*) was fin'd in the *ſtar-chamber* 5000 *l.* in *April*, and made his ſubmiſſion in *May* 1615 for oppoſing that *benevolence*, moved in the foregoing ſeſſion of parliament, which was ſo abruptly diſſolv'd. This is enough to prove the ſaid *Dialogue* was *not* written before that year; and, as our author, in his *dedication* to the *king*, mentions himſelf to be ſtill under reſtraint, this will prove it was written *in* that year. The beginning of his addreſs to the ſaid king is as follows, according to the moſt correct copies I have ſeen of it. "*Moſt gracious Soveraign*, Thoſe who are "ſuppreſs'd and helpleſs, are commonly ſilent; wiſhing "that the common ill might, in all things, ſort with their "particular misfortunes: which diſpoſition, as it is un-"charitable in all men, ſo it would, in me, be more "dog-like, than man-like, to *bite* the *ſtone* that *ſtruck* "me, to wit, the *borrow'd* authority of my ſoveraign, "*miſinform'd*, ſeeing their *arms* and *hands* that *flung* it, "are, moſt of them, already *rotten*. For I muſt confeſs "it ever, that they are *debts* and not *diſcontentments*, "that your majeſty hath laid upon me; the debts and "obligations of a friendleſs adverſity far more payable in "all kinds than thoſe of the proſperous. All which, "nor the leaſt of them, tho' I cannot diſcharge, I may "yet endeavour it. And notwithſtanding my reſtraint "has retrenched all ways, as well the ways of *labour* "and *peril*, as of all other *employments*, yet has it left "with me my *cogitations*; than which I have nothing "elſe to offer on the altar of my love. Of thoſe, *moſt* "*gracious ſoveraign*, I have uſed ſome part in the fol-"lowing *diſpute* between a *counſellor* of *ſtate* and *juſtice* "of *peace*; the one diſſuading, the other perſuading the "*calling* of a *parliament*. In all which, ſince the *Nor-*"*man* conqueſt, at leaſt ſo many as hiſtories have "gathered, I have in ſome things, in the following "dialogue, preſented your majeſty with the contents and "ſucceſſes." Upon collating an old manuſcript of this *Dialogue* in the *Harleyan* library, with the common printed copies, the moſt material difference I obſerved was, that theſe in print ſometimes confound the arguments of the two ſpeakers together, or blend one with the other, by not regarding the proper diviſions of the colloquy. Whether the fault of an ignorant tranſcriber, or of a careleſs compoſitor at the preſs of the firſt edition, I cannot ſay, but we are pretty ſure it was not printed before the author's death. The earlieſt edition I have ſeen, ſeems to be the firſt (however *Anthony Wood* mentions one to have been printed ſeven years before it) for it runs thus: *The Prerogative of Parliaments in* England, *proved in a Dialogue* pro et contra *between a Counſellor of State and a Juſtice of Peace. Written by the* worthy, much lacked *and* lamented *Sir* Walter Ralegh, *Knt. deceas'd: Dedicated to the King's Majeſty and to the Houſe of* Parliament *now aſſembled; preſerved, to be* now happily, *in* theſe diſtracted *Times, publiſhed: printed at* Middelburge, *4to.* 1628. I think it was alſo reprinted in the ſame ſize in 1642. In 1651 it was printed in 12*mo.* and remitted into the collection call'd his *Remains*; ſo has deſcended in the ſeveral *editions* thereof, and in the laſt makes about 4 ſheets and a quarter. If this piece, or any other of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s writing, were to need a character, we might refer to that ſhort, but *ſhining* one, which may ſerve for *one* and *all*, in biſhop *Nicholſon*'s *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, where he ſays, "*Sir* Walter Ralegh *has written*, "*as he uſed to do upon all other ſubjects*, moſt *judicious*ly "and *accutely* upon the *prerogatives* of our *parliaments*;" ſo refers to Sir *Henry Spelman*'s *Gloſſary*, p. 451. From the noble endeavours to reſtrain all violent courſes of adminiſtration, to heal the wounds of government, to cultivate a mutual harmony between prince and people, and detect the miſapplications of his revenue by a few greedy and deceitful courtiers, wherewith this and other like writings of our author abound; we may account for the readineſs which has been ſhewn ſo univerſally, even down to our times, of aſſuming the name of Sir *Walter Ralegh* when any character of a *patriot*, or perſon of a *publick ſpirit* was to be reviv'd or perſonated by our political writers for reforming erroneous meaſures in the ſtate, or recommending advantageous ones to it. To this purpoſe we meet with him, in *Andrew Marvell*'s poems, in *Tom Brown*'s *Belgic Hero*; and his name ſubſcrib'd to ſeveral *Epiſtolary Eſſays* in pamphlets, news-papers, and other like occaſional writings, that animadvert upon the occurrences of the times. Not that his real character is perhaps always juſtly maintain'd, or he made to eſpouſe the party he would really have ſided with; for his name has been uſed to patroniſe the principles of oppoſite parties, and we ſometimes meet with one rebuking the other, for making ſo free with ſuch an honourable ſhelter. Thus among ſome *Poems on Affairs of State*, collected from the *daily, evening* and *weekly papers*, &c. 8vo. 1733, there is one, page 9, *To a Perſon who ſubſcribes his Writings with the Name of* RALEGH. Wherein that part which concerns our ſubject is as follows.

Hear you, who, fearleſs of the brand of ſhame,
Subſcribe *your* treaſons with a *Ralegh*'s name:
He roſe a bleſſing to *Eliza*'s reign,
And ſpread *her glory* o'er the *land* and *main*;
O'er diſtant ſeas aſſerted *England*'s ſway,
And ſought *New Worlds* beneath the burning day:
He toil'd unwearied for his *Country's* peace,
To make her *honour* and her *wealth* encreaſe;
All *mercenary views* his ſoul *deſpis'd*,
He bravely *practis'd* what he firſt *adviſ'd*.
When his great *Miſtreſs* from her throne retir'd,
With the ſame ardor which his youth inſpir'd,
His part he acted on the world's great ſtage,
Nor droop'd beneath the weight of *cares* or *age*;
To the laſt hour was his *allegiance* try'd:
Loyal he prov'd to *him* by whoſe commands he *dy'd*.
Such *Ralegh* was—— whoſe fame compar'd with thine,
Is ſuch as *Milton*'s when compar'd with mine.

[b] *Roger Coke*, Eſq; in his *Detection of the Court and State of* England *during the* four *laſt Reigns*, printed 8vo. the third edition, 1697, ſpeaking of *Ralegh* page 83, fixes theſe *Obſervations on Trade and Commerce* upon him in theſe words: "While he was thus confined, he was "the firſt who made publick the growth by ſea of the "*Dutch*, and the riches they deriv'd from their *fiſhing* "upon the coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, and the con-"ſequence which would neceſſarily follow, not only "to the loſs of the king's *ſoveraignty* of the *Britiſh* ſeas, "but to the *trade* and *navigation* of *England* otherwiſe.

"After

These we shall divide but into two parts, and then perhaps one of them may be best comprehended under the topic of *Philosophy*. This way seems to look, by its subject, that short *Treatise of the Soul* ascrib'd to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, whereof there is a copy preserved among the *Ashmolean* manuscripts. It was never publish'd, I think, and I have not yet seen it; therefore can say no more, at present, of it. But we have in print, another treatise which may be admitted under this head, being built on the doctrine of *Pyrrho* the *Greek* philosopher, entitled, Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Sceptick* or *Speculations*. This doctrine, shewing how much may be said *for* and *against* the same things; such an ingenious exemplification of it as this little tract contains, may, if discreetly used, prevent many rash, dogmatical determinations, and inure us to a wary or prudent suspence of judgment: for the *sceptick*, as our author describes him, does neither *affirm* nor *deny* any position, but doubts of it, and opposes *reasons* against that which is affirm'd or deny'd, to justify his not consenting; because he may report how things appear, but whether they are so he knows not. This little tract, as it is here handled, relates chiefly to our *senses*;[a] but another we have, upon a more dignified topic, as concerning our *manners*, or *virtues* and *vices*; therefore what might be more particularly subdivided under the distinction of *moral philosophy*; and it is call'd, *Instructions to his Son, and Posterity*. A treatise well becoming an author, who had seen the world in so many climates, and life in so many changes. It is written in a perspicuous style, with forcible arguments, and on the most practical subjects. These are interspersed with several memorable admonitions, the fruits of his particular experience therefore may claim a part in his personal history; and being apt to rivet in the mind, may prove of constant use and service; as touching upon the most incidental engagements in life. Thus, in his first chapter upon the *choice of friends*, he says: "Tho' I persuade thee to associate "with thy *betters*, or at least with thy *peers*; yet remember always, that thou venture not "thy estate with any of those *great ones* who shall attempt unlawful things; for such men "labour for themselves, and not for thee; thou shall be sure to impart with them in the "*danger*, but not in the *honour*; and to venture a sure estate at present, in hopes of a better "in future, is mere madness: besides, *great men* forget such as have done them service when "they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying, thou hast been a

Philosophical.

"After that, one *Tobias Gentleman* set forth another "treatise of this nature, and how this *fishery* might be "carried on from the ports of *England*; and dedicated "it to the king. But the king, wholly giving himself "up to pleasure, neither minded one, nor regarded the "other." That *Gentleman* was a fisherman, or other like sea-faring man, and I have seen his treatise; but published long before this, I think; was, which that historian ascribes thus to Sir *Walter Ralegh*. The first edition of these *Observations* I could ever meet with in print, is in 12*mo*. 1653, and it was bound up with the second edition of *Ralegh*'s *Remains*, 1656. Its anonymous publisher appears to be the bookseller; who had no other authority for appropriating it to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, but the opinion of a person who recommended it to him as a genuine piece of his writing. 'Tis true, our author has touch'd, after a different manner, upon the topick, in some of his tracts, and particularly at the end of his *Discourse of Shipping*; where he laments "That strangers "should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and "importing both our own commodities, and those of fo-"reign nations." But I think no treatise of his will be found that descends so much into minute examples, calculations, *&c.* However, not to except at this, because a treatise upon trade may require observations suitable to the subject, it does not appear probable that the author of these *Observations*, whose project was, as he tells us, "To erect twenty *busses* in some sea-port town, so by "degrees to extend a thousand or two over the nation; "who was one that had traced this business, made his "endeavours known not only to the king, but his no-"blemen, merchants and others, who had made him "subscriptions to disburse large sums of mony for building "up this great and rich *sea-city*;" should be a prisoner all this while in the *Tower* of *London*. No, this projector, further proposing to constitute a *state-merchant*, for these purposes; and praying, in the conclusion, that the king would give him leave to nominate the commissioners for conferring upon, and making report thereof to his majesty, seems to have been some manufacturing or mercantile man, one ambitious of that office himself, and consequently none of Sir *Walter Ralegh*. But if from the *subject whereon*, we bend our consideration to the *time when* this tract was written, we shall find further objection against entitling our author to it. For the very first words of the dedication are, "According to my duty, I am "emboldened to put your majesty in mind, that, about "*fourteen* or *fifteen years past*, I presented you a book "of such extraordinary importance for honour and pro-"fit of your majesty and posterity, and doubting it has "been laid aside, *&c.* I am encouraged to present you "with one more, *&c.*" Now if we allow the first book to have been presented in the very first year of the king's being in *England*, then this second must have been presented in 1617 or 1618, when Sir *Walter Ralegh* was out of *England*, or his thoughts far differently engag'd. But the greatest objection of all is, that there are several manuscripts of this treatise in the libraries of our nobility and gentry (more ancient than the earliest edition in print) which, as I have observ'd, do all entitle it to one *John Keymer*, possibly the merchant or vintner of that name, whom *Ralegh* many years before had licensed to retail wine in *Cambridge*, as is related in the foregoing part of this *life*. With one of these manuscripts (the most ancient I have seen) among the collections of the late Mr. *Granger*, there was another, written also in the same little neat old hand, ascribed to the same *Keymer*, and which I take to be that first mention'd in his dedication last quoted; and also to agree in its contents with *John Keymer*'s *Observations made upon the* Dutch Fishery, *about the year* 1601. *Demonstrating there is more wealth raised out of* herrings *and other* fish *in his majesty's seas and the neighbouring nations in* one year, *than the king of* Spain *hath from the* Indies *in* four: *And that there were* twenty thousand ships *and other vessels, and about* four hundred thousand people *then set on work by* sea *and* land, *and maintained only by* fishing *upon the coasts of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. Printed 8*vo*. *Lond*. (from the orginal manuscript) for Sir *Edward Ford*, in the year 1664. Whoever has read these two pieces, will allow that one hand writ them.

[a] Of this *Sceptick* I remember not to have met with any copy in manuscript, nor any edition more ancient than that in the first collection of our author's *Remains*, 12*mo*. 1651: so has been reprinted in all the succeeding editions thereof. 'Tis about 12 pages in the last and largest edition.

" means of their advancement, than acknowledge it. I could give thee a thouſand examples; " I myſelf know it, and have taſted it in all the courſe of my life." From his next chapter, on the *choice of a wife*, we have before given extracts in this work. His third, againſt *flatterers*, ends with this reflection: " Thou may'ſt be ſure, that he, who in private will tell thee of " thy faults, is thy friend; for he adventures thy miſlike, and hazards thy hatred: few can " endure it, every man for the moſt part delighting in *ſelf-praiſe*; one of the moſt univerſal " follies which bewitches mankind." From the fourth chapter on *private quarrels* we have already given a taſte; and here, the chief caution he further urges to prevent the inconveniencies thereof, is ever to beware of unadviſed ſpeech. " He that cannot refrain from much ſpeaking, " ſays he, is like a city without walls." And a little further, " In all that ever I obſerved " in the courſe of worldly things, I ever found, that mens *fortunes* are oftner *made* by their " *tongues* than by their *virtues*, and more mens fortunes *overthrown* thereby alſo, than by their " *vices*." In the fifth chapter, among the rules recommended *to preſerve an eſtate*, the moſt preſſing is againſt *ſuretiſhip*; adviſing rather to give a part of what a man has, than live in continual apprehenſion of loſing both it and his friend. " If thou art bound, ſays he, for a *ſtranger*, thou art a " fool; if for a *merchant*, thou putteſt thy eſtate to learn to ſwim; if for a *churchman*, he has no " inheritance; if for a *lawyer*, he will find an evaſion by a *ſyllable* or a *word* to abuſe thee; if " for a *poor* man, thou muſt pay it thyſelf; if for a *rich* one, he needs it not: therefore from " ſuretiſhip as from a man-ſlayer or enchanter, bleſs thyſelf; for the beſt profit and return will " be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himſelf, he will become " thy enemy; if thou ſhalt uſe to pay it thyſelf, thou wilt be a beggar: and believe thy father " in this, and print it in thy thoughts; that whatever virtue thou haſt, be it never ſo manifold, " if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities ſhall be deſpiſed." In the ſixth chapter, upon *ſervants*, he has this advice: " If thou truſt any ſervant with thy purſe, be ſure thou take his " accompt e'er thou ſleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then, afterwards, for tedioufneſs " neglect it; I myſelf have thereby loſt more than I am worth. Whatever thy ſervant gains " thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy ſimplicity to ſcorn; beſides, 'tis the way " to make thy ſervants thieves, who elſe would be honeſt." The ſeventh chapter is only a word or two againſt exceeding in the bravery of gay *garments*, " as what will ſoon wear out " of faſhion, when money in the purſe will always be in faſhion." The eighth is upon *riches* (and as it ſeems by the beginning, ſhould follow the fifth) Herein exhorting againſt the attainment of them by *baſe* or *evil* means, he charges his ſon, as, never to deſtroy any man for his wealth, ſo, by no means further to impoveriſh the poor; but above all things, to exerciſe compaſſion towards them, as the beſt way to proſperity and peace of mind. " Uſe, ſays he, " thy poor neighbours and tenants well; pine not them and their children, to add ſuperfluity " and needleſs expences to thyſelf. He that has pity on another man's ſorrow, ſhall be free " from it himſelf; he that delights in, and ſcorns the miſery of another, ſhall, one time or " other, fall into it himſelf." The ninth is againſt the inconveniencies of delighting in *wine*, as being the greateſt enemy to health, truſt, honour and preferment; and the laſt chapter begins thus: " Now for the *world*, I know it too well, to perſuade thee to dive into the *practices* " thereof; rather ſtand upon thy own guard againſt all that tempt thee thereunto, or may " practiſe upon thee in thy *conſcience*, thy *reputation*, or thy *purſe*; reſolve that no man is wiſe " or ſafe, but he that is honeſt." So concludes with adviſing him to make *God* his *director* in all his *actions*.

With theſe *Inſtructions to his Son*, which have, I think, been oftner printed [a] than moſt other of our author's leſſer pieces; there is uſually join'd, in all the editions I have ſeen, *The dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father*. 'Tis a religious and rhetorical exhortation to prepare for his latter end; written in a general manner, but how probably by our author, or by either of his ſons, it is left to the critical and diſcerning reader. [b] All the works I have met with

[a] *Four* editions of this tract, call'd, *Inſtructions to his Son*, were publiſh'd before the firſt collection was made of *Ralegh*'s *Remains*. The earlieſt edition of it I have met with, was printed 12*mo*. 1632, in a larger character than we have it in the modern editions. The *fifth* edition (ſaid in the title to be) corrected and enlarged according to the author's own copy, is printed in the ſaid collection of his *Remains*, 12*mo*. 1651, and has been reprinted five or ſix times at leaſt ſince with thoſe *Remains*, that is, in 1656, 1660, 1664, 1675, 1679, &c. and 1726. It fills, in this laſt edition (which has a letter or two of our author's more than the others) about 20 pages. And begins thus: *There is nothing more becoming any wiſe man than to make choice of friends, for by them thou ſhalt be judged what thou art*. We are informed there is a MS. of Sir *Walter Ralegh to his ſon*, which I take to be theſe *Inſtructions*, in the library at *Grays-Inn*. *Vid. Catalogi librorum manuſcriptorum* Angliæ *et* Hiberniæ. *Fol. Oxon.* 1697. *tom.* 2. *part* 1. *page* 255.

[b] This *Dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father* was printed alſo in 1632, with thoſe *Inſtructions*, and with them admitted into *Ralegh*'s *Remains*, 12*mo*. 1651. From which time it has been reprinted in the ſucceeding editions thereof, and makes about a dozen pages. Beginning thus: *Sir, I humbly beſeech you, both in reſpect to the honour of God*, &c.

further

further aſcribed to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, bearing any affinity with this claſs, are two manuſcripts, which might be diſtinguiſhed under the branch of *Natural Philoſophy*. The firſt is his treatiſe *Of Mines, and the Trial of Minerals*; a ſubject on which he very probably might write, both from his own obſervations in the *Weſt Indies*, and thoſe engagements he might alſo have in his native county of *Devon*, with his brother Sir *Adrian Gilbert*, who firſt, in queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, begun to work the long-neglected mines in *Comb-Martin* (whence king *Edward* III. had ſupply'd his wars againſt *France*) and was followed by Sir *Beavis Bulmer*, who from thoſe mines recover'd a great quantity of *ſilver*, out of which, he cauſed two maſſy goblets to be made; one whereof was preſented to the earl of *Bath*; and the other, weighing one hundred thirty-ſeven ounces, to the lord mayor of *London* in the 35th of the queen's reign. [a] So that what *Cicero* ſays to his friend of this iſland, that it yielded not a drachm of that metal, was falſe in *Ralegh*'s time, and what he could not be ſure was true in his own. [b] But whether the ſaid treatiſe is ſo particular as to mention any thing of this I know not, having never ſeen it. [c] The ſecond manuſcript is Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Collection of Chymical and Medicinal Receipts* for fixing *Mercury*, preparing *Antimony*, and for the *Cure* of ſeveral diſeaſes. [d] His application to ſtudies of this kind, may perhaps be ſomewhat accountable from the patronage, which, as in a note before cited, it appears he had ſhewn to *John Heſter*, the famous chymiſt, with the converſation there might probably paſs between them, and the knowledge he had learn'd from the *Guianians* of curing all manner of poiſons, *&c.* 'Tis apparent, that he beſtow'd ſome portion of his time upon the uſe of lembicks and crucibles while he was in the *Tower*, and ſeems to have had a kind of *laboratory* there for his ſaid operations. A view of him in this light will explain the expreſſion in a character of him given by Dr. *Joſeph Hall*, the venerable biſhop of *Norwich* (whom Sir *H. Wotton* calls the *Engliſh Seneca*) where he ſpeaks (among other things, which will be hereafter obſerv'd) of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *philoſophical experiments* in the *Tower*. And other authors might be produced, who, in their character of him, alſo refer to his profound knowledge in the myſteries of nature, or his inveſtigations thereof, through the *animal*, *vegetable*, and *mineral world*, for the benefit of his countrymen, notwithſtanding ſome memorable attempts to advance their proſperity in the *political world*, had met with much diſcouragement: as if, tho' he could not abſolutely recover them from ſome indiſpoſitions or corruptions of the *mind*, he was hereby reſolv'd to try how ſerviceable and ſucceſsful he could be againſt the maladies of their *body*.

How elaborately ſoever many of theſe pieces are allowed by others to have been written, our author look'd upon them but as little excurſions, or *ſallies*, as he calls them, from his grand labour, I mean that *Ocean* of *Hiſtory*, wherein he has out-done all that went before him, and given ſuch lights to futurity as muſt ever be grateful. A voyage, which, " If begun even in " the dawn of his day, when the light of knowledge firſt broke out upon his younger years, " and before any wound received, either from fortune or time, he might yet well have doubted " (as he obſerves himſelf) that the darkneſs of age and death would have overtaken him long " before the performance." [e] But being undertaken, as it was, in the evening of a tempeſtuous life, a life ſo far run out in travels and conſiderations of ſuch oppoſite nature; for one under the ſoul-piercing privations of honour, fortune, freedom! One buried *alive!* to attempt ſuch a *univerſal* revival of the *dead!* And, while his *body*, under all thoſe preſſures, was ſo long incarcerated, for his *brain* to be deliver'd of that *Minerva*, as one calls it, [f] his HISTORY OF THE WORLD! is an example, that might puzzle ſuch an *Hiſtorian* even as *Ralegh* himſelf to parallel. For, beginning at the creation, he has given us the flower of recorded ſtory down to the end of the ſecond *Macedonian* war. Thus having reviewed the three firſt monarchies of the world, he leaves *Rome* in the fourth, triumphant, about a century and a half before the birth of Chriſt, comprehending a period of near *four thouſand years*. This work was divided by our author into five books, who annexed to it a very copious and uſeful *chronological* table; and it was, Hiſtorical.

[a] *Prince*'s *Worthies of Devon*, in the *Proem*, p. 2, 3.

[b] *Cicero ad Attic.* lib. 4. epiſt. 15.

[c] *Anthony Wood* aſcribes it to our author: but he ſeems alſo not to have ſeen it.

[d] This *Collection of Chymical and Medicinal Receipts*— as was before noted, is an original, in the library of Sir *Hans Sloane*. It contains about 70 leaves in *4to.* and in the 63d leaf, as was alſo obſerv'd, Sir *Walter Ralegh* has written *Our Great Cordial*, with a line under it, which he uſually drew under his own name. The liſt of ingredients which follows, may, I think, be diſcerned through the ſcratches made by ſome hand or other to obliterate it: and may, perhaps, be the moſt genuine *Recipe* of that *Great Cordial*, extant in the world, notwithſtanding it is ſuppoſed our author had written it more completely in the enſuing leaf which is torn out. For as to the *Recipe* in *le Febvre*'s *Diſcourſe* upon this *Cordial*, I have, upon a more diligent examination of that diſcourſe, found, that he acknowledges at leaſt a dozen more additions to Sir *Walter*'s *Recipe* than is before taken notice of.

[e] See the preface to his *Hiſtory of the World*.

[f] Oſborne's *Memoirs of King* James.

with the further decorations of *maps*, *tables* of *geneaology*, &c. publiſh'd in the month of *April*, juſt before the meeting of the parliament, [a] in a large volume *folio*, 1614. The approbation it has met with ſince the author's death has been ſo univerſal, that if they are different *editions* of the book to which we may ſee different dates printed, we may venture to ſay, no work, of any author in *England*, has been ſo often reprinted that is of equal ſize and antiquity. [b] The ſeveral *characters* and commendations which have been beſtow'd on this hiſtory as well by miſcellaneous writers, who have frequently quoted it with great deference and reſpect, as by hiſtorians and criticks who have cloſely traced and throughly examin'd it; and as well in verſe, as proſe; would be too numerous to be here inſerted, could they be recover'd. To provide therefore as well againſt the ignorance as the ſatiety of thoſe readers who have not met with them, a few are preſented in the annotation here directed to. [c] He took no ordinary care to deſerve

[a] Camden's *Annals of King* James.

[b] Beſides this firſt edition in 1614, printed by *W. Stansby* for *W. Burre*, I have ſeen copies by the ſame printer bearing date 1617. This edition, I think, has the picture of our author, grav'd by *S. Paſs*, and the frontiſpiece by *Ren. Elſtrack*. Another is dated 1628; and perhaps there is one between thoſe. Another in 1634; another 1652; another in 1656, printed by *Robert White*, &c. another in 1661, printed for *Robert White*, &c. *Anthony Wood* mentions one in 1666, in which edition, or perhaps in one or two before it, it was firſt printed in double columns. Another (now before me) printed for *George Dawes* 1671; another in 1678; and another in 1687. After which, there was none, I think, till this laſt 1735.

[c] This may not perhaps be better introduced than in the reflection of biſhop *Hall*, lately abovemention'd, who, in his ingenious book of *Conſolations*, has theſe words, "A wiſe man, as *Laurentius* the preſbyter obſerved well, "does much in ſolitude. So may'ſt thou employ the "hours of thy cloſe retiredneſs, and bleſs God for ſo "happy an opportunity. How memorable an *inſtance* "has our age afforded us of an *eminent perſon* to whoſe "*impriſonment* we are all obliged, beſides many *philoſo-*"*phical experiments*, for that *noble* HISTORY *of the* "WORLD now in our hands? The *Court* had his "youthful and freer years, and the *Tower* his latter age; "the *Tower* reformed the *Courtier* in him, and produced "thoſe *worthy monuments of art and induſtry*, which we "ſhould have in vain expected from his freedom and "jollity. It is obſerved, that ſhining wood, when it is "kept within doors, loſes its light: it is otherwiſe with "this, and many other active wits, which had never "ſhin'd ſo much, if not for cloſeneſs." Thus in a treatiſe call'd, *Balm of* Gilead; *or, Comforts for the Diſtreſs'd, both moral and divine, by Dr.* Joſeph Hall, *biſhop of* Norwich, 12*mo.* 1652; afterwards reprinted under the title of *The Art of Patience*, &c. 8*vo.* 1684, and by a baſe plagiariſm, aſcribed to the author of *The whole Duty of Man*, who wanted not the reputation of this book; tho' he, from whom it is ſtol'n, had enough to ſpare. In the *Familiar Letters* of *James Howel*, Eſq; ſpeaking of this rare and renowned knight, he ſays, "His fame "ſhall contend in *longævity* with this iſland itſelf, yea "with that great *World* which he *Hiſtoriſes* ſo gallantly." In another well-known book of his, call'd *Dodona's Grove*; *or, The Vocal Foreſt*, diſcourſing of *Ralegh*, and deſcribing him to have been, "A *cavalier* of a *ſpacious* "*underſtanding* and of no *vulgar reach* in *policy*; *ſcienti-*"*fical*, and full of *abſtruſe notions*;" he adds, "That "tho' his body was under reſtraint, and coffin'd up ſo "many years, yet he never travers'd more countries than "then; for his brain ran over all the *World*, as appears "by that *famous Monument* he tranſmitted to poſterity and "hung up in the *Temple* of *Fame*, while he was as it "were buried alive." But in the *Life* of the lord *Staffford*, written by *Anthony Stafford*, Eſq; 4*to.* 1640, this author goes ſo far as to ſay, That if Sir *Walter Ralegh's Hiſtory of the World* had been written in the *Indian* tongue, we ſhould not have ſcrupled or avoided the pains of learning that language, only to read it. If we conſult what character the *hiſtorians* give it, we may find many of them who never name it without ſome epithet or ſentence in its praiſe. Thus Dr. *Heylin* in one place calls it an *excellent hiſtory*; in another, the *firſt* or *chief of hiſtories*. And thus in the preface of Dr. *William Howel's Univerſal Hiſtory*, who muſt have had continual occaſions of inſpecting our author's, 'tis ſaid, That *Sir* Walter Ralegh *is never to be mention'd without honour*. *Shirley*, in his *Life* of our *author*, gives it as his judgment of his *Hiſtory*, "That for the exactneſs of its *chronology*, "curiouſneſs of its *contexture*, and *learning* of *all ſorts*, "it ſeems to be the work of an age." And a little further, "That a man, who had been the greateſt part "of his life taken up in action, ſhould write ſo *judiciouſly*, "ſo *critically*, of times and actions, is as great a *wonder* "as the *book* itſelf; and it ſtill remains in doubt, whether the age he liv'd in was more oblig'd to his *pen* or "his *ſword*, the one being buſy in conquering the *new*, "the other in ſo bravely deſcribing the *old world*." And Mr. *Echard*, in the preface of his *Roman Hiſtory*, admires that part of *Ralegh's* Hiſtory which treats of the *Roman* ſtory, "Eſpecially the laſt hundred years, which, ſays "he, are written with very much *ſpirit* and *judgment*, "and all of it with as much *ſkill* and *clearneſs*: yet that "all before the firſt *Punick* war is not proportionably "copious to the reſt." But how duely it was conſider'd by this particular hiſtorian, whether that was not a judicious diſproportion in our general hiſtorian, may be left to the examination of others. If we ſearch what the *criticks* have ſaid of this Hiſtory, we ſhall find their commendations exceed the reſt. Among theſe we may mention *Degory Whear*, the firſt *Camden-Profeſſor* of *Hiſtory* at *Oxford*, who, ſpeaking of ſuch univerſal hiſtorians as are moſt worthy and before all others to be read; and having only named *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, he goes on thus: *Hos autem ſequi poſſunt nonnulli ex recentioribus: quos inter, principem locum obtinere meretur* Gualterus Raulæus *noſtras, eques auratus, vir clari nominis, et ob ſingularem fortitudinem ac prudentiam, meliori fato dignus. Is* univerſalem hiſtoriam *ab initio* mundi *uſque ad* Macedonici *imperii, ſive tertiæ monarchiæ occaſum, ex probatiſſimis auctoribus coagmentavit; noſtræ quidem genti idiomate vernaculo, ſed accurato admodùm judicio, methodo perſpicuâ, ſtylo elegante ac virili.* Methodus legendi hiſtorias, 8*vo. Cantab.* 1684. p. 28. To this we may join the character of Dr. *Henry Felton* in his *Diſſertation upon the Claſſics*, where he ſays, "Sir "*Walter Ralegh's Hiſtory of the World* is a work of ſo "vaſt a compaſs, ſuch endleſs variety, that no genius "but one adventurous as his own, durſt have undertaken "that great deſign. I do not apprehend any great diffi-"culty in collecting and common-placing an *univerſal* "*hiſtory* from the whole body of hiſtorians; that is nothing "but mechanick labour. But to digeſt the ſeveral au-"thors in his mind; to take in all their majeſty, ſtrength "and beauty; to raiſe the ſpirit of meaner hiſtorians, "and to equal all the excellencies of the beſt; this is "Sir *Walter's* peculiar praiſe. His ſtyle is the moſt per-"fect, the happieſt, the moſt beautiful of the age he "wrote in; majeſtick, clear and manly; and he appears "every-where ſo ſuperior rather than unequal to his ſub-"ject, that the ſpirit of *Rome* and *Athens* ſeems to be "breathed into his work."

Or if what the *Poets* have ſaid upon this performance, may be more entertaining to the reader, ſome pains have been taken to do our author honour alſo by them. As to thoſe *copies of verſes* which were written upon this *hiſtory* in a fair MS. *epitomy* of it in 4*to.* which was among the *collections* of that remarkable *virtuoſo Thomas Britton*, late of *Clerkenwell*, as we find in the printed *catalogue* of that part of his library which was ſold towards the latter part of the late king *William's* reign; I never ſaw, nor knew where to recommend any one to the ſight of them. But have, before me, a MS. *collection* of *Orations* and *Poems*, written moſtly by a ſtudent of *New-College* in *Oxford*, about the middle of the laſt century (who was afterwards a perſon eminent in his profeſſion) Among theſe, there is an *elegy* on his dear friend Mr. *George Franklin*; wherein, having

deſerve theſe encomiums; for beſides his own learning, knowledge and judgment, which many would have thought ſufficient for any undertaking, he with that caution, wherewith we have beheld ſo many others of his great enterprizes temper'd, would ſuffer no part of this hiſtory to paſs his own hand, before ſome of the moſt able ſcholars, whom he aſſembled, it ſeems, for this purpoſe, had debated the parts he was moſt doubtful of, and they moſt converſant in, before him. Thus in the *Moſaic* and *Oriental* antiquities, or fainter and more remote footſteps of time, he would ſometimes conſult the learned Dr. *Robert Burhill*. [a] In all parts of chronology, geography, and other branches of mathematical ſcience, he wanted not the opinions of the learned *Hariot*, and the earl of *Northumberland*'s three *Magi*, [b] long his neighbours in the *Tower*; and wherever he ſcrupled any thing in the phraſe or diction, he would hear the acute and ingenious Sir *John Hoſkyns*, ſometime alſo reſident in theſe confines; who viewed and reviewed the ſaid hiſtory, as we are told, before it went to the preſs, and whom *Ben Johnſon*, proud of calling others his *ſons*, could gratify that humour in calling *father*. [c] Thus having ſpared for no labour, and neglected no means to bring this work to the perfection wherein we behold it, 'tis no wonder that ſome ſcribbler or other ſhould, upon finding it ſo univerſally read, endeavour to raiſe himſelf a little profit or credit from it, by pretending that the *world* needed an *abridgment* of its hiſtory, [d] as if that wherewith Sir *Walter Ralegh* has preſented us, either is, or was intended for any thing more. But this more ſpecious kind of detraction having elegantly deſcrib'd his great proficiency in other ſciences, the poet directs it as the higheſt compliment he could make to his perfection in this we are now ſpeaking of, that

In UNIVERSAL HISTORY, 'twas clear,
He had approv'd himſelf *Great* RALEGH's heir.

But among *S. Sheppard*'s *Epigrams*, written about the ſame time, and publiſh'd 8*vo*. 1651, there is, in the third book, one, *On that incomparable Hero Sir* Walter Ralegh; which ſpeaks of him and his hiſtory in the following words.

Like the *Athenians*, when with furious ire,
Againſt learn'd *Socrates* they did conſpire;
After his death, themſelves were like to ſlay,
For ſorrow they had made him ſo away;
And, having carv'd his ſtatue out in braſs,
Erected it within their market-place;
And to him offer'd myrrh and ſpicery,
Adoring him as if ſome deity:
So we, while thou on earth with us did'ſt live,
Slighted thy worth; not having hearts to give
Thee thanks and honour for that *Gift* of thine,
The lovely iſſue of thy brain divine;
But now thou art not with us, we look on
Thy book, and wonder at Thee being gone.
Reſt, ſacred ſpirit, while thy work ſhall be
Devoutly honour'd by poſterity.

There is alſo in b..ing, a picture of our author, drawn with a pen and ink, having an emblematical *device* with an *epigram* under it, which relate partly to his *Hiſtory of the World*. That device, in an oval frame of laurel or bays, preſents a *globe* ſupported by a *ſword*, and a *pen*; the ſword broken by a *ſcepter* in a hand on one ſide, and the *Tower* in proſpect on the other: and theſe are the lines, as they are printed in *Phœnix Britannicus*, one word only reſtor'd, according to the author's original, of which I have obtain'd a ſight.

O! had'ſt thou ſerv'd the *Heroine* all thy days;
Had heav'n from ſtorms of *envy* ſkreen'd thy bays;
Had'ſt thou ſtill flouriſh'd in a warlike reign;
Thy *ſword* had made a conqueſt like thy *pen!*
But nought to ſuch untimely fate could bring
The valiant ſubject, but a tim'rous king.

But that which of late years did much revive the publick regard to this *hiſtory* was, the ingenious Dr. *George Sewell*'s Tragedy of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, publiſh'd 8*vo*. 1719, and the much-admired *character* he has therein given of it. Conſidering under what diſadvantages that *dramatic* performance appear'd, as written by a poet who had no practice or fame in this kind of writing; one inſufficiently read in the perſonal ſtory of his hero, to form that plot, and enliven it with thoſe characters and incidents whereof it was capable; beſides, acted at the *New-Theatre* in *Lincoln's-Inn Fields*, which then had leſs the favour of the town, eſpecially for tragedy; and when another new play was at the ſame time acting at the *Old Houſe* in *Drury Lane*. Conſidering all this, and, notwithſtanding, how many nights this tragedy ſucceſſively drew a noble and numerous audience, and how many editions of the copy ſoon paſſed the preſs; we may perceive, not only, what general and grateful reſpect ſtill ſurvives towards the particular memory of this famous man, but alſo how inclinable we are to clear ourſelves of the imputation many times thrown upon us of alienating our encomiums, and transferring the honours which are due to the worthies of our own *iſland*, upon examples out of *heathen* or *foreign* hiſtories, which becauſe leſs affecting to our paſſions, and leſs applicable to our inſtruction, are leſs meritorious of ſuch celebration. In the laſt act of this *tragedy*, where the poet brings in his *hero* deliberating or reflecting upon this capacious work, his *Hiſtory of the World* lying on a table before him; the ſentiments are ſo well aſſembled, ſo noble and natural, that it has been doubted, whether there was ſo much of fiction in the *ſoliloquy*, at leaſt the votive part of it, as truth: But it is as follows.

Now my long toil is done, my ſoul at eaſe
Views her paſt travels through the various heap
Of truth and fable. All that meaſur'd time
Records of nations, governments and laws,
Of heros, conquerors and purpled kings,
Lye here compris'd. O may the toiſome taſk
Anſwer the labourer's care with due returns!
May men grow wiſer by their father's follies,
Or learn to emulate the virtuous dead!
And thou, my *country*, neareſt to my heart,
Dear *land* of *liberty* and heavenly *truth*,
As thou ſurvey'ſt the various models here
Of earthly power, their riſe and infant ſtate,
Their progreſs and their period; mark the flaws
Of every frame, and value much thy own:
Secure, while monarchy ſtill bears the ſway,
And joyful ſubjects pay a free obedience.

[a] See *Anthony Wood*'s Account of Dr. *Robert Burhill*, in *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2.

[b] *Idem*, in the *Life of T. Hariot*, vol. 1. col. 460.

[c] *Ibid.* in his *Account of Sir John Hoſkyns*, col. 615.

[d] The firſt attempt we have of this kind was by *Alexander Roſs*, a *Scotch* divine, and ſchoolmaſter at *Southampton*, in a book call'd, *The Marrow of Hiſtory; being an Epitome of Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Hiſtory of the World*, 12*mo*. 1652, *&c.* certainly a moſt unconnected, enervating, and injudicious performance. His fallacious argument for this unacceptable trouble "of a dwarf ſeeing further upon a "giant's ſhoulders than the giant himſelf" may be his caſe in the ſtature of his wit, but not the advantage of his proſpect. And there is as much reaſon for clipping of *ſterling* money as ſuch mens writings. 'Tis true, Sir *Walter Ralegh* has made ſome digreſſions in his hiſtory, but they are the digreſſions of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; by which the life, ſpirit, air and complexion of the author are known; and above all, the great deſign of this work, thoſe examples and thoſe documents wherewith he moſt ſtrenuouſly endeavour'd to ſeaſon that hopeful *prince*'s mind for whom it was written. Therefore has made apology ſufficient for the ſame, where he ſays, "That "ſeeing we digreſs in the ways of our lives, and that "the life of man is nothing elſe but digreſſion, I may "the better be excus'd in writing their lives and actions." And indeed, men of ſuch eminency, erudition and experience,

detraction meeting with no countenance, the author of it threw out another, of *Animadverſions* upon this hiſtory; but as inſignificant and no leſs diſregarded than the other, being agreeable to that unhappy *ſpirit* of *contradiction* which ever harraſs'd him to oppoſe the greateſt writers in his time.[a]

But that which is more conſiderable concerning this hiſtory is, whether our author ever continued it down to his own times; and whether, on ſome pretence that this firſt part did not meet with encouragement, he ever deſtroy'd the ſaid continuation himſelf, as we have it in the mouths of every-body when they ſpeak of him, but in the belief of no-body who knows any thing of his ſtory or his character. All that he ſays himſelf, in the leaſt glancing this way, is firſt in his *preface*, "That he propos'd to confine his diſcourſe with this our renowned iſle of *Great-*
"*Britain*." And "That he forbears to promiſe a ſecond or third volume, which he intends
"if the firſt receives grace and good acceptance, for that which is already done may be
"thought enough and too much." Laſtly, in the concluſion of the *hiſtory* he ſays, "Where-
"as this book by the title calls itſelf *The firſt Part of the General Hiſtory of the World*, imply-
"ing a *ſecond* and *third* volume, which I alſo *intended* and have *hewn out*; beſides many
"diſcouragements perſuading my ſilence, it has pleaſed God to take that glorious *prince* out
"of the world to whom they were directed; whoſe unſpeakable and never-enough lamented
"loſs has taught me to ſay with *Job*, *Verſa eſt in luctum cithera mea, et organum meum in*
"*vocem flentium*." From hence it ſeems plain enough, that our author had only ſome plan, or perhaps a few rough draughts of ſome ſucceeding parts of the hiſtory at this time drawn up, and that he was diſcouraged from making any further progreſs in them. Allowing his mind might change, and that there was time enough to finiſh the remaining volumes between this year, and that of his death, which is ſcarcely allowable; yet as we know how moſt of that time was employ'd by him, it will admit of no room for any ſuch performance. For in 1615, the year which followed that wherein he publiſh'd his hiſtory, two at leaſt of his moſt elaborate tracts beforemention'd were written. The ſame year he was alſo buſy, as we ſhall find, in writing letters and making other intereſt for his releaſement, which he obtain'd before it was quite expir'd. After this, it will no leſs appear, that he made himſelf too eminently the ſubject of

rience, may well be truſted with ſuch liberties, and thanked for taking them. But tho' when ſuch prove *wandering guides*, it is more to our inſtruction than if they kept the ſtreight and beaten road; yet they may be no patterns, in this particular, for writers of a private and inferior character. Another *Abridgment* we have of this *hiſtory*, in 8*vo*. 1700, *&c*. the author of it unknown; but the preface is written by Mr. *Echard*, who ſays, "The great knowledge and learning, the accurate
"ſkill in penetration, the ſublime wiſdom and piety,
"together with the curious remarks and obſervations,
"which ſo ſignally appear in Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Hiſtory,
"have ſufficiently recommended it to the judicious part
"of the world: *yet* that his too frequent and long di-
"greſſions and obſervations, *tho*' ſeveral of them very
"fine and ingenious, are, too many, foreign to his ſub-
"ject: and *yet* that his moral and religious reflections,
"tho' ſometimes long, are generally too excellent to
"need a vindication." But ſtill "That theſe faults
"were the faults of the age, and have made many *curious*
"perſons wiſh for an epitomy, *&c*." ſo *Roſs*'s attempt being executed with ſmall ſkill and ſucceſs, he recommends this. But thoſe obſervations and digreſſions which theſe perſons were ſo *curious* as to wiſh retrenched in this hiſtory, archbiſhop *Uſher*, or the learned Dr. *Bainbridge*, had the *curioſity* to prefer, it ſeems, as matter of choiceſt note: as may appear by the *excerptions* made out of this hiſtory in a manuſcript which has the writing of both thoſe authors in it, and is preſerved in the library of *Trinity-College* in *Dublin*. And ſuch another preference, as the moſt delicate paſſages in this hiſtory, has lately been made by an ingenious hand in *London*, in a collection of many *Divine, Moral, and Political Reflections* out of it; which, if made with that choice, and brought into that order it is, capable of, will do our author more juſtice than all the *epitomies* of his *hiſtory* that the *world* ſhall be troubled with.

[a] Such as the lord *Bacon* and Sir *Thomas Brown* in philoſophy; *Fernelius* and Dr. *Harvey* in phyſick; beſides others. As for theſe *Animadverſions* which the ſaid *Roſs* publiſh'd a few months before his death upon our author's *Hiſtory of the World*, they are join'd to his *Leviathan drawn out with a Hook*, againſt Mr. *Hobbes*, 12*mo*. 1653; and were manifeſtly publiſh'd to help off his foregoing wretched performance, *The Epitomy*. They contain about ſeventy pages, and about as many obſervations on our author's hiſtory; pretending to note his miſtakes, and clear ſome doubtful paſſages therein. Tho' whoever ſhall examine them may find, that he has made more paſſages doubtful than he has clear'd; and as for miſtakes, the greateſt are thoſe which himſelf makes of his author; ſometimes perverting his ſentiments; ſometimes oppoſing his citations as his opinions; and at others, correcting his opinions out of the citations he had approv'd of. In ſome places, he is ſo poor a corrector as to fall upon his author for the lapſes of his printer; in many, labours about things of no conſequence; and in moſt, notes no miſtake, nor clears any doubt, according to his title, but recites a paſſage only to make ſome ſuperfluous additions to it, from his own bottomleſs fund of pedantry, or ſome reference to others of his own ſtupid writings. So that he ſeems throughout like ſome broker, who has all his life been ſtoring his upper rooms with a great deal of old lumber, that he may be able, when any curious antique is produced, only to oppoſe others of a different form, how inferiour ſoever in uſe or application, rather to puzzle the ignorant in what they ſhould prefer, than convince them of what they ought to reject; having no opportunity ſo creditable to diſcloſe the variety of his own trifles, or hopes of making them paſs for ſomething of value. This man might have ſwell'd out an article or two more in his ſaid tract, from what *Ralegh* himſelf has obſerv'd upon his own *hiſtory* when it came from the preſs, could that critic have come at his remarks. For there is ſuch a curioſity remaining in his family, as one of the firſt printed copies, which had been his own book. 'Tis printed on large paper, with the maps colour'd, bound in red leather, with gilt leaves, and his creſt, the *Cap of Honour*, ſtampt on the covers. In this copy Sir *Walter* has made two or three corrections with his own pen; particularly in the 535th page of the *three laſt books*, there is one eſcape which has not been corrected in any of the following impreſſions, wherein I have particularly looked for it; where ſpeaking of the *Roman* army which was to face *Hannibal*, *Ralegh* has, under the words *five hundred horſe*, drawn a line; and, in the margin, written, "It
"muſt needs be *five thouſand horſe*; for ſhortly after,
"*Nero* carries with him a part of his army to his col-
"legue, in which there was a *thouſand horſe*."

modern hiſtory, to be any further an author of that which is *ancient*. There is, indeed, a little intimation of the deſign he had upon ſome ancient part of our *Engliſh* ſtory, preſerved in a letter of his own, written it ſeems, tho' undated, before his great *work* was publiſh'd, to that acquaintance, whoſe library was moſt likely to accommodate him with thoſe uncommon books which he wanted for his purpoſe. This letter is as follows. " Sir *Robert Cotton*, If you have any of " theſe *old books*, or any *manuſcripts* wherein I may find any of our *Britiſh antiquities*; if you " pleaſe to lend them me for a little while, I will ſafely reſtore them, and think myſelf much " beholden unto you: or if you have any old *French* hiſtory, wherein our *nation* is mention'd; " or any elſe, in what language ſoever. (So ſubſcribes himſelf) Your poor friend, *W. Ra-* " *legh.*" [a] But this does not ſufficiently aſſure us, whether the uſe of theſe books was to continue his *General Hiſtory*, or furniſh him upon ſome more particular ſubject, however, we may incline with the writer of Sir *Robert Cotton*'s life to the former opinion. And as for the reaſons of one ingenious author, *why Sir* Walter Ralegh *was the moſt proper perſon to write the hiſtory of his own time*; [b] and the opinion of another, " That his admirable performance " already publiſh'd, ſufficiently ſhews, that if he had attempted the *hiſtory of his own country*, " *or his own times*, he would have excell'd even *Livy* or *Thucydides*; and that the Annals of " queen *Elizabeth* by his pen, without diminiſhing from the ſerious, judicious *Camden*, had " been the brighteſt glory of her reign; and would have tranſmitted his Hiſtory as the ſtan- " dard of our language even to the preſent age:" [c] Theſe are ſtill no affirmatives that he did finiſh ſuch a ſecond part. So that his own intimations in the firſt part, reſerv'd and inconcluſive as they are, ſeem to have been the only foundation of that formal ſtory, " How Sir *Walter* " *Ralegh*, a few days before his death, ſent for *Walter Burre*, the bookſeller who had printed " his firſt volume, and taking him by the hand, aſked him, how that work of his had ſold? " who anſwer'd, ſo ſlowly that it had undone him; hereupon *Ralegh* ſtepping to his deſk, " reach'd out the other part of his hiſtory, which he had *brought down to the times he liv'd in*, " then ſaying, with a ſigh, Ah friend! has the firſt part undone thee? the ſecond volume ſhall " undo no more; this ungrateful world is unworthy of it; ſo ſtept to the fire, threw it in, " and ſet his foot on it till it was conſum'd." But, as we obſerved before, *Ralegh* had no leiſure to finiſh ſuch a *ſecond part* of his *hiſtory* down to his own time. In the next place, 'tis no ways probable that he, who, in regard to the firſt part, could follow the rule of *Seneca*; that he, who *having ſatisfied his own conſcience, could diſregard the cenſure of others*, ſhould ſacrifice ſo great a part of his labours, or any part, in ſuch a raſh and inconſiderate manner, to the ſudden repreſentations of a bookſeller, without ever ſuſpecting any mercenary ends in him. Further, it does not appear true that the firſt part did ſell ſlowly, for there was a ſecond edition of it ſet forth by that very bookſeller, within three years after the firſt, as we have in a note before obſerv'd; and laſtly, the firſt man we can meet with who reports the ſame, is a trifling and ſuperficial writer, who produces no authority for his aſſertion. [d]

As to the unfiniſh'd parts he might have of ſuch a continuation, to admit that they were thus deſtroy'd would, moreover, in no wiſe agree with an account we have more ſatisfactorily atteſted of that great quantity there was in being of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s unprinted writings, ſeveral years after his death. For it is affirm'd to us, " That the famous Mr. *Hamden*, a " little before the *civil wars*, was at the charge of tranſcribing *three thouſand four hundred* " *fifty two ſheets of Sir* Walter Ralegh's *manuſcripts*, as the *amanuenſis* himſelf told me (ſays " my author) who had his cloſe chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant to deliver

[a] Sir *Walter Ralegh* to Sir *Robert Cotton*, the original; in the *Cottonian* library, *Julius* C 3, at the top of this letter there is a liſt of the old authors, above a dozen in number, which in the beginning of the letter we ſee, as above, he refers to. And for the ſatisfaction of the curious, they are here ſet down as follows. *Sigebert*'s *Chronicles*, *Vincentii Speculum Hiſtoriale*, *Gervaſius Tileſberius*, *Phillip Bergomus*, *Natalis Talipes*, *Amandus Zirexens*, *Caius Londinius*, *John Major de geſtis Scotorum*, *Leſſabius of Henault*, *Alex. Eveſham*, *Brute Book*, *Chronicle of Teuxberry*, *Peter de Icham*. This is the letter which Dr. *Thomas Smith* made uſe of when he was ſpeaking of the great men who ſought the aſſiſtance of Sir *Robert Cotton*'s library; and having ſelected from the reſt, as moſt worthy of note, Sir *Francis Bacon* and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, goes on thus: *Quorum hinc, carceris in turre Londinenſi pœnam luens, in ſecunda univerſalis hiſtoriæ parte antiquitates Britannicas indagaturus, ut quoſdam codices tum typis impreſſos, tum manu exaratos, ſibi utendos dare vellet Cotto-nus, literis petit. Vita D. Rob. Cottoni, fol.* 25.

[b] See the *Paradoxes* of Dr. *John Donne*, in the more enlarged edition, among his *Eſſays*, as I remember, printed 12*mo.* 1651, at leaſt in ſeveral MS. copies of them; one whereof was in the library of *Baſil* Earl of *Denbigh*.

[c] Dr. *Henry Felton*, in his *Diſſertation on the Claſſicks*, as before.

[d] *Will. Winſtanley*'s *Worthies of* England, 8*vo.* 1660, p. 256, in the *Life of Sir* Walter Ralegh; wherein it is true, as the author owns, there are moſt material errors, one whereof he rectifies in his table of *errata*; but leaves others as groſs uncorrected. This writer, in another ſuch like performance, call'd *The Lives of the* Engliſh *Poets*, 8*vo.* 1687, has repeated this ſtory of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s burning the *ſecond part* of his *hiſtory* in the ſame manner as above, and with equal probability, being here alſo ſilent of any authority for the truth thereof.

him

" him the originals, and take his copies as fast as he could write them." [a] Yet what is become of this treasure now, I have not been able to learn; for, if we suppose that Mr. *Hamden* would not be at the trouble and charge of transcribing any of our author's writings which had then been printed; and grant that all of his which have been printed since that time, as well as all we can hear of remaining in MS. which are allow'd to be his, were part of that collection or quantity, they will not, both join'd together, as might be computed from what is here observed of them, amount to a fourth part thereof, tho' we should admit two or three pieces more, also ascribed to him, which have not yet been named, and happen to fall under this historical division. The first of them is call'd, *A notable and memorable Story of the cruel War between the* Carthaginians *and their own Mercenaries: Gather'd out of* Polybius *and other authors, by that famous Historian Sir* Walter Ralegh. [b] Tho' this was indeed written by him, it is no different work from what he had before publish'd, but reviv'd during the civil wars, to reflect with some authority upon the distractions of those times. The other two pieces might seem to fall within the intended continuation of his *Universal History*; but the first of them, call'd *The Life and Death of* Mahomet; *the Conquest of* Spain; *together with the Rising and Ruin of the* Saracen *Empire*, ascribed to Sir *Walter Ralegh* near twenty years after his death, by the bookseller who dedicated it to his son, [c] is, except a few leaves about that of *Mahomet*, no more than a translation of an epitomy made by some ignorant *Spanish* author, chiefly from what one of his own fabulous countrymen had written of a fictitious prince named *Jacob Almansor*, [d] as I have been assur'd by a gentleman of great knowledge both in the *Spanish* and *Oriental* writers, whose answer, having satisfy'd me with the intelligence I was ambitious of procuring about this book, I here take the liberty of subjoining for the satisfaction also of the publick. But the stile itself, so uncouth in some places, so meagre in others, and incorrect, especially in known things, places, and persons, might of itself exclude our author from having any hand in it. The other piece is stiled, *An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of* England; *with the reign of King* William I. *entitled the Conqueror, written by Sir* Walter Ralegh. It was near fourscore years after his death before this was publish'd. Yet there are several old manuscript copies of it in the libraries of the curious, [f] which entitle him the author of it;

[a] *Observations on the Statesmen and Favourites of* England *since the Reformation.* By David Lloyd, *M. A.* 8vo. 1665, p. 490.

[b] Printed 4*to.* 1647, and is no other than a transcript from the *History of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 2. &c.

[c] Printed 12*mo.* 1637, with Sir *Walter*'s picture before it.

[d] There seems to be other translations of the life of this pretended prince than that which follows this life of *Mahomet* in the book ascribed to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as *Almansor, the learned and victorious King that conquer'd* Spain, *his Life and Death; translated from the* Spanish *by* Robert Ashley, 4*to. Lond.* 1627. *La vie de* Jacob Almansor *roi* d'Arabie. 8*vo. Paris*, 1638. Almansor's *Life, with the Conquest of* Spain *by the* Moors, 8*vo.* 1693, *&c.*

[e] " Sir ****** The greater part of this book, " containing *The History of the Conquest of Spain*, and " the *Life of* the Caliph *Jacob Almansor*, in whose reign " the author supposes that conquest to have been made, " with an account of his immediate predecessor and " successors, is said by the author, page 34, to be " *abbreviated out of two* Arabian *writers, translated into* " Spanish *in the year* 1606; *both the authors living in the* " *time of* Almansor; *the one, a captain in that war, and* " *the other for* 20 *years together of his chamber, and af-* " *ter his death a provincial governor in* Arabia Felix. " But it appears to be no other than an abstract, or trans- " lation of an abstract made in *Spanish*, of the first " book of the first part, and the first book of the second " part of *Miguel de Luna*'s *History of the Loss of* Spain, " entitled, *Historia verdadera del Rey D. Rodrigo*, &c. " which history he pretended to have translated in 1589 " (for that is the date of the first part) from the *Arabic* of " *Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique*, written in the year of " the *Hejra* 140, who appears to have inserted in his " work *The Life of the Caliph* Jacob Almansor, written " in the same language by another author, named *Alii* " *Abençufian*, vice-roy and governor of the province of " *Deuque* in *Arabia*, in the year of the *Hejra* 110."

" Whether there ever were two such *Arabian* historians " as these, is very uncertain; but certain it is, that *de* " *Luna*'s history can be no translation of any genuine " *Arabian* writer, but must be wholly a forgery of his " own: for there never was any such caliph of the " *Saracens* in *Asia* as *Jacob Almansor*; the whole account " of him, his father, son and grandson, being a mere " romance in every particular. *Spain* was conquer'd in " the reign of *Al Walid Ebn Abd' almalec*, the VIth of " the *Arabian Khalifs* of the family of *Omeyya*, who " died in the year 96. The only *Khalif* in *Asia* who " took the surname of *Al Mansur*, was the second of the " family of *Al Abbas*, named *Abu Jaafar Abdalla*, and " began his reign in the year of the *Hejra* 137, which " is 35 years after *de Luna*'s *Almansor* is said to have " died. Nor did any *Arabian* ever write in the manner " of *de Luna*, or send such letters as he has inserted in " his history; wherein tho' some particulars relating to " the war and conquest of *Spain* may be true, yet what- " ever he says of the *Arabians* in *Asia*, or the *Khalifs* " there, is utterly false, and without the least shadow of " truth."

" As to the life of *Mahomet*, which takes up only " the first 24 pages of this book, it was prefixed either " by the translator or abbreviator, and extracted from the " accounts given of that pretended prophet by christian " writers; and being for the most part false and ri- " diculous, deserves little regard."

" I cannot think therefore, notwithstanding the opini- " on of the bookseller in his dedication, that a person of " Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s learning and judgment was ever " any way concern'd in this book: we hear not, that " any copy of it was ever found in his study, or that any " MS. of it, ascrib'd to him, is preserved, as of his genu- " ine pieces, in the libraries of the curious. And had " the author or translator look'd ever so little into the " *Saracen* history, even as given by the *Byzantine* hi- " storians, and the *Latin* writers of the middle age, he " must have known better than to be impos'd on by " so bare-fac'd an impostor. Whether the stile and lan- " guage of this performance confirm my opinion or not, " you ****** *&c.*

I am,
SIR,
your most humble Servant,
G. SALE.

[f] As the *Cotton* library, *Titus* F 3, 17. that of Sir *Kenelm Digby*; the *Harleyan* library; that of Dr. *Thomas Gale*, &c. But the copy from whence this book was printed in 8*vo.* 1693, being among the manuscripts of archbishop *Sancroft*, was committed to the press by Dr. *John Moore*, afterwards bishop of *Ely*, as I have it attested under the hand of *Robert Keck*, Esq; late of the *Temple*, in

it; but it was written at leaſt two years before he publiſh'd his *Hiſtory of the World*, becauſe it is inſcribed to a perſon who died ſo long before the ſaid publication, in theſe words: "I "intend by the help of God and your furtherance, right noble earl of *Salisbury*, to write a brief "hiſtory of *England* from *William* the firſt, entitled the *Conquerer*, to the end of queen *Elizabeth* "of perpetual memory." But by then his *Hiſtory of the World* was finiſh'd, he was, as we have obſerved, alſo from his own words, diſcouraged from all continuation. To thoſe diſcouragements might be added, the ungrateful treatment which was ſhewn to this *Part* he did publiſh, at its firſt appearance: for tho' we have obſerved what univerſal approbation it has met with ſince the author's death; yet how it was receiv'd as ſoon as it came abroad and made its firſt viſits at court, we are yet to relate.

THOSE, who thought the king muſt needs be a patron of authors becauſe he was one of the number, have been ready to inſinuate, that his favour encreaſed towards *Ralegh* in proportion to the proofs his pen had given of his abilities; therefore, that his many excellent Writings, and eſpecially this *Hiſtory of the World*, were the moſt powerful interceſſors for his releaſment out of the *Tower*; as if his majeſty, in reſpect to his own honour, thought it in vain longer to confine his perſon, ſince no condition could confine his fame; or, in regard to *Ralegh*'s merit, that he had well deſerved no place ſhould be a barrier to his liberty, who had given ſuch extraordinary teſtimony that no age could ſet a bound to his knowledge. *Sanderſon* has aſcrib'd the freedom which not long after enſu'd, to one of thoſe motives; where he ſays, "Sir *Walter Ralegh*, wearied with "long impriſonment, and having there ſpent his time well in the *Hiſtory of the World*, made "his petition more paſſable to the king; whoſe love to learning granted him now at laſt his "liberty; and, not long after, leave to wander after a deſign to the weſtern world, where "he had been in ſeveral climates before." [a] But others, who ſeem to have known the matter much better, or have more ingenuouſly imparted it, aſſure us, that *Ralegh*'s excellent talents were ſo far from ingratiating him with the king, "that tho' his majeſty had been intemperately "praiſed by flatterers for ſome of the weakeſt of his own compoſitions, yet he could not forbear, "out of an impertinent emulation, to affect Sir *Walter Ralegh* the leſs, becauſe of the great "repute which followed him for his excellent pen." [b] Nay, we are elſewhere told, in anſwer to *Sanderſon* above, that *Ralegh*'s *Hiſtory of the World* gave the king ſo much diſpleaſure, "that "at its firſt publication it was forbid; and particularly, for ſome paſſages in it which offended "the *Spaniard*; as alſo for being too plain with the faults of princes in his *preface*." [c] For it is, indeed, repleniſh'd with many remarkable examples of divine vengeance pour'd forth on princes of many other nations as well as our own, who ſtrove to eſtabliſh their thrones by oppreſſion and iniquity. That paſſage in anſwer to *Sanderſon*, is ſo far from being deny'd by this writer, that he afterwards confirm'd it in contradiction to what himſelf had written as above, about *Ralegh*'s petition being made more paſſable by his *Hiſtory*; where, after his groſs manner of interpretation, he ſays, "King *James* and all other princes had cauſe of complaint, becauſe "his whole book ſets out the eaſtern monarchs with much glory, and exclaims againſt chriſtian "princes as moſt inhuman; tracing all the *Engliſh* ſoveraigns from the conqueſt, eſpecially *Henry* "the eighth; whom, for his daughter's honour, Sir *Walter Ralegh* might have ſpar'd from gall "and bitterneſs." And a little further, "King *James* might perhaps obſerve more, to repreſs "the wickedneſs of ſuch a perſon, who, under pretence of taxing a vice in the father, intend-"ed cunningly to ſtain the whole race, *&c.*" [d] This objection againſt *Ralegh*'s character of that king, is more particularly aſcribed to king *James* by another writer alſo before-cited, who tells us, "That after much ſcorn caſt upon *Ralegh*'s Hiſtory, the king, being modeſtly de-"manded *What fault he found?* anſwer'd, as one ſurpriſed, *That* Ralegh *had ſpoken ir-*

in one of the printed copies of the ſaid book in my poſſeſſion. The ſaid Dr. *Moore*'s preface to this piece, however ſome have thought it father'd on our author, is in theſe words, "This life of *William the Conqueror* writ by "Sir *Walter Ralegh*, was found in the library of a perſon "of *high quality*. Whoſoever has been converſant in the "works of that *accompliſh'd knight*, and a little acquainted "with his great genius and ſpirit, and his manly unaffected "ſtile, will make no doubt but what here is preſented unto "the world was his genuine iſſue. For the comprehenſive "and penetrating thoughts, the lively imagination, and "the mature exact judgment of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, do all "manifeſtly appear in this ſmall treatiſe. It may be "matter of ſome wonder that a work fill'd with ſuch a "number of judicious reflections upon the nature of govern-"ment in general, and ſo many wiſe obſervations relating "to the particular ſtate of our own country, ſhould have "been thus long condemn'd to obſcurity; had not an *ill* "*fate* attended the learned *compoſitions*, as well as the brave "*actions* of this *renowned gentleman*. But by what unhap-"py accident ſoever it has hitherto been confin'd to privacy, "it was thought it would be an injury to the publick "any longer to conceal a *juſt* and *true* account of the "reign of *William the firſt*, wherein ſo many remarka-"ble matters and great revolutions happen'd, and to "which the writers of government and policy in our "nation have very frequent recourſe; ſince the tranſ-"actions of that time, unto which they ſo commonly "appeal, are here related with that faithfulneſs, brevity "and clearneſs, that become an *exact hiſtorian*."

[a] Sanderſon's *Hiſtory of King* James, *fol.* 459.

[b] Oſborne's *Memoirs of King* James; in his works, vol. 2. p. 111, 112.

[c] Obſervations on *Sanderſon*'s hiſtory, *4to.* p. 9, 10.

[d] Sanderſon's *Anſwer* to the *Obſervations* on his hiſtory, p. 9, 10.

"*reverently of king* Henry *the eighth!*" [a] as if he would have reflected a breach of gratitude upon our Hiſtorian towards his benefactreſs the late queen, in ſpeaking ſuch truth when he was to give a character of her father as, not only others who read it muſt concur in, ſeeing the Hiſtorian has ſo many proofs at his finger's end to confirm it; but what that king himſelf, were he alive, on whom it was written, muſt alſo have allowed; ſince it is only a paraphraſe upon his own dying confeſſion, that he had been *a Prince, who never ſpared man in his anger, nor woman in his luſt.* But if king *James* could thus object againſt *Ralegh* for one character, and pay him no thanks for another which follows in the ſame paragraph of that Preface, and in ſome parts of the Hiſtory itſelf; this may perhaps beſt ſhew where lay the breach of gratitude. But however his majeſty might think it a kind of blaſphemy, that any below the dignity of princes ſhould be the cenſors of them: yet that objection aforeſaid ſeems not to be the natural cauſe, ſays our laſt-quoted author, of his diſlike to this hiſtory, "ſince none ever exclaim'd "more againſt that prince than uſually king *James* himſelf did." And others, more particularly ſtill, are inclin'd to believe, that any liberty *Ralegh* may have taken with the characters of other princes, was not ſo much the real cauſe of ſuch diſguſt in king *James*, as, through the inſinuations of ſome miſchievous ſycophants about him, who well knew what humour might be moſt agreeably fed, that ſeveral parts of the hiſtory contained an oblique and artful expoſure of himſelf and his miniſtry; as if, truly, the general *Hiſtory of the World* was chiefly a ſecret *Hiſtory*, or ſatire upon his *Court*; and *Scotch* faces were to be ſeen in it, ſtuck upon old *Jewiſh*, *Babylonian* or *Aſſyrian* ſhoulders. For, as one has obſerv'd, "There was a time, when one of our moſt "renowned Hiſtorians could not comment upon a piece of the Old Teſtament, without being "thought to write a libel upon his own times: and the king was almoſt led to fancy he ſaw "his own features in the face of *Ninias* the ſon of queen *Semiramis*; but ſurely, if he could "think his juſtice cenſured in the ſtory of *Achab*'s taking away *Naboth*'s vineyard, and not "commended in that of the *French* king's conduct towards his judge and admiral of *France*; "he muſt not only have been a very captious and ſelf-tormenting reader, but have ſatiriz'd himſelf "more ſharply by engroſſing of applications, or acquieſcing in reſemblances, than he could "have been by that author, had he really intended any." [b] But the truth is, that conſcious minds can find in every example ſomething to chaſtiſe themſelves; and, to ſtomachs vitiated through foul and unwholſome adminiſtrations, with evil habits, the moſt innocent diet is upbraiding. That *Ralegh* foreſaw his enemies would make ſuch perverſe conſtruction and miſuſe of his Hiſtory, is evident enough in his own words; where, mentioning the choice he had made, as leaſt exceptionable, of the elder times to deſcribe, he yet anticipates this objection, "Againſt this choice alſo: Why may it not be ſaid, that in ſpeaking of the paſs'd I point at the "preſent; and tax the vices of thoſe who are yet living, in their perſons who are long ſince "dead, and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, tho' innocent; and certainly, "if there be any, who, finding themſelves ſpotted like the tygers of old time, ſhall find fault "with me for painting them over anew, they ſhall therein accuſe themſelves juſtly, and me "falſely." [c] Yet ſuch fault there was, we ſee, found; and ſo falſely was he accuſed. Thus the honour which ſhould reward a publick benefit, is ſtifled by private prejudice.

We are therefore to ſeek ſome other mediator for *Ralegh*'s deliverance out of priſon than his merit by this publick benefit; and that, we ſhall at laſt find to be his money, tho' other cauſes in our common hiſtories are alſo ſuggeſted, eſpecially that which ſeemed moſt effectual, the offer he made of fitting out an expedition to ſecure, and poſſeſs for the crown, a gold mine in *Guiana*, which he had himſelf diſcover'd when he was formerly in that country, and which, ſince that time, had been by others ſo amply teſtified, that further confirmation was not now requir'd. So that *Ralegh*'s being deceiv'd by *Keymis* with ore of a golden complexion, which he brought from thence, or by any chymical tricks, ſuch as ſecretly ſlipping real gold with the ore into the melting-pot, are fooliſh untruths. [d] Now that offer *Ralegh* had made at leaſt three years before he obtain'd his liberty, with no unreaſonable expectation of its being accepted, ſince king *James* had ſo publickly aſſerted and confirm'd the right of *England* to that Country, through Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s conqueſt and diſcoveries therein, with the ſubmiſſion he had gain'd from the chief lords thereof, as to have given commiſſions and patents for the poſſeſſion of the ſame, that is to ſay, all from the river of *Amazons* to the *Deſſequebe*, and all the iſlands for twenty miles about, in his majeſty's name; which were accordingly executed in all due form by captain *Charles Leigh* and captain *Robert Harcourt*, which laſt left a colony there of thirty

[a] *Oſborne*, as before.
[b] A ſhort review of the life of *Sejanus*, MS. *inter Collec. P. Le Neve*, *Arm.* p. 11.
[c] See the *Preface* to his *Hiſtory* in the laſt page.
[d] *Wilſon*'s life of king *James*, in the *Compleat Hiſtory of England*, vol. 2. fol. 712; and *Sanderſon*'s hiſtory of king *James*, &c.

perſons

perſons for three years, as may be read at large in the narratives of their ſeveral expeditions.[a] Beſides, the publick invitations and encouragement which afterwards enſued, to all who would again ſettle and plant in that new-diſcover'd part of *America*,[b] gave the *Diſcoverer* himſelf no doubt, the greater hopes that his own propoſitions, being not for his private, but the publick benefit (yet at his own expence, and that of ſuch friends as he ſhould engage in the adventure) could not but be embrac'd. Add to this, the advantages of his further knowing the riches of this country, even while he was in priſon, not only by the long converſation he had with thoſe *Indians*, whom we find here with him in the former part of his confinement, but others who from time to time came over to him. For during this long impriſonment, he held conſtant intercourſe with *Guiana*, and was at the charge every year, or every ſecond year, of ſending a ſhip or more thither, to keep them in hopes of being relieved from the *Spaniards*,[c] who had again encroach'd upon them, and cruelly maſſacred both ſeveral of the natives, and of his own men.[d] So that the number of Voyages he ſet forth for *Guiana*, was at leaſt as many, if not more, than thoſe he is before obſerved to have fitted out for *Virginia*.

But all this experience, which ſhould have recommended his offer, ſerv'd at firſt only to render it unacceptable. For the Treaſurer *Cecyll* being then alive, he, with two or three others who bore the ſway at court, were reſolved to diſcountenance it; not that they ſo much doubted the probability that ſuch treaſure might remain unpoſſeſs'd, or the knowledge and reſolution of *Ralegh* to compaſs it, ſo much as his diſpoſition towards themſelves, if by a ſucceſsful return he ſhould purchaſe the king's favour. Therefore, to prevent ſuch a rival as he might prove to Them, the advantage he propos'd to the State was neglected; nay, ſo deeply had they rooted prejudices in the king's breaſt towards him in this particular, as well as in others before mention'd, that when his majeſty was ſollicited by any perſon in *Ralegh*'s behalf (and Royal ſollicitors he had) he, with that implicit reliance on other men's reports, which thoſe in ſupreme ſtation ſo often bury their own judgments and their juſtice in, would anſwer, *That his council knew him better than he did.* But after *Cecyll*'s death, and now that Sir *Ralph Winwood* was ſecretary of ſtate,[e] *Ralegh* reviv'd his propoſal to him, and, in a letter, told him with relation to thoſe two or three earwigs who were ever crawling about the king, and at the mercy of whoſe repreſentations he had ſo long lain, that it was his only infelicity the *king* did not *know* him as well as thoſe *courtiers pretended* to do: "For, had his majeſty known me, ſays he, I had "never been here where I now am; or, had I known his majeſty, they had never been ſo "long there where they now are. His majeſty not knowing me has been my ruin, and his "miſknowing them has been the ruin of a goodly part of his eſtate. But they are all of "them now, ſome living and ſome dying, come to his majeſty's knowledge." We learn further out of the ſaid letter, that both queen *Anne*, who had inform'd herſelf from the beginning of all that *Ralegh* had been accus'd with, and her brother the king of *Denmark*, at both times of his being in *England*,[f] were thoroughly ſatisfy'd of his innocency, otherwiſe they would never have moved his majeſty in his behalf. And prince *Henry*, who had been curious in ſearching into the nature of his offences, had been frequently a mediator for him, as we have read before. Hereupon, ſays *Ralegh*, "The wife, the brother, and the ſon of a king, do not "uſe to ſue for men ſuſpect; but ſince they all have done it, and with reference to me alone, "you, ſtrengthned by their example, may with the more hardineſs do the like." Towards the end, *Ralegh* having acknowledg'd, that all he had remaining was owing to the king, and that he was ready to ſacrifice it all in his majeſty's ſervice, concludes with this noble diſtinction, *To die* for *the king*, *and not* by *the king*, *is all the ambition I have in the world.*[g]

This and other like addreſſes to that new ſecretary, advanced not *Ralegh*'s requeſt ſo much, but he found it neceſſary to uſe ſtronger intereſt than what he was here making, and more ſubſtantial arguments than could flow from a pen. For whatever "pity of his ſufferings, his merit and "fame of learning now begat in many, or by whatever means of the *French* ambaſſador, with "others of our own lords," it is pretended, in our common accounts of him, that "he got free-"dom of repairing for his health to his houſe at *St. James's*, a year or two before he procur'd "his commiſſion for his voyage to *Guiana*,"[h] we are more poſitively and particularly told, "That Sir *William St. John* and Sir *Edward Villiers*, half-brother to the lady *Villiers*, after-"wards dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, procur'd Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s liberty, and had fifteen hundred

[a] In *Purchas*'s *Pilgrims*, vol. 4, and Dr. *Heylin*'s *Coſmography*, *Fol.* ſecond *edit.* 1657. p. 1085, *&c.*

[b] See the *Articles* exhibited at the end of captain *Robert Harcourt*'s voyage to *Guiana*, in 4*to.* 1613.

[c] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Apology*, 8vo. 1650, p. 52.

[d] *Idem*, p. 55.

[e] Sir *Ralph Winwood* was made ſecretary of ſtate, *March* 29. 1614.

[f] In the laſt of thoſe journeys made by the ſaid *Chriſtian* king of *Denmark* into *England*, he arrived the 21ſt of *July*, and departed *Auguſt* 1. 1614.

[g] Sir *Walter Ralegh* to Mr. ſecretary *Winwood*, in his *Remains* (laſt edit.) p. 164.

[h] *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, p. 91.

pounds

" pounds for their labour."[a] It further appears, that theſe uſed their power with Sir *George Villiers*, the new riſing favourite at court, and ſo obtained the king's conſent for *Ralegh*'s enlargement: for there is a letter of *Ralegh*'s acknowledgments to that favourite in theſe words, " Sir, You have, by your mediation, put me again into the world; I can but acknowledge " it; for to pay any part of your favour by any ſervice of mine as yet, it is not in my " power. If it ſucceed well, a good part of the honour ſhall be yours; and if I do not " alſo make it profitable unto you, I ſhall ſhew myſelf exceeding ungrateful. In the mean " while, and, till God diſcover the ſucceſs, I beſeech you to reckon me among the number " of your faithful ſervants, tho' the leaſt able. *W. Ralegh.*"[b] This letter is dated only *March* 17, but probably written in this year laſt mention'd, 1615; becauſe three days afterwards, as *Camden* has preciſely remember'd, Sir *Walter Ralegh* was releas'd out of the *Tower*.[c] So that he thus purchas'd his liberty in the thirteenth year of his confinement; that is to ſay, after he had been (without intermiſſion) twelve years, three months, and five days in the ſaid *Tower* of *London*, beſides near three months more at his firſt commitment thither, and during his arraignment at *Wincheſter*.

Releas'd out of the *Tower*.

At this time *Carr*, earl of *Somerſet*, had been about four or five months in the ſaid *Tower* with his counteſs, for the barbarous impoiſonment of Sir *Thomas Overbury* about two years before in the ſame place, to which he had treacherouſly driven him, for only having obſtructed the ſaid earl's vile and ſcandalous commerce with that lewd woman, while ſhe was young *Eſſex*'s wife. " Theſe two accidents (at this time drew great notice) happening (as 'tis ob- " ſerved in a tract aſcrib'd to the lord *Brook*) ſo much beyond all expectation; that the one, " being a ſpecial favourite of the king, the other a condemned man; the one impriſon'd, " the other ſet at liberty; gave great occaſion of ſpeech and rumour, and ſo much the more " wonder and admiration, becauſe of *Ralegh*'s wit and policy."[d] *Ralegh* is further ſaid by the ſame author, to have given *Somerſet* many quips and taunts during his ſaid impriſonment; and it may not be improbable, towards ſuch an undeſerving intruder upon his eſtate. But, as this earl of *Somerſet* was convicted of felony for the ſaid murder, whereby the two hundred thouſand pounds he had heap'd up, and lands to the income of nineteen thouſand pounds *per Annum* being again diſpers'd;[e] and as the king had laid that heavy curſe upon himſelf and his poſterity which he did, if ever he pardon'd any of the ſaid murderers, it might have been thought that *Ralegh*'s compariſon of himſelf and that noble malefactor, would not have been ſpoil'd, when he ſaid, *That the whole* Hiſtory of the World *had not the like precedent, of a king's* priſoner *to purchaſe* freedom, *and his* boſom favourite *to have the* halter, *but in ſcripture, in the caſe of* Mordecai *and* Haman. Inſtead of that, *Ralegh* is ſaid, by the relator of this paſſage, to have been told, the king ſhould reply upon hearing this obſervation, *That* Ralegh *might die in that deceit*;[f] and ſo he did, as this author truly ſays: for the king now ſav'd the life of the one, as much to the aſtoniſhment of the world, as he afterwards put the other to death. But he could do no leſs, if his favourite was really a maſter of ſuch ſecrets as are elſewhere ſpoken of.[g] And this is enough to reſolve why the misfortunes of that earl, if they may be called ſuch, which at the worſt were more favourable than his merits in any wiſe deſerved, were not equal to his crimes.[h]

Ralegh being thus at liberty, ſoon appears buſy in making preparation for his voyage. To this purpoſe he called in the *eight thouſand pounds*, which he had lent to the counteſs of *Bedford*, i reckon'd in king *James* his *declaration*, a *competent ſatisfaction* for *Sherborne*; tho' it was afterwards valued by the ſtate at 5000 *l. per annum.* But ſeeing that not ſufficient to fit out a fleet in the manner he found neceſſary, his wife conſented alſo to ſell her houſe and lands at *Micham* in *Surrey*, for which he received *twenty-five hundred pounds*;[k] all which and more he expended in this expedition. And what frenzy could poſſeſs him, as he ſays himſelf, thus to diſpoſe of his whole ſubſtance, and undertake ſuch a toilſome and perilous voyage now that his conſtitution was impair'd by ſuch a long confinement, beſides age itſelf, ſickneſs and affliction, were he not aſſur'd thereby of doing his prince ſervice, bettering his country by commerce, and reſtoring his family to their eſtates, all from the mines of *Guiana*; and, ſays he, *if I myſelf had not ſeen them with my own eyes.*[l] I have not yet heard who was the purchaſer of that eſtate at *Micham*; but there is a letter of *Ralegh*'s to a nobleman extant, which poſſibly

[a] Obſervations on *Sanderſon*'s hiſtory of king *James*, *4to*. p. 10.
[b] Sir *Walter Ralegh* to Sir *George Villiers*, from the *original*; in the library of *James Weſt*, Eſq;
[c] Camden's *Annals of King* James.
[d] The Five years of king *James*, &c. by Sir *Foulk Grevill*, late lord *Brook*, *4to*. 1643. p. 67.
[e] *Idem*, p. 66.
[f] *Sanderſon*'s hiſtory of king *James*, &c.
[g] *Dr*. Welwood's *Notes on* Wilſon's *hiſtory of king* James, *in the* Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, tom. 2. fol. 699. &c.
[h] Oſborne, *vol*. 1. *p*. 156.
[i] Obſervations on *Sanderſon*'s hiſtory of king *James*, *&c*. p. 11.
[k] *Idem*, alſo Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Apology, *page* 47.
[l] *Idem*, page 48.

relates

relates thereunto. It is to entreat him to make an impartial valuation of ſome lands to a riſing favourite who was to be the purchaſer, and is penn'd in the following words. " I " humbly beſeech your lordſhip to give me leave, and pardon too, if I need it, for the an- " ſwering of thoſe things which you were lately pleas'd to object againſt me; and that you " will charitably alſo conſider both of my demands, and of the reaſons which embolden me " to make them. Thoſe anſwers go here, in a paper which is enclos'd, apart; and my letter " ſhall ſay but thus much, that the gentleman, who is ſo greatly in favour, hath many fair " fortunes before him, and we, nothing to look for but miſery; and that he is better able to " give us above the worth of the land, than we in condition to abate any part thereof. And " therefore we humbly beſeech your lordſhip, that your *compaſſion* and care of *honour*, may " be the judge between his proſperous navigation, and our ſhipwreck: and that your *charity* " for us, and your deſire of *ſatisfaction* for him, may equal the ballance between us. I hope " ſo heartily to find all juſt favour at your hands, as I will venture, upon this, to aſſure " you, that I will do all my utmoſt to make my wife and ſon forget their miſery in them- " ſelves, and to be ever mindful of their duty towards your lordſhip; to whom I hope they " will be, as I am ſure myſelf have been, and am, a moſt faithful, humble ſervant." [a]

BESIDES the *ten thouſand five hundred pounds* which it coſt Sir *Walter Ralegh* to put himſelf in equipage for this long-propoſed voyage, a much greater ſum than would have paid for his liberty of receding from it, or for a formal pardon, had he thought he needed, and had gone about to purchaſe it; there were many co-adventurers, who, by contributions to the expence thereof, entitled themſelves to a ſhare in the returns. But moſt of theſe are called by *Ralegh*, a company of voluntiers, who had never ſeen the ſea nor wars; and, except ſome forty gentlemen, a very diſſolute, diſorderly, and ungovernable crew, " whom their friends thought it an " exceeding good gain to be diſcharg'd of, at the hazard of ſome thirty, forty or fifty pounds, " knowing they could not have lived a whole year ſo cheap at home." [b] There were, moreover, ſeveral merchants, not only in *England* but foreign parts, who contributed to this *Mine-adventure*; ſo confident were they that it was no *chimera*, no ſuppoſititious or airy treaſure that was promiſed or purſued. One of theſe merchants, afterwards knighted, and very eminent for his dealings, was named *Peter Vanlore*, who ſo approved of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s undertaking, that he not only ſent a letter to his brother Sir *Adrian Thibaut* in *Amſterdam*, requeſting him to engage another merchant there to communicate ſomething he knew of the riches in *Guiana* to Sir *Walter Ralegh*; but made that requeſt in *Ralegh*'s own manner of expreſſion, from a copy which he drew up for him. This draught, as I have it from the ſaid original, is as follows: " Brother *Tibotes*, There is a merchant in *Amſterdam*, that for the love he bears to my " honourable friend Sir *Walter Ralegh*, is content to diſcover ſomewhat of importance unto " him in *Guiana*, to which country Sir *Walter Ralegh* is now preparing to go; but he doth " require aſſurance from Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that he himſelf may be aſſur'd to enjoy ſuch part " of the commodity diſcover'd, as he ſhall agree upon with Sir *Walter Ralegh* by his deputy " Mr. *Henry Hovenar*. I do therefore pray you to ſpeak with the party which Mr. *Hovenar* " will bring unto you, and to know what aſſurances he will require, which to pleaſure Sir " *Walter*, I ſhall be willing to give; that is to ſay, to give him aſſurance that upon Sir " *Walter*'s return into *England*, the charges being deducted, the diſcoverer ſhall receive from " Sir *Walter* ſuch part of the ſaid merchandize as Sir *Walter* and he ſhall agree on; altho' " there needs no ſuch aſſurance to be given, becauſe his majeſty doth aſſure all Sir *Walter*'s " partners by the *Great Seal* of *England*, *That they ſhall truly and quietly enjoy all their parts* " *and ſhares of what goods, merchandize or treaſure ſoever ſhall be returned*; out of which " *Great Seal* of *England*, the diſcoverer ſhall have an aſſignment for ſo much as belongs unto " him, to be deliver'd here in *London*, to whomſoever he ſhall appoint to receive it." Then in a new line he concludes thus: " *To Mr. Peter Vanlore.* This is the letter which I deſire " you to write to your brother in *Amſterdam*; and for any aſſurance you ſhall give, I will " again put you in ſureties to ſave you harmleſs. *W. Ralegh.*" [c] This letter is dated *July* 1.

[a] See a *Collection of Letters made by Sir* Toby Mathews, 8*vo.* 1660, p. 66.

[b] *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 4.

[c] This copy of a letter for Sir *Peter Vanlore* to engage a *Dutch* merchant in Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Guianian* adventure, from the original draught of Sir *Walter*'s own hand, is in the poſſeſſion of *Brown Willis*, of *Whaddon-Hall* in *Bucks*, Eſq; to whom we are obliged for this communication. And a tranſcript appears to have been ſent according to Sir *Walter*'s requeſt; for, after his death, his lady having commenced law-ſuits againſt the ſaid *Vanlore*, this copy was produced in court, as appears by the following endorſement upon it: " This letter was ſhewn " unto *Mathias Penewart*, at the time of his examination, " on the part and behalf of Sir *Peter Vanlore*, knt. *de-* " *fendant*, againſt Dame *Elizabeth Ralegh*, widdow, *com-* " *plainant*. 12° *Junii*. 1623. Signed *Martin Baſill*.

1616. And if *Ralegh* had his commiſſion for that voyage before this time, as it appears he had, by his citing it, then it muſt be erroneouſly dated, being near two months after, in king *James* his *Declaration*.[a] Here again, that commiſſion ſeems to have been given under the *Great Seal* of *England*; and alſo elſewhere:[b] In that *Declaration*, 'tis ſaid to be under the *Privy Seal*. But there are other things obſervable of this commiſſion as it is there printed, and in other places, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

In the mean while we may here obſerve a little oppoſition that was made to this voyage. And indeed ſome perſons at court, who might remember what advances *Ralegh* had formerly made there, by the means of ſeveral exploits which he undertook at a diſtance from it; and others, admoniſh'd by conſcience, that every friendly gale in his navigation would be ſplitting them upon a rock, might well be expected to obſtruct, as far as they could, his progreſs: but none do we hear of ſo impatient and clamorous againſt it as the *Spaniard*. For there had been now in *England*, about three years, an agent from *Spain*, named *Diego Sarmiento de Acuna*, better known, but not till about the time of *Ralegh*'s death, or perhaps after it, by the title of count *de Gondomar*; a man, who, if he gain'd that influence he did over king *James* purely by art, muſt be allowed a good ſhare of dexterity in the myſteries of negotiation; but as he was adapted by nature to ſooth and captivate him, no leſs than by the pretenſions of his agency, it diminiſhes the wonders of his ſucceſs in making that king ſuch a ſubject to his enchantments, and keeping him ſo many years a *priſoner* as it were in the *Tower* he had heap'd up of airy and glittering promiſes: yet what reward was reſerved, for all his ſervices here, in his own country, and how this ardent ſlave to the will and pleaſure of his maſter, was both *executioner* of his royal pride as well as other paſſions, and *ſacrifice* alſo at laſt to them, muſt be left for thoſe to diſplay who have more leiſure to dilate upon ſuch retaliations of Providence. This was the man who (as he is repreſented in king *James*'s *Declaration*) now "took great alarm," and is ſaid to have "made loud and vehement aſſertions to his majeſty in repeated audiences, that he knew, and "had diſcover'd the intention and enterprize of Sir *Walter Ralegh* to be but hoſtile and pi-"ratical, tending to the breach between the two crowns,[c] and the danger and deſtruction of "the king his maſter's ſubjects in thoſe parts; proteſting in a ſort againſt it." To which that the king, ſhould anſwer, (as it is there ſaid after *Ralegh*'s death) "*He would ſend Sir* Walter Ralegh *with a limited commiſſion* (but how limited it was will ſoon appear) and that "he "durſt not, upon peril of his head, do any ſuch matter; and if he did, he would ſurely "do juſtice upon him, or ſend him bound hand and foot into *Spain*, with all the gold and "goods he ſhould obtain by robbery and bring home, were they never ſo great."[d] Then the king by Sir *Ralph Winwood*, got both a ſolemn proteſtation from *Ralegh*, that he had no other intention but only to go to thoſe gold mines; and alſo a *cloſe letter* to his *majeſty* (as it is here in his *declaration* juſtly call'd) confirming the ſame. This *cloſe letter* was both written *cloſe* to the *purpoſe*, or in ſuch expreſſive terms as to have laid open the whole *ſcheme* of *Ralegh*'s voyage; and alſo as a matter to be kept *cloſe*, or with the utmoſt privacy; for 'tis ſaid, that upon ſuch communication, his majeſty promiſed, *on the word of a king, to keep it ſecret*:[e] and it would have prevented all ſuppoſition of diſingenuity, if this *cloſe letter* had been fairly exhibited in that *declaration*, had it been when this was pen'd, in the king's poſſeſſion, as it ought according to his royal promiſe. On the contrary, this ſeems to have been the very letter, by which, through the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador's means, his maſter the king of *Spain* was pre-admoniſhed of *Ralegh*'s whole enterprize, and had ſent to *Guiana*, before he left the *Britiſh channel*, to prepare a greater force than his, to oppoſe him, as will hereafter appear. Nay, 'tis viſible by what immediately follows in the ſaid *declaration*, both that this *cloſe letter* (how cloſely ſoever the contents of it are with-held) did reveal the particulars of *Ralegh*'s naval ſtrength, and that the king did divulge it to the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador; becauſe it was ſo far from making him recede from his former jealouſy, that he is diſcover'd to have objected thereupon againſt the number of ſhips *Ralegh* had prepared for the ſaid voyage,[f] to which *Ralegh* then doubtleſs made as proper anſwer, as we ſhall find he did hereafter. But in ſhort ſuch a propoſal, by one carrying the reputation of ſuch an *active*, *witty* and *valiant* gentleman, eſpecially of ſo *great a commander at ſea*, as his enemies allow he had;[g] one who muſt be thought moſt wary above all others of incurring king *James*'s diſpleaſure, under which he had ſo long ſuffer'd; one who

[a] See a *Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir* Walter Ralegh, *Knight; as well in his Voyage as ſithence his Return*, &c. 4*to*. 1618. p. 24.

[b] *Dr.* Heylin's *Coſmography*, fol. 1086, *&c.*

[c] But ſee *Ralegh*'s *Apology*, p. 53.

[d] King *James* his *Declaration of Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Demeanour*, &c. p. 5.

[e] Howel's *Letters*, p. 369. Shirley's *Life of the valiant and learned Sir* Walter Ralegh, *Fol.* 3d edit. 1687, p. 28. And alſo in the life of Sir *Walter Ralegh* in a collection of *Lives* Engliſh *and foreign*, vol. 1. 1704, p. 128, *&c.*

[f] King *James*'s *Declaration*, p. 6. [g] *Idem*, p. 27.

had

had given ſuch publick atteſtations of his ſincerity in the proſecution of this propoſal; and one who, as the greateſt proof he could give thereof, was actually embarking his whole fortune as well as credit, together with thoſe of his friends and relations, all finding ſecurity for their good behaviour, without any charge to the crown if they fail'd, and with proſpect of great advantage if they ſucceeded, was ſo far from being overthrown by any remonſtrances of the ambaſſador himſelf, or from being thought a moſt noble and generous overture by all other men, that even the *king's honour* is acknowledg'd, in his own *Declaration*, to have been engag'd, *not to deny his people the adventure and hope of ſo great riches.*[a] And yet what character of that king's honour towards his people, is expoſed in the ſame leaf of that very *Declaration*, where it is pretended, that *in his own princely judgment he gave no belief to it*, as being perſuaded that in nature there were no ſuch mines entire, or that the *Spaniards*, ſo induſtrious in the chace of treaſure, would have ſo long neglected the ſame; is left to the reader's diſtinction. But it may be beſt diſcover'd by the care taken to ſecure his majeſty's dividend ſo clearly, and to expreſs many other articles ſo doubtfully, in the *commiſſion* itſelf, of which we ſhall now give an impartial abſtract, whether it was from a magnanimous principle or a mercenary one, from upright policy or downright prevarication, that the ſame was granted; being as follows.

His *commiſſion* for a voyage to the *South* or *elſewhere* in *America*.

" *JAMES*, by the grace of God, *&c.* To all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, *&c.*
" Whereas Sir WALTER RALEGH, knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by ſea
" and ſhipping, to the *South* parts of *America* or *elſewhere* within *America*, poſſeſs'd and
" inhabited by *heathen* and *ſavage* people; to diſcover ſome commodities and merchandize
" profitable for the ſubjects of our kingdoms, whereof the inhabitants make little or no uſe;
" whence may enſue, by commerce, ſome propagation of the chriſtian faith and reformed
" religion among thoſe idolatrous people: and whereas there are divers merchants, *&c.* well
" diſpoſed to aſſiſt Sir *Walter Ralegh*, had they aſſurance to enjoy their due ſhare of the pro-
" fits returned, Sir *Walter Ralegh* being under the peril of the law; and whereas divers other
" gentlemen his kinſmen and friends, with ſeveral captains and commanders, are alſo deſirous
" to follow and venture their lives with him, if they might be commanded by none but
" himſelf: We, upon deliberate conſideration, deſiring the benefit of our *ſubjects*, alſo to
" give our princely furtherance to the ſaid Sir *Walter Ralegh* and his friends, as well as to
" encourage others in the like *laudable enterpriſes*, advance the converſion of ſavages, and
" encreaſe traffick by our ſubjects of this kingdom, have of our ſpecial grace, *&c.* granted
" Sir *Walter Ralegh* full power to carry for the ſaid voyage, ſo many of our ſubjects, or others
" who will become our ſubjects, as ſhall willingly accompany him; with ſufficient ſhipping,
" armour, weapons, ordnance, munition, powder, ſhot, *&c.* and all other things as he ſhall
" think neceſſary for the *uſe* and *defence* of him and his company; beſides liberty to exchange
" or otherwiſe diſpoſe of his goods or merchandize; alſo to return into this or other of our
" dominions with ſuch gold, ſilver, bullion, or any other wares, and they to be converted to
" the proper uſe of the ſaid Sir *Walter Ralegh* and his company: paying to us, our heirs,
" *&c.* the full fifth part of all ſuch gold and ſilver, bullion, and ore of gold or ſilver,
" pearl and precious ſtones as ſhall be ſo imported; withal ſuch cuſtoms, *&c.* as ſhall be due
" for any other goods whatever. Further to encourage Sir *Walter Ralegh* and the adven-
" turers, we promiſe *in verbo regio*, that no gold, ſilver or other wares by them imported
" from thoſe parts ſo poſſeſs'd and inhabited, ſhall be ſeiz'd by us, our heirs, or any of our
" officers, but that it ſhall remain (the fifth part of the ſaid gold, ſilver, bullion, *&c.* as be-
" fore, with all other cuſtoms and duties being truly paid) to the ſole uſe of Sir *Walter Ralegh*
" and his company. Further of our moſt ſpecial grace, *&c.* we conſtitute the ſaid Sir
" *Walter Ralegh* to be the ſole governor and commander of all perſons who ſhall travel or be
" with him in the ſaid voyage or in their return. And give him full power to correct,
" puniſh, pardon, and rule them according to ſuch orders and inſtructions as the ſaid Sir
" *Walter Ralegh* ſhall eſtabliſh, as well in caſes capital and criminal as civil, both marine
" and other; ſo that the ſaid proceedings, as near as conveniently may be, are agreeable to
" the laws of this realm and to the chriſtian faith now profeſs'd in the church of *England*.
" And becauſe in ſuch enterprizes great inconveniences have grown by mutinies and diſorders
" for want of ſufficient authority, we give full power to Sir *Walter Ralegh* in caſe of rebel-
" lion or mutiny by ſea or land, to exerciſe martial law upon juſt and apparent neceſſity, in
" as ample a manner as our lieutenant-general by ſea or land, or our lieutenants in the coun-
" ties of *England*. And we give Sir *Walter Ralegh* full power to appoint ſuch captains and

[a] King *James* his *Declaration*, p. 4.

" other

" other commanders and miniſters under him as ſhall be requiſite for the better ordering and " governing his company. We further command the wardens of the *cinque ports*, cuſtomers, " and other officers, quietly to permit Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and all who ſhall adventure with " him, to paſs to the ſaid *South* or *other* parts of *America*, poſſeſs'd and inhabited as aforeſaid, " and to return with any goods whatever, and to ſell or otherwiſe diſpoſe of the ſame to the " only uſe of him and his company; paying the fifth part of all gold, ſilver, bullion, *&c.* " as before, imported, and other cuſtoms and duties aforeſaid. And theſe preſents, *&c.* ſhall " be to the ſaid wardens, *&c.* ſufficient warrant. And we grant to the ſaid Sir *Walter Ralegh*, " that theſe our letters patents or the inrollment thereof, with all the grants, clauſes, *&c.* therein, " ſhall be ſufficient and effectual in law, any law, ſtatute, *&c.* notwithſtanding. Witneſs " ourſelves, the 26th day of *Auguſt*, in the 14th year of our reign of *England*, *France* and " *Ireland*; and of *Scotland*, the 50th. *Per breve de privato ſigillo.*"

THIS abſtract is made from the ſaid *commiſſion*, as it is printed in king *James*'s *Declaration*,[a] and may agree with that which ſeems alſo to have been given us from the records.[b] Whether there was, originally, any preamble to it we cannot ſay. But there are authors who affirm, that in this commiſſion king *James* called him his *truſty* and *well-beloved* Sir *Walter Ralegh*.[c] Tho' theſe may be words of courſe in ſuch like inſtruments, yet if ſome words were thus taken out in that recital aforeſaid, it might give reaſon of inferring that by the ſame liberty others have been ſqueez'd in. Yet even as it is ſuffer'd there to appear, 'tis ſurely far from being ſo *clearly penn'd* in point of thoſe *limitations* it is ſaid in his majeſty's *Declaration* he promis'd the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador: for here is no limitation to any part of *America*, not only the *South* parts but *elſewhere* being authoriz'd, and all that are habitable, inhabited in ſome degree or other by heathen and ſavage people: ſo vague, ſo equivocal, and diſputable is that diſtinction: not one word of *Guiana*, no owning of his own right, or the power he had lately given to *plant* there, no privilege for working any mine there, nor prohibition to meddle with the king of *Spain*'s ſubjects there or elſewhere, as another writer has well obſerv'd.[d] On the contrary, full liberty to carry what arms and ammunition they pleas'd for *defence*, if they ſhould need it; and laſtly, the royal aſſurance of enjoying unmoleſted whatever they returned with. In ſhort, this commiſſion muſt eaſily be obſerved to have been penn'd, how clearly ſoever pretended, as if king *James* did neither know of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s intention for and at *Guiana*; tho' a little before, he had the whole particulars thereof from *Ralegh*'s own hand, or that there were any *Spaniards* planted there; tho' he appears to have known that alſo from the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador himſelf, whoſe own kinſman, as we ſhall hear, was ſent, during *Ralegh*'s reſtraint, from *Spain*, to build and colonize upon that very ſpot to which *Ralegh* had now this *unlimited* commiſſion, as we may rather term it, to go. For 'tis ſo much the reverſe of that *cloſe penn'd* letter wherein *Ralegh* had, ſo expreſſively, and ſo unreſervedly, placed his whole truſt of this voyage in king *James*, that it ſeems contriv'd, both to hoodwink the *Spaniard* till the action was over, tho' the king betray'd it himſelf, and to ſecure loop-holes ſufficient for the royal authority againſt his exceptions;[e] but they proved ſo large, that it was thought expedient, in the end, as we ſhall find, that the commiſſion ſhould not be inſiſted on to limit or reſtrain any body.

Whether this indiſtinct power in that commiſſion made *Ralegh* more or leſs importunate for his pardon, we cannot ſay. Some indeed write, that he laboured mainly to obtain it; but they are led into that belief by the *declaration* aforeſaid: whereas we find it expreſsly aſſerted in a letter of *Carew Ralegh*'s; that his father had overtures made him of procuring his pardon for *fifteen hundred pounds* by Sir *William St. John*, one of the perſons of whom he purchas'd his freedom, therefore one whoſe intereſt was the leſs to be doubted in this particular; but that Sir *Walter Ralegh* conferring, a little before his departure from *England*, with Sir *Francis Bacon* (newly made lord keeper of the great ſeal, and not long after lord chancellor) upon this pecuniary pardon, he poſitively adviſed *Ralegh* againſt it in theſe words: *Sir, the* knee-timber *of your* voyage *is money; ſpare your purſe in this particular, for upon my life, you have a ſufficient pardon for all that is paſs'd already, the king having, under his* broad ſeal, *made you* admiral

[a] From page 9 to 24.

[b] Vide *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* vol. 16. fol. 789.

[c] See *Ralegh*'s *Remains*, 12*mo.* 1651, and in the laſt edition, p. 200; where 'tis ſaid, *Ralegh* afterwards pleaded theſe words in his commiſſion, *To his truſty and well-beloved ſubject*, &c. as what imply'd a pardon: See alſo *Coke*'s *Four laſt Reigns*, p. 85. *Rapin*'s late *Hiſtory of England*; where he ſays, this commiſſion was directed *a notre amé et feal Walter Ralegh.* Alſo Mr. *Tindal*'s *Notes* on the ſame place.

[d] See the firſt volume of *State Trials*, fol. 219, in the notes.

[e] *Roger Coke*, in his *State of* England *during the Four laſt Reigns*, obſerves, page 84, " That this *commiſſion* but " ill agreed with the *treaty of peace* made with the king " of *Spain* in the ſecond year of king *James*'s reign." And a little further, " That in granting this commiſſion, " you ſee (ſays he) by what an undiſtinguiſh'd power " covetouſneſs governs the actions of princes as well as " meaner men, againſt their honour and intereſt: for at " that

admiral *of your fleet, and given you power of the* martial law *over your officers and ſoldiers.*" [a] But we are elſewhere told, that even for leſs than half that money beforemention'd, that is to ſay, "for *ſeven hundred pounds*, the ſaid Sir *William St. John*, and alſo Sir *Edward Villiers* "(before ſpoken of) offer'd Sir *Walter Ralegh* not only his full pardon, but liberty not to go "his voyage if he pleas'd; and that he refus'd both; the rather becauſe he was told by Sir "*Francis Bacon* (as above) that his ſaid commiſſion was as good a pardon for all former "offences, as the law of *England* could afford him." [b]

AND now, near ſeven months after the date of his commiſſion, began his fleet to appear, or rather that part of it which lay in the *Thames*, and conſiſted of ſeven ſail. From the *Survey* which was taken thereof by the appointment of *Charles* earl of *Nottingham* the lord admiral, on the 15th of *March* in the year laſt named, it appears, that the *firſt* of them, or admiral, a brave ſhip, as deſcribed by one who might probably have ſeen it, and built by *Ralegh* himſelf, [c] was named the *Deſtiny*, of 440 tons, and 36 pieces (or more) of ordnance; Sir *Walter Ralegh* general, and his ſon *Walter* captain: beſides two hundred men, whereof fourſcore were gentlemen-volunteers and adventurers, moſt of them Sir *Walter*'s relations; which number was afterwards encreas'd. *Second*, the *Jaſon* of *London*, 240 tons, and 25 pieces of ordnance; captain *John Pennington* vice-admiral, fourſcore men, one gentleman and no more. *Third*, the *Encounter*, 160 tons, 17 pieces of ordnance; *Edward Haſtings* captain: (no men more, except the maſter, mention'd) but he dying in the *Indies*, was ſucceeded in the command by captain *Whitney*. *Fourth*, the *Thunder*, 150 tons, 20 pieces of ordnance; Sir *Warham Sentleger* captain, ſix gentlemen, ſixty ſoldiers, ten land men. *Fifth*, the *Flying Joan*, 120 tons, 14 pieces of ordnance; *John Chidley* captain, twenty-five men. *Sixth*, the *Southampton*, 80 tons, 6 pieces of ordnance; *John Bayley* captain, twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. *Seventh*, the *Page*, a pinnace, 25 tons, 3 rabnets of braſs; *James Barker* captain, eight ſailors. [d] But before *Ralegh* left the coaſt of *England*, he was join'd by as many ſhips more: ſo that his whole fleet conſiſted of thirteen ſail, beſides his own ſhip. [e] And tho' we cannot be ſo particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it, that one ſhip, named the *Convertine*, was commanded by captain *Keymis*; [f] another, called the *Confidence*, was under the charge of captain *Woolaſton*; there was a *ſhallop*, named the *Flying Hart*, under Sir *John Ferne*; two *flyboats*, under captain *Samuel King*, and captain *Robert Smith*; and a *carvel*, with perhaps another named the *Chudley*, beſides. [g]

WITH the former part of the fleet *Ralegh* ſet ſail from the *Thames* on the 28th of *March* aforeſaid, [h] which was in the year 1617, and was ſoon after ready to proceed at the *Iſle of Wight*, when ſeveral little accidents fell out to retard his progreſs; for he ſtay'd there ſome days for Sir *Warham Sentleger*, whoſe ſhip, the *Thunder*, by the negligence of her maſter, was at lee in the *Thames*: alſo after *Ralegh* was got to *Plymouth*, captain *Pennington* was not come to the *Iſle of Wight*, and when he did arrive, was forced to ride back to *London* to engage the lady *Ralegh* to paſs her word for the money which was to redeem the bread for his ſhip, amounting to thirty pounds, without which he could not have gone forward; nor could Sir *John Ferne* proceed till *Ralegh* had ſupply'd him with a hundred pounds by his couſin *Herbert*, and procur'd him another hundred pounds of his friend Dr. *Sutcliffe*, dean of *Exeter*, having furniſh'd himſelf with a third hundred before he came from *Wales*. *Ralegh* tarried alſo for captain *Whitney*, who had a third part of his victuals to provide; and to aſſiſt him, *Ralegh* generouſly ſold his plate at *Plymouth*, notwithſtanding which, and *Ralegh*'s having given him more countenance than any other of his officers, *Whitney* ran away from him at the *Granadoes*, and drew captain *Woolaſton* with his ſhip after him: *Ralegh* had further the patience to wait ten or twelve days for captain *Bayley*, which he afterwards ungratefully requited by deſerting alſo the fleet at the *Canaries*, for no apparent reaſon but *Ralegh*'s refuſing him a *French* ſhallop he took in the bay of *Portugal*; and yet after *Ralegh* had bought her for fifty crowns, that the *French* might have no cauſe of complaint, *Bayley* might have had her if he had deſir'd it. [i]

"that time the king granted this commiſſion he was, by "Sir *John Digby*, treating a marriage between prince "*Charles* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, upon terms of *two* "*millions* of money with her." But what put a ſtop to that match, may, in the ſame author, and others, be ſeen.

[a] Howel's *Familiar Letters*, 5th edit. 1678, vol. 2. page 371.

[b] Obſervations on *Sanderſon*'s hiſtory of king *James*, page 10.

[c] Howel's *Letters*, vol. 1. page 5.

[d] *A View and Survey of ſuch Ships as were in the River of* Thames *ready to go to Sea, under the Command of Sir* Walter Ralegh; *and of their Names, Tonnage, and number of Men. Taken by certain Gentlemen appointed thereto by the Right Honourable* Charles *Earl of* Nottingham, *&c.* At the end of a ſcarce pamphlet entitled, *News of Sir* Walter Ralegh, *&c. Sent from a Gentleman of his Fleet to a Friend in* London, *&c. 4to.* 1618.

[e] Howel's *Letters*, as before.

[f] *Idem*, p. 6.

[g] See Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Apology*, 8vo. 1650, p. 22, 26, 24.

[h] *Camden*'s Annals of King *James*.

[i] *Ralegh*'s Apology, p. 7, 8, 9.

For theſe reaſons he was forced to linger ſome months at *Plymouth*, loſing thereby a fair wind, and indeed the ſeaſon of the year. The mean while he publiſh'd in *May* following, ſuch orders throughout his fleet, as gained him great applauſe, for the regularity and inſtruction they eſtabliſh'd therein. A gentleman of his company, in a tract he wrote of this voyage, having expreſs'd "how many ways Sir *Walter Ralegh* was moved to enterprizes of this nature "more than any other *Engliſhman* whatſoever; by his wiſdom and learning, variety of con- "ference, and experience of places he had formerly held; alſo how much greater his noble "ends have been than any man's whatſoever of our nation who had attempted the like courſes;" he proceeds "to the particular government of his fleet; which tho' others (ſays he) have in "ſome meaſure obſerved, yet in all the great volumes which have been written, touching "voyages, there is no precedent of ſo godly, ſevere and martial government; fit to be en- "graved in every man's ſoul that covets to do honour to his king and country in the like "attempts:" then exhibits "a *copy* of the ſaid *laws, articles and commandments*, which we "at this preſent (ſays he) obſerve;" and of which, it may not therefore be unacceptable, hereunder to preſent the heads. [a]

Sets out for *Guiana*.

It was the end of *June* or the beginning of *July*, before all his company join'd him and he ſail'd from *Plymouth*: then being encounter'd with a violent ſtorm ſome eight leagues to the weſt of *Scilly*, in which captain *Chidley*'s *Pinnace* was ſunk, and captain *King* driven into *Briſtol*, *Ralegh* held it, from experience as well as reaſon, the office of a commander of many ſhips, and thoſe of different ſailings and conditions, rather to take a port, and keep his fleet

[a] Bearing this title, *Orders to be obſerved by the Commanders of the Fleet, and Land Companies, under the Charge and Conduct of Sir* Walter Ralegh, *Knight, bound for the* South *Parts of* America *or elſewhere. Given at* Plymouth *in* Devon, 3 May 1617. They firſt enjoin, That divine ſervice ſhould be read morning and evening, or, if interrupted by foul weather, once a day. That all ſwearing and blaſphemy ſhall, after admonition, be fined. That no man refuſe obeying his officer in all things commanded for the benefit of the journey, or refuſe to wait his turn as directed, the ſailors by the maſter and boatſwain, the land men by their captains, lieutenants and others. Two captains of the watch in every ſhip to chooſe two ſoldiers every night to ſearch between decks that no fire nor candle-light be carried about after the watch ſet, nor burning in any cabbin without a lanthorn: Tobacco forbidden all men but upon the upper deck. Land men to learn the names and places of the ropes, to aſſiſt the ſailors upon deck. Sailors to be trained as they do land men, ſo that all may be eſteemed ſailors or ſoldiers, as there is occaſion: not to chaſe or board any ſhip without order of the general. To take nothing from any in league with his *majeſty*; but, in extremity, to agree for the price. Every night to fall aſtern the general's ſhip and follow his light, and receive inſtructions of the courſe to be held, every morning. If ſeparated by ſtorms, to open their ſealed billets, firſt on this ſide the *North Cape* if needful; ſecondly, at the *South Cape*; third, after 23 degrees; and fourth from the height of *Cape de Vert*. Upon diſcovering any ſail at ſea, either to windward or leeward of the admiral which he cannot diſcern, if ſhe be large and ſingle, to ſtrike main top-ſail and hoiſe it again ſo often as they judge it to be 100 tons burden, as if 200, to ſtrike and hoiſe twice, *&c.* Upon diſcovering a ſmall ſhip, to do the like with fore-top-ſail; but if many great ſhips appear, both to ſtrike the main-top ſail often, and hang out the enſign in the main top. If they go large before wind, to ſtand as they do, till it may be judg'd the admiral had ſeen the ſaid ſigns and ſtanding. But if you went large at the diſcovery, to hale the ſheets after a while, then go large again: ſo if they have their tacks aboard, and you yours aboard at the diſcovery, bear up a little and hale your ſheet off again, to ſhew us what courſe they hold. If you diſcover a ſail by night to windward of you, and you windward of the admiral, bear up to acquaint us: if you think you might ſpeak with her, keep aloof, and fire a piece to give us knowledge. None to fire any ordnance but in diſcovering a ſail by night, in danger of enemies, fire, or ſinking. If you fire by day we ſhall know 'tis to make a ſhip ſtrike, if by night we ſhall know you ſee more ſail than your own; if you think we hear not, in a quarter of an hour fire again. If you are in preſent danger by a leak, ſhoot two pieces ſoon after one another; if by fire, three in like manner. In foul weather every ſhip to fit her ſails to keep company with the reſt, and not to run ſo far a head by day but it may fall aſtern the admiral at night. If attack'd by ſea, the captain to appoint ſufficient aſſiſtance to the gunner, and, if needful, the cabbins between deck to be taken down; all beds and ſacks employ'd for bulwarks. Muſketeers of every ſhip to be divided under captains for the forecaſtle, the waſt and the poop. Gunners not to ſhoot great ordnance at other diſtance than point blank: officers to ſee no looſe powder be carried between decks near linſtock, or match in hand. Hogſheads ſawed in two, filled with water ready on the decks, and wet blankets againſt fire. Carpenters to be divided, in the hold and between decks, with leaden plates, plugs, *&c.* at hand. Proper numbers of ſailors to be appointed to every ſail under proper commanders: ſo that all knowing their charge and places, may do their duty without confuſion or noiſe, none being to ſpeak but the officers. No man to board a ſhip of the enemy without order. Every ſhip under lee of the enemy, muſt labour to recover the wind, if the admiral endeavour it; or if the enemy be to leeward, the whole fleet to follow the admiral or other leading ſhip within muſket ſhot of the enemy, giving ſo much liberty to the leading ſhip after her broad-ſide deliver'd and her ſail trim'd; then the ſecond ſhip to give her ſide; ſo the third and fourth all taking as the firſt, and giving the enemy the other ſide, ſhall keep him under a perpetual volley: And thus to the windermoſt ſhip of the enemy, till it be batter'd to pieces or forced up to intangle the reſt. If the admiral chace and is headmoſt, the next ſhip to take up his boat, unleſs otherwiſe ordered; the like to be done by thoſe that follow other chaſing ſhips. The divided Muſketeers not to deliver their ſhot but at ſuch diſtances as their commander directs. Ships to be kept clean between decks. Ordnance not cloy'd with trunks and cheſts. Proviſions to be delivered to the ſteward. Apparel to be in cloak-bags, except ſome few cheſts that will not peſter the ſhips. Fire-arms to be kept clean; if out of order, the officer to order the armorer to amend them. No feaſting or drinking between meals; or drinking healths on the ſhip's proviſion. Every captain, by his purſer or other officer, to take weekly accounts of the victuals. No candles to be delivered by the ſteward to any private man or private uſe. Whoever ſteals apparel, victuals, *&c.* to be puniſh'd as a thief and murderer. No man to ſtrike any officer on pain of death: private men ſtriking one another to be puniſh'd by court martial. Players at cards or dice for apparel, arms, *&c.* to be di arm'd and made ſwabbers. Cowards upon any landing or otherwiſe, to be diſarmed and made labourers to carry victuals for the reſt. None to land in foreign parts without order from ſome chief commander; and where they land, none to force either chriſtian or heathen women on pain of death. When landed in the *Indies*, not to eat fruits unknown, and ſuch not eaten by birds on the tree, or beaſts under it. Not to ſleep on the ground, or eat new fleſh till ſalted two or three hours. To ſwim in no rivers but where the *Indians* do, and to uſe them with courteſy. Other orders on the land to be eſtabliſh'd by general conſent when they ſhould arrive there. A flag on the mizen ſhrouds of the admiral, was to be the ſignal for ſummoning the officers to council. See a tract call'd, *News of Sir* Walter Ralegh, *&c.* 4*to.* 1618; from page 19 to 28.

together,

together, than to endanger the loſs of his maſts and rigging, or the advantage which enemies might take, or the loſs of more time in attending another rendezvous, by the danger of a ſeparation. Therefore he put into *Ireland*, and was oblig'd to ſtay ſeven weeks there: ſo that the winds only were to be accuſed now (as he obſerves) for their delay. And here, tho' by his credit he procur'd fifty oxen, which he diſtributed among his fleet, ſome of the crew ſpared not, at his return, to defame him with having taken care to revictual himſelf and none of the reſt. On the 19th of *Auguſt* he ſet forward from *Cork*. [a]

Arrives at *Lancerota*.

When he arriv'd at the iſle of *Lancerota*, on the 6th of *September*, *Ralegh* ſent a requeſt to the governor, that he might be admitted to treat for ſome proviſions: the governor ſent back word, that he would confer with *Ralegh* himſelf, if he would come attended but by one gentleman, and armed only with their rapiers. *Ralegh* taking with him lieutenant *Bradſhaw* met the governor, who agreed, that if he would ſend up an *Engliſh* factor, whoſe ſhip then rode in the road, whatever the iſland afforded ſhould be deliver'd at a reaſonable rate. *Ralegh* ſent the factor, but the governor procraſtinated, and at laſt ſent word, that unleſs he would embark his men which lay on the ſea ſhore, the iſlanders were ſo jealous they durſt not divide from one another to ſupply him. *Ralegh* comply'd, but when half his men were got aboard, the iſlanders began to offer violence upon the reſt. They ſlew one, and ſent the factor to tell *Ralegh* they would part with nothing to him, for that they believed his company to be the *Turkiſh* fleet which had lately deſtroy'd *Puerto Santto*. The *Engliſh* hereupon would have gone and helped themſelves, but *Ralegh* conſidering what diſpleaſure it might give at home, how the merchants might ſuffer, and the poor *Engliſh* factor be ruin'd, complained to the governor of the *Grand Canaries*; of whom he alſo deſired leave to take water undiſturb'd; but inſtead of anſwer, when he landed ſome hundred men in the deſart part of the iſland where they found freſh water, there ambuſh was laid, by which one of his men was wounded to death, and more had been ſlain had not captain *Thornhurſt* and lieutenant *Hayman*, two valiant gentlemen, ſeconded by Sir *Warham Sentleger* and young captain *Ralegh*, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From this unavoidable fray, *Bayley* found pretence to turn tail and go home again.

At *Gomera*.

In want of water they ſail'd to *Gomera*, one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt defended of all theſe iſlands, and the beſt port. The *Spaniards*, being ſeated upon the very waſh of the ſea, roughly ſaluted the fleet at its firſt entrance with their cannon, and the *Engliſh* returned their ſalutation. But as ſoon as *Ralegh* recover'd the harbour, and commanded there ſhould be no more firing, he ſent a *Spaniard* he had with him, aſhore, to aſſure the governor he had no intention to make war with any of the *Spaniſh* king's ſubjects; and if any harm had been done by his great ordnance to the town it was their fault, who, by ſhooting firſt, gave the occaſion. The governor anſwer'd, he thought they had been the *Turkiſh* fleet aforeſaid; but having been certified they were chriſtians and *Engliſhmen*, and ſought nothing but water, he was willing to let them take what they pleas'd, if he might be aſſur'd they would make no attempt upon the town-houſes, or their gardens and fruits. *Ralegh* reply'd, that he would give him his faith, and the word of the king of *Great Britain*, his ſoveraign, that if the people of the town or iſland ſhould loſe ſo much as an orange or a grape by any one of his men without paying for it, he would hang him up in the market-place. And *Ralegh* kept his men in ſuch good diſcipline, that the governor in divers letters (for he wrote to him every day) acknowledg'd how punctually *Ralegh* kept his faith with him, in regard to the inoffenſive behaviour of his company; and alſo how much himſelf was beholden to him for his particular civilities. For his counteſs, who was of *Engliſh* extract, being a *Stafford* by the mother's ſide, and of the houſe of *Horne* by the father, having ſent *Ralegh* ſome preſents of fruit, ſugar and ruſk, he return'd others of greater value. [b] The earl moreover, gave him at his departure, on the 21ſt of *September*, a letter to *Don Diego Sarmiento* the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador in *England*, teſtifying how honourably *Ralegh* had comported himſelf to the *Moriſco's* in theſe *Canary Iſlands* during the fourteen days that he was among them. Before he ſet ſail, he diſcharg'd a bark of the *Grand Canaries*, taken by one of his pinnaces, coming from *Cape Blanc* in *Africa*; who complaining that his men had eaten of their fiſh to the value of ſix duckets, *Ralegh* gave them eight.

After having weather'd through a violent hurricane and ſome vaſt ſhowers of rain, beſides dangers no leſs fearful within; ſickneſs now beginning to viſit his ſhip, [c] he arriv'd on the 2d of

[a] *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Journal* of his (laſt) voyage to *Guiana*, the original manuſcript, fol. 1.

[b] Tho' the preſents *Ralegh* return'd to this governor's lady are not mention'd in his *Apology*, whence his progreſs hitherto is chiefly extracted, I find, in his own *Journal* aforeſaid of this *voyage*, that they conſiſted of an *extract* of *amber*, *ambergreeſe*, a fine cut-work *ruff*, a very excellent picture of *Mary Magdalen*, and a good quantity of *roſe-water*, which was of great value and eſteem in theſe parts.

[c] Whereof there died, his provoſt-marſhal *W. Steed* on the 21ſt of *September*; his maſter-ſurgeon *Newball* on the 29th;

At *Bravo.* of *October* at the iſle of *Bravo*: and here alſo underwent great hazards and hardſhips; beſides the ſickneſs daily ſpreading among his men. For whereas all thoſe who navigated even between *Cape de Vert* and *America*, were wont to paſs between fifteen and twenty days at moſt, he found the wind ſo contrary to him, and indeed to nature, ſo many ſtorms and ſhowers, that he ſpent near ſix weeks in the paſſage from hence; by reaſon whereof, and the burning heat of the climate, he was in great diſtreſs for water. Here loſing-anchors, cables and water-caſk, beſides two more of his company,[a] he was driven after two days, by a kind of *turnado*, from this iſland; which, as well as the others he touch'd at, before mention'd, he has well deſcrib'd in his *Journal* of this unfortunate voyage. After his return home, detraction did not ſpare to give out, that he went to *Cape de Vert* knowing it to be infected, and thereby loſt many of his men; whereas he was a hundred and ſixty leagues from that *Cape*, according to his own account, in his *Apology*; and had threeſcore men ill in his own ſhip before he came to *Bravo*, as we find it in his *Journal*; tho' if he had gone to that *Cape* now, after the rains which had fallen, there had been little danger of any ſuch infection. All places that lie near great rivers, in low and mooriſh grounds, do indeed, as he rightly obſerves, ſubject their inhabitants to fevers and agues; as even along both ſides of our own river *Thames*; and other infection is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Africa*, except when the eaſterly wind or breezes are excluded and kept off by ſome high mountains from the valleys, whereby the air wanting motion, ſtagnates, and becomes exceedingly unhealthful, as at *Nombre de Dios*, and ſome other places. But, ſays he, *as good ſucceſs admits of no examination, ſo the contrary allows of no excuſe.*[b]

Hence they proceeded, on the 4th of *October*, towards *Guiana*. But the ſickneſs reviſited and deſtroy'd many of thoſe whom the ſtorms ſpared, carrying off numbers of his ableſt men both for ſea and land, no leſs than forty-two of his own ſhip ending their voyage with their lives,[c] moſtly in this month, at leaſt before they reach'd the coaſt.[d] About the 12th of the ſame month, when their ſickneſs began to be at the height, and they at the greateſt diſtance from any ſhore, they were many other ways alſo diſtreſs'd; for when they began to be in ſcarcity of water, they were alſo becalm'd; yet ever threatned with extremity of tempeſtuous weather, from the ſtrange and unuſual alterations in the atmoſphere. One while the horizon muffled as it were in ſuch thick and fearful darkneſs, that they were forced to ſteer a day or two by candle-light. At other times, arched and overſhot with gloomy diſcolorations; ſo that watery rainbows were continually invading their eyes, or heavy ſhowers their bodies, and dead calms retarding their ſhips. Afterwards at *Trinidad*, *Ralegh* obſerved, beſides two *water-galls*, no leſs than fifteen rainbows in one day, and one of them bent as it were both ends together, making a perfect circle; and theſe were ever followed with wet weather; for as he alſo noted, eſpecially of the morning rainbow, it did not here produce a fair day, as in *England*.[e] But one good effect enſu'd, that when their water was ſo ſcarce, near the latter end of this month, that the ſhip's crew was reduced to half allowance, they ſaved ſome hogſheads, which fell from the clouds, and all quenched their thirſt with great cans of this bitter draught, as *Ralegh* deſcribes that rain water to have been. On the laſt day of this month, as he was raiſed abruptly out of his bed in a ſweat, by the noiſe which a ſudden great guſt had occaſion'd in his ſhip, he got a cold, which turned to a burning fever, and caſt him down for twenty days together; in which time he receiv'd no other ſuſtenance than a few ſtew'd prunes, but drink, every hour, both day and night; and ſweated ſo exceſſively, that he was forced to ſhift three times every day, and as often at night.[f] At laſt the violence of his diſeaſe was abated, by the oranges and other fruits he had received at *Gomera* of the governor's lady; which he had carefully preſerved in ſand to his great refreſhment; and without which, as he owns himſelf, he could not have lived:[g] But it was double the time before he could recover in any tolerable degree from this ſharp viſitation.

In this ſlow and ſickly manner they arriv'd at laſt, on the 11th of *November*, at the north
At *Wiapoco.* cape of *Wiapoco*. And here *Ralegh* ſent for his old ſervant *Leonard*, the *Indian*, who had

29th; and on the laſt day of this month, died his ſon's ſerjeant, *Holcroft*. Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Journal of his laſt Voyage to* Guiana.

a Lieutenant *Allen*, who died the 2d of *October*, and the cape-merchant *Keymis*, who died the day following.

b Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 18, 19.

c *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *letter* to his *wife* from *Caliana*, the 14th of *November*, in his *Remains* (the laſt edit) p. 166.

d Mr. *John Howard*, enſign to captain *North*, died the 6th of *October*. Alſo Mr. *Fowler*, Sir *Walter*'s principal refiner. His ſervant *Crab*, died the 8th; and all his other ſervants were ſo ill, he had not any but his pages to attend on him. Captain *John Piggot*, *Ralegh*'s lieutenant-general by land, died the 13th: alſo "Mr. *John Talbot*, "who had lived (ſays *Ralegh*) with me eleven years in "the *Tower*; an excellent general ſcholar, and a faithful "true man as liv'd." Then alſo died Mr. *Gardiner*, and Mr. *Mordant*; beſides his own cook, *Francis*. Captain *Jennings* died the 16th, and his couſin, lieutenant *Peyton*, the 18th of the ſame month; beſides many others of leſs note. *Ralegh*'s Journal, *&c.*

e *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Journal*, as before.

f *Idem.*

g *Ralegh*'s letter in his *Remains*, as aforeſaid, p. 167.

been

been in *England* three or four years with him; but he was removed ſo far up in the country, there was no purſuing him. [a] Therefore he ſtood away for *Caliana*, which is in 5 degrees, on the coaſt of *Guiana*, at the firſt diſcovery call'd *Port Howard*, [b] where the caſſique was alſo his ſervant, and had lived with him in the *Tower* of *London* two years. There he arrived in a day or two, having paſſed the iſland noted for its multitude of birds and ſilk-bearing trees, and from thence ſent for his ſervant *Harry*, the *Indian*, who, with other caſſiques, came and brought him great ſtore of *Caſſavi* bread and roaſted mullets, with plantanes, pinas, piſtacias, *&c.* But *Ralegh* ventured not to eat of the pinas, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a day or two's airing on the ſhore in a tent which was there pitch'd for him; then he alſo eat ſome armadillo and a little pork, and began to gather ſtrength. Here alſo he landed his ſick men, and recovered many; and here he buried captain *Edward Haſtings* (the lord *Huntington*'s brother) who died ten days or more before, and with him his ſerjeant major, *Hart*, and captain *Henry Snedale*; the charge of whoſe ſhip *Ralegh* gave to his ſervant captain *Robert Smith* of *Cornwall*. [c] Here he alſo ſet up his barges and ſhallops which they brought from *England*, in quarters, cleanſed his ſhips, trim'd up his caſk, and ſupply'd them with water; fix'd up a forge, and made ſuch iron works as they wanted. Thus on that ſhore, and this river they employed and refreſh'd themſelves for about three weeks; during which time, *Ralegh* was very much careſs'd by the *Indians* of his old acquaintance aforeſaid, and the other natives of this place, who cheriſhed him daily with the beſt proviſions that the country yielded, and offer'd him all kind of obedience, even to the making him their ſoveraign prince and ruler, if he would abide and ſettle among them; ſo freſh continued his memory, and ſuch unanimous impreſſions of homage and reſpect had his former behaviour ſtill left upon them; which offer he mentions with the greateſt modeſty and indifference in the diſpatch he now ſent to *England*. For in this interval, captain *Peter Alley*, one of his company, who was much troubled with a vertiginous diſorder in his head, having got leave to return home, and the opportunity of a *Dutch* veſſel which lay there, *Ralegh* among other letters, ſent one by him to his lady, dated from *Caliana* the 14th of *November*. Herein, ſays he, "I cannot write to you but with a "weak hand, for I have ſuffer'd the moſt violent calenture for fifteen days that ever man did, "and lived; but God that gave me a ſtrong heart in all my adverſities, has alſo now ſtrengthned me in the hell-fire of heat. We have had two moſt grievous ſickneſſes in our ſhip, of "which *forty-two* have died, and there are yet many ſick; but having recover'd the land of "*Guiana* this 12th of *November*, I hope we ſhall recover them. We are yet *two hundred* "men, and the reſt of our fleet are reaſonably ſtrong, ſtrong enough I hope to perform what "we have undertaken, if the diligent care at *London* to make our ſtrength known to the *Spaniſh* "king by his ambaſſador, has not taught the *Spaniſh* king to fortify all the entrances againſt "us. Howſoever, we muſt make the adventure, and if we periſh, it ſhall be no honour for "*England*, nor gain for his majeſty, to loſe, among many others, an hundred as valiant "gentlemen as *England* hath in it." Then having ſpoken of *Bayley*'s running away from him, the unnatural weather they had laboured through, and their tedious paſſage, with the preſent of fruits which had ſo much relieved him, as is before obſerved, beſides the death of ſome principal officers, and recommendation of himſelf to ſome friends in *London*, eſpecially his ſon *Carew*, he concludes thus: "To tell you that I might be here king of the *Indians* were a "vanity; but my name hath ſtill lived among them; here they feed me with freſh meat, and "all that the country yields: all offer to obey me." [d] At this time alſo, a gentleman of his company having drawn up a diſcourſe in praiſe of *Guiana*, and in honour of this adventure; eſpecially of the principal diſcoverer *Ralegh* himſelf, it being dated from *Caliana November* the 17th, ſent it alſo into *England* by the ſame bearer; [e] and it was printed the following year. [f]

At *Caliana*.

Offer'd to be made king in theſe parts.

On the 4th of *December* they left this river, and came next day to the *Triangle Iſlands*; [g] but were all in danger of leaving their bones upon the ſholes before they got thither. For they were laid aground, eſpecially *Ralegh*'s larger ſhip, for the ſpace of twenty-four hours or more;

[a] *Ralegh*'s Journal.

[b] *Ralegh*'s Apology for his Voyage to *Guiana*, p. 21.

[c] *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Journal*, and his *Apology*, p. 22.

[d] Ralegh's *Remains*, (laſt edit) p. 166.

[e] This captain *Peter Alley* arrived in *England* the latter end of *January* following; for *Camden*, in his *Annals of King* James, ſays, that on the 31ſt of the ſaid month, he ſignified (to the ſtate) that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was very ſickly, and that ſeveral volunteers died of their ſickneſs.

[f] Under the title of, *News from Sir* Walter Ralegh: *With the true Deſcription of* Guiana; *as alſo a Relation of the excellent Government, and much Hope of the Proſperity of the Voyage. Sent from a Gentleman of his Fleet, to a moſt ſpecial Friend of his in* London; *from the River* Caliana, *on the Coaſt of* Guiana, November 17, 1617. *By* R. M. *4to.* 1618. With a wooden cut of Sir *Walter Ralegh* in the title page, in band and collar, and black (velvet) doublet lac'd with ſilver, much like that graved on copper, before the old editions of his *Hiſtory of the World*. For this ſcarce tract, among others, I have been much beholden to the courteſy of Sir *Hans Sloane*.

[g] Ralegh's *Journal*, &c.

and had it not been fair weather, would never have got off the coaſt, having not above two fathom of water. Here, after a few days, when all the fleet was gather'd together, it being conſider'd in a general conſultation, that *Ralegh* himſelf who had grappled with the ſickneſs for ſix weeks, and was now rather ſo much relaps'd than recover'd, that he could not move otherwiſe than as he was carried in a chair, [a] they reſolved that there was no thoughts of his undertaking the paſſage up the *Orenoque* in perſon. And further, tho' they could never underſtand by *Keymis*, who was the firſt of any nation that had enter'd the *main mouth* of that river, nor by any of their mariners, who had traded there many years for tobacco, what certainty the water was of; yet having found by experience, that ſhips at *eleven* foot water, lay aground three days in paſſing up; therefore there was no attempting it with *Ralegh*'s ſhip, which being heavier, and charged with near forty pieces of ordnance, drew ſeventeen foot. Nor would his ſon with the reſt have ventured, with the proviſions they had, through any other perſon's aſſurance or reſolution of ſtaying to relieve them at a place appointed, againſt the forces expected to approach, but that of his father and their general. [b] So it was reſolved by all, that the five larger ſhips ſhould ride at *Punta de Gallo* in *Trinidad* under *Ralegh*, to ſecure their retreat, and the five leſſer (for this was now the whole number of his fleet) with five or ſix foot companies of fifty men each, ſhould enter the river. According to this determination, the fleet was here divided; that is to ſay, captain *Whitney* in the *Encounter*; *Woolaſton* in the *Confidence*; *King* in the *Supply*; *Smith* in a *Pink*, and *Hall* in a *Carvel*. The companies had for their leaders, captain *Charles Parker*, and captain *North* (brothers to the lord *Mounteagle* and the lord *North*;) young *Ralegh*; captain *Thornhurſt* of *Kent*; captain *Pennington*'s lieutenant, who ſeems to be another *Hall*, and captain *Chidley*'s lieutenant, *Prideux*. Sir *Warham St. Leger*, *Ralegh*'s lieutenant, who had the charge of theſe companies, fell ſick at *Caliana*; ſo it was confer'd on *George Ralegh*, Sir *Walter*'s nephew, who had ſerved with great commendation in the *Low Countries*; and captain *Keymis* had the chief charge for their guidance and landing within the river. [c] But *Keymis* having laid down the plan of his intended attempt upon the mine, and undertaken to diſcover it with ſix or eight perſons in Sir *John Ferne*'s ſhallop, *Ralegh*, upon conſideration, diſliking that method of proceedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him his inſtructions in the following words.

Divides his fleet at the *Triangle Iſlands*.

His *Inſtructions* to *Keymis*.

" *Keymis*, Whereas you were reſolv'd, after your arrival into the *Oronoque*, to paſs to the " mine with my couſin *Herbert* and ſix muſketiers, and to that end deſired to have Sir *John* " *Ferne*'s ſhallop; I do not allow of that courſe; becauſe you cannot land ſo ſecretly, but " that ſome *Indians* on the river ſide may diſcover you, who giving knowledge thereof to the " *Spaniard*, you may be cut off before you recover your boat. I therefore adviſe you to ſuf- " fer the captains and companies of the *Engliſh* to paſs up weſtward of the mountain *Aio*, from " whence you have no leſs than three miles to the mine, and to encamp between the *Spaniſh* " town and you, if there is any town near it; that being ſo ſecured, you may make trial what " depth and breadth the mine holds, and whether or no it will anſwer our hopes. And if " you find it royal, and the *Spaniards* begin to war upon you, then let the ſerjeant-major re- " pell them, if it is in his power, and drive them as far as he can: but if you find the mine is " not ſo rich as to perſuade the holding of it, and it requires a ſecond ſupply, then ſhall you " bring but a baſket or two to ſatisfy his majeſty that my deſign was not imaginary but true, " tho' not anſwerable to his majeſty's expectation; for the quantity of which I never gave " aſſurance, nor could. On the other ſide, if you ſhall find any great number of ſoldiers are " newly ſent into the *Orenoque*, as the caſſique of *Caliana* told us there were, and that the " paſſages are already enforc'd, ſo as without manifeſt peril of my ſon, yourſelf and the other " captains, you cannot paſs towards the mine; then be well adviſed how you land, for I know " (that a few gentlemen excepted) what a ſcum of men you have, and I would not for all " the world, receive a blow from the *Spaniard* to the diſhonour of the nation. I myſelf, for " my weakneſs, cannot be preſent, neither will the company land except I abide by the ſhips, " the galleons of *Spain* being daily expected. *Piggot* the ſerjeant-major is dead, Sir *Warham* " *St. Leger*, my lieutenant, without hope of life, and my nephew, *George Ralegh*, your ſer- " jeant-major, now, but a young man: it is therefore on your judgment that I rely; who, I truſt, " God will direct for the beſt. Let me hear from you as ſoon as you can. You ſhall find " me at *Punta de Gallo* dead or alive; and if you find not my ſhips there, yet there you ſhall " find their aſhes; for I will fire with the galleons if it come to extremity, but run away I " will never." [d]

[a] His letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, in his *Remains*, (laſt edit.) p. 170.

[b] *See* Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 25, 26.

[c] Ralegh's *Journal*, &c.

[d] Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 26.

WITH theſe inſtructions thoſe five ſhips ſet forward, parting from *Ralegh* and the reſt of the fleet at the iſlands aforeſaid, with a month's proviſion, on the 10th of *December*.[a] But when they found a new *Spaniſh* town, call'd *St. Thome*, conſiſting of about 140 houſes; tho' lightly built, with a chapel, a convent of *Franciſcans*, and a garriſon erected on the main channel of the *Orenoque*,[b] about twenty miles diſtant from the place where *Antonio Berreo*, the governor taken by *Ralegh* in his firſt diſcovery and conqueſt here, attempted to plant; *Keymis* and the reſt thought themſelves oblig'd, through fear of leaving the enemy's garriſon between them and their boats, to deviate from their inſtructions, which enjoin'd them, firſt to carry a little party to make trial of the mine, under a ſhelter of their own camp; and then to deal with the *Spaniſh* town as it ſhould give cauſe, by permitting or offering to prevent them. So they concluded to land in one body, and encamp between the mine and the town;[c] whereby, tho' themſelves were ſomething ſtronger, their boats were ſubject to the ſame expoſure, and the mine left untry'd contrary to *Ralegh*'s order. For, about three weeks after their departure, landing, by night, it ſeems, nearer the town than they ſuſpected, and meaning to reſt themſelves on the river-ſide till morning, they were, in the night-time, ſet upon by the *Spaniſh* troops, appriz'd of, and fore-arm'd for their coming, as we ſhall ſee. This charge was ſo unexpected, and ſtruck the common ſoldiers with ſuch amazement and confuſion, that had not the captains and ſome other valiant gentlemen made head, and animated the reſt, they had all been cut to pieces. But the reſt, by their example, ſoon rallying, made ſuch a vigorous defence againſt the *Spaniards*, that they drove them to a retreat, till in the warmth of their purſuit, the *Engliſh* found themſelves at the *Spaniſh* town before they knew where they were. Here the battle was renewed afreſh upon them, being aſſaulted by the governor himſelf *Don Diego Palameca*, and four or five captains at the head of their companies; againſt whom, captain *Walter Ralegh*, a brave and ſprightly young man, now twenty-three years of age, but fonder of glory than ſafety, not tarrying for the muſketiers, ruſh'd foremoſt, at the head of a company of pikes, and having killed one of the *Spaniſh* captains, was himſelf ſhot by another; but preſſing ſtill forward, with his ſword upon *Erinetta*, probably the captain who had ſhot him, this *Spaniard* with the butt-end of his muſket fell'd him to the ground, and after theſe words, *Lord have mercy upon me, and proſper your enterprize*, young *Ralegh* ſpoke no more. Hereupon *John Pleſſington*, his ſerjeant, thruſt the ſaid *Spaniſh* captain through the body with his halbert. Two commanders more of the *Spaniards* were at the ſame time ſlain, one by *John of Morocco*, another of young *Ralegh*'s company: and laſtly the governor himſelf alſo loſt his life in the ſaid engagement;[d] which happen'd, as *Camden* reckons, the ſecond of *January*.[e] The leaders being thus all diſpatch'd, and many of their ſoldiers, the reſt fled and were diſper'd, ſome to ſhelter about the market-place, from whence they kill'd and wounded the *Engliſh* at pleaſure; ſo as they ſaw no way left to be ſafe, but by firing the town about their ears, and driving them to the woods and mountains, whence they ſtill keep the *Engliſh* waking with perpetual alarms.[f] Others were more careful to defend the paſſages to their mines, of which they had three or four not far diſtant, than they had been to defend the town itſelf.[g] But for the magazine of tobacco, which one writer, among other erroneous repreſentations of this voyage, thought might countervail the charge of it, could it with ſome other things have been preſerved,[h] it ſeems not to have been conſumed by the *Engliſh*; becauſe *Ralegh* had enough thereof ſoon after to have paid for the victualling of his fleet, if there had been occaſion, as himſelf has related.[i]

Young *Ralegh* ſlain.

St. *Thome* fir'd.

ALL obſtructions ſeeming thus removed, captain *Keymis* had now a fair opportunity to make what trial he pleas'd at the mine; and that he did attempt the diſcovery will appear by the conſequence, as his preparations do in the letter he wrote to *Ralegh* ſix days after the action aforeſaid, tho' it came not long after to his hands. Herein having open'd in as gradual and diſcreet a manner as he could, how gallantly his ſon fell in this exploit, and obſerved, that if

a *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Journal*.

b Heylin's *Coſmography*, p. 1084.

c *See* Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 29; and his *Letter* to the lord *Carew*, touching the action at *Guiana*; printed at the end of the ſaid *Apology*, p. 64.

d *See* Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 30, 31; and his *Letter* to his wife, in his *Remains* (the laſt edition) page 178. (where there is an egregious error of the preſs, *viz.* I *ſaw* (for I *ſay*) five of them ſlain at the entrance of the town; as if *Ralegh* had been preſent at the action) See alſo, for young *Ralegh*'s laſt words, captain *Keymis* his letter from the *Orenoque* to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in his *Apology*, p. 33. 'Tis ſaid in king *James*'s *Declaration*, p. 34, that young *Ralegh*, likelieſt to know his father's ſecret, when he led his ſoldiers upon this town us'd theſe or the like words, "Come on my hearts, here is the mine that we muſt "expect, they that look for any other mine are fools." As if *Ralegh* was at ſo much toil, hazard and expence only to break the peace, and drive a pack of poor *Spaniards* out of a worthleſs town. Nor does it ſeem likely, that if young *Ralegh* knew this to be his father's ſecret, that he would thus diſcloſe it; but rather if he did utter ſuch an expreſſion, that he ſuddenly invented it to give his men hopes of booty, knowing that would beſt excite them to bravery.

e *Annals of King* James.

f Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 31.

g Ralegh's *Remains*, (laſt edition) p 178.

h Howel's *Letters*, 5th edition, p. 6.

i Ralegh's *Remains*, p. 176.

"his

" his extraordinary valour and vigour of mind had not led them all on, it had never been at-
" tempted, nor performed as it was, to his ſurviving honour:" having alſo obſerved, that,
" four of the beſt houſes in the town belonged to refiners; tho' he had ſeen no coin or bullion,
" but only a little plate;" he adds, " Now I propoſe, God willing, to viſit the mine, not
" eight miles from the town; ſooner I could not go by reaſon of the murmurings, the diſcords,
" and vexations wherewith the ſerjeant-major is perpetually tormented." Concluding with theſe words: " I have ſent your lordſhip a parcel of ſcatter'd papers, and reſerve a cart-load; one
" roul of tobacco, one tortoiſe, with ſome oranges and lemons; praying God to give you
" ſtrength and health of body, and a mind armed againſt all extremities. I reſt ever to be
" commanded, this 8th of *January*, 1617, your lordſhip's, *Keymis*." [a]

INDEED *Ralegh* had need of thoſe prayers, on his own part, at this time, not only in his ſickneſs, but even in the intervals he had of recovery; for here to give ſome account of him in this time of their ſeparation, we may obſerve, that he lay with the five larger ſhips under himſelf, captain *John Pennington*, his vice-admiral, one of the moſt ſufficient gentlemen for the ſea, that *England* has, ſays he; Sir *Warham St. Leger*, another valiant and worthy gentle-
At *Punta de Gallo.* man, Sir *John Ferne*, and captain *Chidley* of *Devon*, [b] moſtly at *Punta de Gallo*, and other ports about *Trinidad*, no leſs than a hundred and fifty miles from the reſt of his fleet, making the adventure up the *Oronoque*, yet in daily apprehenſions of meeting with the *Spaniſh armada* ſent purpoſely to lay wait for and deſtroy him; which it would probably have done, after the great ſickneſs which had ſo much weakned his men, and under this diſadvantageous diviſion of his ſhips, but that the enemy luckily waited for him in a wrong place. Beſides, it having been falſely rumour'd in his fleet, that he brought out of *England* twenty-two thouſand broad-pieces of gold with him, ſome of his crew traiterouſly conſpir'd to ſail away, while he was gone aſhore in his barge, to take views and make diſcoveries of the country, [c] which he was ſome-times wont to do, as at *Terra de Brea*, or the *Pitch-land*, as he calls it, from the bitumenous ſubſtance which ſo remarkably iſſues there, as he has well deſcrib'd; and when he travers'd ſome woods to ſeek the trees that yield that precious *balſam* whereof he got a ſmall quantity, which ſmelt like *angelica*; [d] ſo to have left him a prey to famine, wild beaſts, or the no leſs unmerciful *Spaniards*, by whom he might have been flea'd alive, as other *Engliſhmen*, who came but to traffick, had formerly been. Add to this the many provocations he received from the *Spaniards* who were in any of the ports where his men landed, only to exchange a few commodities for tobacco or other products of the country, not only by the moſt opprobrious language, but diſ-charging ſometimes a volley of twenty muſkets at a time upon them, whereby Sir *John Fern*, had ſome of his men kill'd. [e] And laſtly, the uneaſineſs he was continually in, that he could hear no tidings of the reſt of his fleet thus detach'd upon the adventure. And tho' ſome *Indian* ſpies were brought to him in the beginning of *February*, by one of whom, who could ſpeak the *Spaniſh* tongue, he was firſt inform'd, that the *Engliſh* in *Orenoque* were reported, by ſome *Tivitivas* he had ſpoken with, to have taken *St. Thome* and ſlain *Diego de Palameca* the gover-nor, with captain *Erinetta*, and captain *John Rues*; that the reſt fled, and that two *Engliſh* captains were likewiſe kill'd: Tho' the ſame was ſoon after alſo aſſerted, with other particulars, by another *Indian*; yet *Ralegh* would not ſet them down, till he knew the truth; which af-terwards endeavouring to compaſs of other *Indians*, ſaid to have been at the taking of that town, whom he ſent in purſuit of, they eſcaped, and he was not certified in the report, even near the middle of this month, for ſo far his own *Journal* extends. [f]

In the mean while *Keymis* made an attempt for the mine, and had ſet forward with captain *Thornburſt*, Mr. *W. Herbert*, Sir *John Hamden* and others; but at their firſt approach, near the bank where they intended to land, he received, from an ambuſcade of *Spaniards* in the woods (who had probably gather'd there with expectation of his coming that way to the mine) a volley of ſhot, which ſlew two of his company, hurt ſix others, and wounded captain *Thornburſt* ſo dangerouſly in the head, that he languiſh'd thereof three months after. [g] This blow firſt ſtagger'd the reſolution of *Keymis*, who then, as he reflected more upon the ſtate of their condition, was more over-power'd with doubts and diſcouragements; inſomuch that tho'

a Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 32.
b Ralegh's *Letter* to *Winwood*, in his *Remains*, (laſt edit.) p. 171.
c Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 5.
d Ralegh's *Journal*.
e *Idem*.
f This *Journal* of *Ralegh*'s laſt voyage to *Guiana*, written with his own hand, conſiſting of ſeven ſheets of paper, tho' written moſtly on one ſide, only with intention perhaps of enlarging ſome of the particulars afterwards, ſeems incompleat both at the beginning and the end: for it begins but at the the 19th of *Auguſt*, when he ſet ſail from *Cork*, and ends at the 13th of *February* 1617, before the reſt of his fleet returned to him from the *Orenoque*. It is preſerved in the *Cottonian* library, under *Titus*, B. VIII.
g Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 31, 32.

the

the *Engliſh* under him might have been informed of two or three mines more, beſides this which *Keymis* had undertaken to lead them to, by a *Mulatto*, who had waited on the late governor in his chamber, and, as he has written in his letter beforemention'd, knew all things that concern'd his maſter. [a] This ſervant, afterwards, by no other means than courteous uſage, diſcover'd the ſame to *Ralegh* himſelf; and not only the places where thoſe mines lay, but more particularly, that two of them, gold ones, were in the poſſeſſion of *Don Pedro Rodrigo de Parama*, and *Hermian Frontino*; and a ſilver one, in the poſſeſſion of *Franciſco Faſardo*; and that the cauſe of their remaining unwrought was, that they wanted *Negroes* to work them: for, by a law of *Charles* the emperor, the *Indians* could not be conſtrain'd, and the *Spaniards* neither would nor could endure the labour. [b] Yet did the *Engliſh* now decline all endeavour, either to be directed to theſe, tho' but few miles diſtant from the town, or proceed to poſſeſs that which *Keymis* was to conduct them to, tho' within a few hours march. Nay, when the ſhips were upon their return, and they had ſailed down the river as far as the country of *Carapana*, one of the natural lords, who had reſerved that part of *Guiana* to the late queen; and, having heard that the *Engliſh* had abandon'd *St. Thome*, and left no forces, as he hop'd they would have done, had ſent a great canoo, laden with ſtore of fruits and proviſions, to the captains; alſo by one of his men, who had learn'd the *Spaniſh* tongue during his long ſlavery under the *Spaniards*, had offer'd them a rich gold mine in his own country, to engage their ſtay; further proffering to leave ſufficient pledge for any *Engliſh* perſon they ſhould ſend to examine it; and, when captain *Leak* with another of the company, named *Molineux*, offer'd themſelves to go, the greater part nevertheleſs refus'd to ſuffer them. This declenſion of his offer, ſo heightned *Carapana*'s deſire to make it acceptable, that he ſent again, leaving one of his men ſtill aboard, who entreated to detain them but two days, and *Carapana* would himſelf, aged as he was, bring them a ſample of the ore; who, tho' ſtill rejected, and the ſhips under ſail, yet ſent once more a boat after them up to the mouth of the river, in hopes to the very laſt of retrieving them, as the ſaid captain *Leak*, *Parker*, *Molineux*, and half a dozen officers more, are, by *Ralegh*, nominated to atteſt. [c] But the adventurers, among other diſſwaſives from all temptation to continue there any longer, harbour'd a notion that the *Spaniards* had ſecretly agreed with, and employ'd thoſe *Indians* only to trepan the *Engliſh*; which appear'd but a weak and ill-grounded apprehenſion to *Ralegh*; for ſuch treachery might have been eaſily prevented, had they waited the arrival of the old *Indian* chief, who would have brought the ore to their very ſhips. And what advantage in betraying them, ſays he, could there be, when the *Guianians* offered to leave hoſtages, ſix for one? Moreover, one of the *Indians*, whom the *Engliſh* found in fetters when they took St. *Thome*, and brought with them aboard, could have told them, that the very caſſique, who ſent to ſhew them the gold mine in his country, was unconquer'd and at enmity with the *Spaniard*; and could have aſſur'd them withal, that ſuch mines were in that country poſſeſs'd by the ſaid caſſique. [d] But no intreaty or invitation would retain them, and ſo they return'd, about the middle of *February*, to *Punta de Gallo*, after the fleet had been thus divided, and they abſent above two months from Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as himſelf has informed us; [e] whereby it appears, that the fleet united at, or very ſoon after, the time he diſcontinued his *Journal*; and it appears no-where in that *Journal*, that any inhuman offer was made to remove from *Punta de Gallo* to the *Charibes*, many leagues off, where he knew famine muſt over-take the land ſoldiers before they could over-take him, as his enemies ſuggeſted: [f] beſides, he cleared himſelf in ſuch a ſolemn manner of this aſperſion at his death, as leaves not the leaſt ſtain of cruelty any where but upon their characters who ſlander'd him with it. [g]

The fleet united.

'Tis poſſible that *Keymis* might, at his firſt return, be favourably received, and as familiarly admitted to *Ralegh*'s table as before; [h] for a diſappointment of this conſequence was not to be too readily broach'd on one ſide, nor reprehended on the other. Beſides, as ſome mitigation of their ill ſucceſs, and inducement to further hopes, *Keymis* produced two ingots of gold which had been reſerved at *St. Thome*, as the king of *Spain*'s *quinto*, or proportion; together with ſeveral other valuable ſpoils of the governor. [i] *Keymis* alſo brought with him a large quantity

[a] Keymis's *Letter* to *Ralegh*, in the ſaid *Apology*, p. 33; and the *Apology*, p. 42, 43.

[b] *Idem*: and *Ralegh*'s letter to *Winwood*, in his *Remains*, (laſt edit.) p. 174.

[c] See his *Apology*, p. 45.

[d] *Idem*, p. 46, *&c.*

[e] *Ibid.* p. 41.

[f] In king *James*'s *Declaration*, p. 36.

[g] *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Anſwer* to ſome things at his death, at the end of his *Apology*, p. *ult.* alſo in his *Dying Speech*.

[h] *King* James's *Declaration*, p. 37.

[i] Among the reſt, one, that was more curious in its nature, than coſtly in its materials; being only a bottle made of a *ſerpentine* ſtone; but it had a rare ſoveraign quality of giving any wine or water infus'd therein for twenty-four hours, the taſte and operation of the *Spa* water, and to make the ſame of ſingular efficacy in expelling the gravel, and curing all diſorders of the ſpleen; for which it was highly eſteemed by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and, ſeveral years after his death, alſo by *Richard* earl of *Cork*; who, having been made acquainted, by Sir *Walter*'s

quantity of papers, letters, memorials, ſchemes, plans and maps found in the ſaid governor's ſtudy; which gave ſome ſingular lights into the ſtate and condition of *Spain*, with reſpect to many of the *American* plantations. Among theſe papers were found four letters, which plainly diſcover'd, not only *Ralegh*'s whole enterprize to have been betray'd, but his life thereby put into the power of the *Spaniards* themſelves; [a] and by whom, even to the breaking of that peace, if any was broken, for which he was afterwards exclaim'd againſt. *Ralegh* himſelf has related: [b] for he thought this ſuch black and cruel uſage, that he forbore not, in a letter which he wrote, about a month after this time, from the iſle of St. *Chriſtopher*'s, to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the ſecretary of ſtate, to ſhew his ſenſe of it in theſe words: "It pleaſed his majeſty to value "us at ſo little, as to command me, upon my allegiance, to ſet down under my hand, the "*country* and the very *river* by which I was to enter it; to ſet down the *number* of my men, "and *burden* of my ſhips, and what *ordnance* every ſhip carried; which being made known "to the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, and by him ſent to the king of *Spain*, a diſpatch was made "and letters ſent from *Madrid* before my departure out of the *Thames*." [c] By the contents of thoſe *Spaniſh* letters it further appears, that three hundred *Spaniſh* ſoldiers, and ten pieces of ordnance, were commiſſioned to be ſent from their reſpective garriſons againſt the adventurers up the *Orenoque*; that is, a hundred and fifty men from *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, under the command of captain *Antonio Muſica*; and another hundred and fifty from *Puerto Rico*, to be conducted under *Franciſco Zanchio*. There was alſo prepared an *armada* by ſea, to ſet upon *Ralegh* himſelf and the ſhips with him; "by which, ſays he, we had not only been torn to pieces, "but all thoſe in the river had alſo periſhed, they being of no force for the ſea fight; for we "had reſolved to have burnt by their ſides, and to have died there, had the *armada* arriv'd; but, "belike, they ſtay'd for us at *Margarita*, by which they knew we muſt paſs towards the "*Indies*." [d] In another letter, which he wrote the next day from the ſame iſland to his wife, *Ralegh* ſays, "Never was poor man expoſed to ſlaughter as I was." Then having related the particulars of the forces beforemention'd, ſent to deſtroy him, through the communication of his *ſcheme* to the court of *Spain* by the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, he concludes this part with theſe words: "It were too long to tell you how we were preſerved; if I live, I ſhall make it "known." [d]

His enterpriſe betray'd.

But the indignation which *Ralegh* muſt have conceived at the ſight of theſe letters, was not a little heightned, when he came to hear that *Keymis* had made no actual trial at the mine, and the reaſons he gave for having relinquiſh'd it. He alledg'd indeed, that after the ſalley of the *Spaniards* upon them from the woody banks, which had diſabled ſeveral of his men at their firſt attempt to land, he began to conſider, they had not then able men enough left to work the mine; tho' indeed, it lay not ſo deep, as to need all thoſe pioneers and implements, which, in king *James*'s *Declaration*, *Ralegh* is objected againſt for not carrying with him, as may appear by the firſt diſcovery of this mine, in the former part of theſe ſheets. *Keymis* alſo argued, they had not men enough to keep this mine, tho' they ſhould eſcape further danger in the difficult paſſage to it, which he feared much they ſhould not; the *Spaniards* being more careful to preſerve it, as was ſaid, than the town; and the ways to it, *Aſpera y Fragoſa*, as *Ralegh* has obſerved; agreeable to that infirtility and unaptneſs for cultivation, which *Acoſta* and other naturaliſts, have deſcrib'd in thoſe grounds which are impregnate with ſuch treaſures. *Keymis* urged further, that they wanted ſufficient proviſions for the number remaining, having been much longer up the

page, with its virtues and value, performed ſeveral notable cures thereby, and at laſt made an acceptable preſent of it to Sir *Henry Wotton*, then provoſt of *Eton-College*, who was troubled with one, or both of thoſe infirmities. See the earl of *Cork*'s *Letter* to Sir *Henry Wotton*, in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 12mo. 1651, p. 497.

[a] The king of *Spain*'s firſt letter, ſent to *Guiana* by a bark of *Aviſo*, to arm the *Indians* againſt *Ralegh*'s coming, was dated 19 *March* 1616, at *Madrid* (which letter, ſays *Ralegh*, in his to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, I have, here enclоſed, ſent you, the reſt I reſerve; not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not.) The ſecond of that king's was dated 2d of *May* 1617, ſent alſo by a caravel to *Diego de Palameca*, governor of *Guiana*, *El Dorado* and *Trinidad*. The third of his majeſty's, was ſent by the biſhop of *Puerto Rico*, and delivered to that governor the 15th of *July* following: and the fourth was ſent from the farmer and ſecretary of his cuſtoms in the *Indies* at the ſame time. Thus *Ralegh*'s letter to *Winwood* (from *St. Chriſtopher's*) in his *Remains* (laſt edition) p. 172. compared with ſome manuſcript copies of it in the *Harleyan* library, &c. Others tell us, theſe advertiſements and preparations were the cauſe of all the reſiſtance that was made at *St. Thome*; that *Ralegh*'s whole deſign, under his own hand, was delivered by king *James* to *Gondomar*; and that his own letter (thereof to king *James*) was found in the governor of *St. Thome*'s cloſet; which letter he brought back, and ſhewed to the lords of the council. See *Obſervations on* Sanderſon's *Hiſtory*, p. 13. Thus alſo in the *State-Trials*, vol. 1. p. 219; and in Dr. *Welwood*'s *Memoirs*, it is ſaid, *Ralegh*'s plan, which king *James* promiſed to keep ſecret, was ſent by *Gondomar* to *Spain*, and thence to the *Indies*, before *Ralegh* left the *Thames*; and the very original paper was found in the *Spaniſh* governor's cloſet.

[b] Tho' *Ralegh* has charged this matter of betraying him to the *Spaniards* in plain terms, both in his letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, which follows as above, and in his *Apology*; one, or both of which king *James* had certainly read, it is yet obſervable, that this topic is not ſo much as touch'd upon in his majeſty's *Declaration*, but entirely ſunk in ſilence.

[c] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, from *St. Chriſtopher's*, dated 21ſt of *March* 1617, printed in his *Remains* (the laſt edition) p. 172.

[d] See his *Letter* to his wife, in (the ſame edition of) his *Remains*, p. 179, &c.

river

river than they expected; and that they could not carry enough from the town up the mountain, their company being divided, the greater part, in the town itſelf, and thoſe too weak to defend it. That he further found all regard to order and obedience broke through, as ſoon as captain *Ralegh* was dead; and feared the fatal news of his death, would either not find his ſick father alive, or haſten his end: that to attempt the diſcovery, and fail through any of theſe diſcouragements, he thought would be more detrimental than wholly at this time to decline it: that to diſcover it for a pack of profligates and mutineers, was more than they deſerv'd; and to diſcover it for *Ralegh* himſelf, not likely to live, and unpardon'd, was, as whiſper'd in the company, for a man *non ens* in the law. Above all that, it would therefore be a greater error to find it for the *Spaniards*, than to pretend it could no-where be found. Laſtly, that theſe arguments, approved of by the majority, were confirmed by the alarm they received at the diſcovery of the letters (aforeſaid) in the governor's cloſet; whereby they were led, every moment, to expect a freſh enforcement of the enemy againſt them from each end of the river; therefore ſeparate as the fleet was, and not able to make reſiſtance, they all agreed to return. [a]

However ſpecious theſe arguments, or ſome of them, might be, *Ralegh* was in no-wiſe pacified with them. He utterly diſavowed the whole conduct of *Keymis* before ſeveral of his company, and the ignorance he had pretended to them; told him, that a blind man might have found the place, by the marks and directions himſelf had ſet down under his own hand; and that his care of loſing more men in paſſing the woods was but feigned; for, after his ſon's death, it was known he had no care for any man ſurviving, and therefore, had he brought home but one hundred weight of ore, tho' with the loſs of as many men, it would have given the king ſatisfaction, preſerved his reputation, and encouraged a return the next year, with greater force, to have held the country for his majeſty, to whom it belong'd; [b] for the riches and fruitfulneſs whereof, himſelf had formerly ſo largely atteſted. [c] But ſince he had ſuffered his wilfulneſs, in ſpite of his knowledge, to defeat their whole undertaking, he ſhould indeed be glad if *Keymis* could make thoſe reaſons, for not opening the mine, paſſable with the ſtate, but that he himſelf could not juſtify the neglect. *Keymis* grew deeply diſcontented hereat, and continued ſo ſeveral days. "Afterwards he came to me in my cabbin (ſays *Ralegh*) and "ſhewed me a letter he had written to the earl of *Arundel*, excuſing himſelf for not diſcovering "of the mine, uſing the ſame arguments, and many others, which he had done before; and "prayed me to allow thereof." But *Ralegh*, no way ſatisfied, declared, that as *Keymis* could plead no ignorance, he could admit of no excuſe, being wounded in his credit with the king paſt all recovery, and that this could admit of no reparation. *Keymis*, ſeeing *Ralegh* reſolved not to favour his folly, retir'd as one knowing not what courſe to take, yet expreſſing, perhaps, alſo ſome deſign of giving further ſatisfaction; "and went out of my cabbin into his own," ſays *Ralegh*, where having ſhut himſelf in, *Ralegh* ſoon after heard a piſtol go off, and ſending up to know who diſcharg'd it, *Keymis* made anſwer, he fir'd it himſelf, becauſe it had been long charg'd. About half an hour after, his boy going into his cabbin, found him dead, with much blood by him, having a long knife thruſt through his left pap into his heart, and his piſtol lying by him; with which it appear'd, that he had ſhot himſelf, but the bullet being ſmall, and having only crack'd a rib, he diſpatch'd effectually with the knife. [d] And this, as I compute, happen'd about the latter end of *February* aforeſaid, or perhaps the former part of *March*, becauſe *Ralegh* mentions it in the letters he wrote this month into *England*, before refer'd to; therefore the death of *Keymis* could not happen in the following ſummer, as one author miſtakes. [e] And whereas ſome had given it out, that *Keymis* ſlew himſelf through remorſe that he had ſeduced and deluded ſo many gentlemen with an imaginary mine, *Ralegh* will not allow that to have been the cauſe; but aſcribes it entirely to his own poſitive and paſſionate temper, and ſays, that "he would not have laid violent hands on himſelf for any

[a] The poſtſcript of *Ralegh*'s letter to his lady, from *St. Chriſtopher's*, 12 *March*, in his *Remains* (laſt edition) p. 177, 178. Alſo his letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, *idem*, p. 181: and his *Apology*, p. 35, 36.

[b] *Idem*.

[c] Keymis's *Relation* of the ſecond voyage to *Guiana*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 683.

[d] The *Letters* in the *Remains*, aforeſaid, p. 178, 181. And the *Apology*, p. 39. *James Howel* ſays, that captain *Keymis*, the main inſtrument for the diſcovery of the mine, piſtol'd himſelf in a deſperate mood of diſcontent in his cabbin in the *Convertine*; which not being *Ralegh*'s ſhip, would remove *Keymis*'s death ſtill further from all ſurmiſe that he had any ſuch foul play done him to prevent telling of tales, as *Sanderſon* and other prejudiced writers have maliciouſly inſinuated. The *Obſervator* on his *Hiſtory* of king *James*, calls it a *baſe aſperſion*; and *Sanderſon*, in his *Anſwer*, inſtead of producing any authority in his own juſtification, is for *meddling no further with it*; ſo refers to his *Hiſtory*, as a matter too large to be inſerted again. But what entirely clears the affair, is king *James*'s *Declaration*; for had there been the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion that *Ralegh* had been any way concerned in *Keymis*'s untimely end, we may be well perſuaded, that *Declaration* would not have been ſilent thereof, which has amaſs'd and aggravated ſo many frivolous circumſtances in this voyage againſt him.

[e] *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 433.

"man's

" man's opinion; nor when he did, adds *Ralegh*, could he have ſaid unto me, that he was " ignorant of the place, and knew of no ſuch mine; for what cauſe had I then to have re- " jected his excuſes, or to have laid his obſtinacy to his charge?" Further urging, " that " ſeveral captains," whom *Ralegh* names, " might be put to their oaths, whether or no, " *Keymis* did not confeſs to them, coming down the river, at a place where they caſt anchor, " that he could, from thence, have gone to the mine in two hours." [a]

AFTER this accident it was determined, in a council of the officers, to make for *Newfoundland*, to repair and refreſh their ſhips; but before, as well as after, they arriv'd there, great diſorders aroſe: ſome took to courſes of their own head, and ran away from him, as was before-mention'd; and many others proved ſo refractory and ungovernable, that, when he came to the iſle of *St. Chriſtopher's*, he was forced, under the conduct of his couſin, Mr. *Herbert*, to ſhip them home. Of whom, tho' he had ſhewed ſome uncommon generoſity to ſome of them, he ſays, in the letter he wrote from thence to his wife on the 22d of *March*, " I know they will not ſpare to wound me;" and further declares, " There is never a baſe " ſlave in all the fleet that hath taken the pains and care that I have done; that hath ſlept ſo " little, and travell'd ſo much: my friends will not believe them, and for the reſt I care " not." [b] In another letter he ſent from hence at the ſame time to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, he writes to the ſame ſenſe, and further adds: " But theſe being gone, I ſhall, ſays he, be able, " if I live, to keep the ſea till the end of *Auguſt*, with ſome four reaſonable good ſhips;" [c] for to that number was his fleet now reduced. By the time here propos'd of continuing at ſea, there might have now been thoughts of ſome courſe to qualify the miſadventure of the mine, and enable them to re-attempt it; perhaps by ſome little trading voyages: but how probable that he ſhould deſign any thing ſo far as the *Eaſt Indies*, or that with ſuch ſmall force he intended to go for the weſtern iſlands, to attack the *Mexico* fleet, and ſurpriſe the carracks, as in the king's *Declaration* is laid to *Ralegh*'s charge, [d] we ſhall leave for others to decide.

At St. *Chriſtopher's*

'Tis plain that nothing of this was put in practice; for when they came to *Newfoundland*, the company in his own ſhip fell to mutiny, and thoſe who were for ſtaying abroad, whom *Wilſon* calls the major part, made *Ralegh* take an oath, ſays he, not to go home but by their allowance. [e] But the *Declaration* ſays, that the greater number were for returning to *England*; and that *Ralegh* getting on the ſea bank, put it to the queſtion; whereupon the voices divided, *ſtarboard* and *larboard*; and that when he perceived the greater number vote for their return, he went to that ſide and voted ſo too; [f] but manifeſtly to the hazard of his life was his voting on either ſide. [g] In the ſame *Declaration* we are further led to believe, he afterwards " offer'd " his own ſhip, which was of great value, to his company, if they would only ſet him aboard " a *French* bark, and that he made the ſame offer to ſome of his officers, when he was come " back to *Ireland*, as not knowing how things would be conſtrued, and *being loth to put his head under the king's girdle*;" [h] but he did, and we ſhall ſee the conſequence of it.

At *Newfoundland*.

BY the time that *Ralegh* arrived on the coaſt of *Ireland*, the ſacking of *St. Thome*, the firing of the town, and the ſlaughter of the *Spaniards* to the number of four or five hundred men, were largely deſcanted on by his enemies, as by his friends were his own more particular misfortunes in the long and dangerous ſickneſs he had endured; his diſappointment in the mine; the conſumption of ſo much treaſure; the loſs of his gallant ſon; the violent end of his old ſervant captain *Keymis*; and above all, the general diſorder, defection, and diſperſion of his whole fleet. All together, it became not ſo much a national as a univerſal topic of diſcourſe and attention; every one cenſuring or commiſerating as their intereſt or affections mov'd. It is remember'd, by *Camden*, that captain *John North*, brother to the lord *North*, a valiant gentleman, and who was much eſteemed by *Ralegh* for his faithful conduct under him throughout this voyage, was the firſt who related the deplorable news of this unfortunate expedition to king *James*, on the 13th of *May*, 1618. [i] He ſeems to have done it in a very juſt and pathetical manner; and it might have had a good effect, had that king's pity been as eaſily touch'd as his fear. Among authors, ſome, who had been for regiſtering this commiſſion of

[a] Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 40.

[b] The poſtſcript of *Ralegh*'s letter to his lady, from *St. Chriſtopher's*, 22 *March*, in his *Remains* (laſt edition) p. 180.

[c] See his letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood* in thoſe *Remains*, p. 182, which is but a poſtſcript to his letter to the ſame perſon, printed page 169, and ſhould have followed it as ſuch at the end of page 175, as I find in a good old MS. copy of it; where it bears date from *St. Chriſtopher's*, one of the iſlands of the *Antilias*, *March* 21, 1617.

[d] Page 38.

[e] Wilſon's *Hiſtory of King* James, in the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, vol. 2, p. 713.

[f] The king's *Declaration*, p. 39, 40.

[g] " If I had a purpoſe to have turned pirate, ſays " *Ralegh*, why did I oppoſe myſelf againſt the greateſt " number of my company, and was thereby in danger " to be ſlain or caſt into the ſea, becauſe I refus'd it?" His *Apology*, p. 47.

[h] The *Declaration*, p. 38, 40.

[i] Camden's *Annals of King* James.

king

king *James* with that granted by *Alphonſo* king of *Naples* to *Bertram* his captive *Moor*, whom he entruſted both with his liberty, and a large ſum of money to buy him ſome fine horſes in *Barbary*, for which his jeſter gave him a prime place in his fool's chronicle; were now, upon the expectation of a return, ready, with the ſame jeſter, to blot out the king, and enroll the captive for a fool: but others look'd upon this action of *Ralegh*'s in a nobler and more elevated light, and as what, for the integrity of acquitting his fiduciary pledges, was rather to be compared with the generous act of that brave *Roman* conſul, *Attilius Regulus*; who, to keep his promiſe and his faith, returned to his enemies, the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been a priſoner; tho' he knew that he went to inevitable death. [a]

And now the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador having, by ſpecial advertiſements, gain'd the earlieſt intelligence of all that had paſſed at *Guiana*; and how, among the reſt, his own kinſman, the governor, had been ſlain, broke into the king's preſence in a turbulent manner, and bawling out for his majeſty's audience, only of one word, aſſaulted him with the abrupt and repeated exclamation of *Piratas! Piratas! Piratas!* At laſt he found breath and words to enlarge upon the matter ſo effectually, as what tended not only to the infringement of his majeſty's promiſe, but that happy union between the two crowns in their royal progeny, now the match between prince *Charles* and *Dona Maria*, with all the advantages it was pregnant with, was in ſuch a hopeful degree of maturity, even to the involving of both nations in the moſt durable and dreadful hoſtilities, that the pacific king of *Great Britain* was ready to do any thing in the world to appeaſe him, and huſh it up. To this purpoſe, his royal proclamation was forthwith publiſhed on the 11th of *June*; ſetting forth, that "Whereas we gave liberty to Sir *Walter* "*Ralegh* and others, to undertake a voyage to *Guiana*, where they had pretended a probabi- "lity of diſcovering gold mines, *&c.* We did, by expreſs limitation and caution, reſtrain "and forbid them from attempting any act of hoſtility upon any territories or ſubjects of "foreign princes with whom we are in amity; and more particularly, thoſe of our *dear* "*brother* the king of *Spain*, in reſpect of his dominions in that continent, which, notwith- "ſtanding, they have, by hoſtile invaſion of the town of *St. Thome*, *&c.* broken and "infring'd. We have therefore held fit to make publick declaration of our utter miſlike and "deteſtation of the ſaid inſolencies; and for the better detection and clearing up of the truth, "we charge all our ſubjects, that have any underſtanding or notice thereof, to repair to any "of our privy council, and make known their whole knowledge, that we may thereupon "proceed to the exemplary puniſhment and coercion of all ſuch as are found guilty of ſo "ſcandalous and enormous outrages." [b]

The next thing to be thought of was, a proper and plauſible inſtrument for the apprehenſion of Sir *Walter Ralegh* when he ſhould come aſhore; ſuch a one was Sir *Lewis Stucley* ſoon found to be (and not Sir *John*, as one writer erroneouſly chriſtens him [c]) who was vice-admiral of *Devon* (not lieutenant of the *Tower*, as the ſame negligent author miſtakes again.) One who, tho' *Ralegh*'s countryman, and, as all others but *Stucley* ſay, his kinſman too, yet moſt officiouſly undertook that charge, through the ſorded proſpect of profit; "ſo unnatural, "ſays *Wilſon*, and ſervile is the ſpirit when it hath an allay of baſeneſs; there being many "others fitter for that employment." [d] However, his orders were to bring up this great malefactor in a fair and courteous manner, according to his majeſty's gracious and mild courſe, as it is call'd in his *Declaration*. And tho' we are told, by one, otherwiſe miſguided in his account of this expedition, by ſome diſtorted repreſentations of it in thoſe times, "That the "world much wonder'd, ſo great a wiſe man as Sir *Walter Ralegh*, would return to caſt "himſelf upon ſo inevitable a rock as it was fear'd he would;" [e] nevertheleſs, as we are aſſured, by captain *Samuel King*, an old officer of *Ralegh*'s, who bore him company all this while, and has left us a particular *Narrative* of whatſoever occur'd in their journey from their landing now at *Plymouth*, to their final arrival at *London*, that he no ſooner put into the harbour, and heard of the proclamation aforeſaid againſt him, than he reſolved to ſurrender himſelf voluntarily into his majeſty's hands; and to that intent, both moor'd his ſhip and ſent his ſails aſhore the firſt day he landed; [f] which I take to have been in the beginning of *July*, and after he had been abſent upon this voyage a full twelve-month. Moreover, tho' he ſoon met here with ſeveral diſcouraging reports alſo, concerning the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador's ſtay at *London* only for his coming up, to proſecute him, as my ſaid manuſcript author has

Returns to *Plymouth*.

[a] Howel's *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 6; and vol. 2, p. 372.
[b] *See* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. 17, fol. 92.
[c] *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, p. 94.
[d] Reign of king *James*, in the *Compleat Hiſtory of England*, vol. 2, p. 713.
[e] Howel's *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 7.
[f] *Captain* Samuel King's *Narrative* of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Motives and Opportunities for conveying himſelf out of the Kingdom. With the Manner how he was betray'd.* MS. two ſheets, *fol.* 1618, p. 2.

it; *Ralegh* ſtill continued firm in that reſolution. The ſaid ambaſſador is, in ſome common memoirs, ſaid to have been ſent for over to *Spain* at this time; and in ſome again, that his commiſſion was expir'd; but others think, that impatience to deliver the ſucceſs of his negotiations ſpur'd him away, according to inſtruction, when he had got full aſſurance that *Ralegh* ſhould be diſpatch'd at ſome rate or other; whatever he could ſay for himſelf: for he departed for *Spain* three weeks before *Ralegh* came to *London*, having left the remainder of his buſineſs in the hands of ſome *eſpanioliz'd* partiſans at court, whom he had made ſure.[a] However,

[a] Here, ſince we are to take our leave of this *Don Diego Sarmiento*, the following remarks upon him may not be thought very digreſſory, ſince they moſtly tend to the further illuſtration of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s ſtory. His firſt coming into *England*, tho' omitted by our imperfect hiſtorians of king *James*'s reign, is remember'd, by Sir *John Finet*, in his *Obſervations touching Foreign Ambaſſadors*, to have been in 1613; being aged then, as I compute, from a date upon one of his pictures, 45 years. Therein he further appears with ſhort, thin, black hair, of a tall, meagre ſtature, with a longiſh viſage, and a cloſe, auſtere aſpect; which made his open and jocoſe humour ſo much more taking, that 'tis ſaid, he could perfectly *raviſh the heart* of our *Caledonian Soloman*, with the little jeſts, tales and fables he would ſo readily apply upon all occaſions. In the author aforeſaid, may be read this ambaſſador's weariſom ſcruples againſt the ſtate's ambaſſador, Sir *Noell Caron*, about right-hand and left, upper-hand and lower, chairs and ſtools, with ſuch like weighty and indiſpenſable points of honour among theſe ſoveraign miniſters. As to his carriage againſt Sir *Walter Ralegh*, it appears ſufficiently above, in the body of this narrative. But if he was related to that *Don Pedro Sarmiento*, a famous ſea commander, before mention'd to have been *Ralegh*'s priſoner, that accident might ſomewhat ſharpen the ſaid ambaſſador againſt him; but much more this new one of *Diego de Palameca*'s being ſlain at *St. Thome*, who was his near relation, as captain *King* tells us. However his perſecution of *Ralegh* appears with ſo much fury and intemperance throughout, as little agrees with that dexterity of management or *circumvention* which *Oſborne* calls *the buſineſs of an ambaſſador*; and for which, among other things, he thought this ſuch an incomparable agent. But indeed, it may not argue great ſtrength of abilities to carry a great ſway in the orb of government, no more than great ſtrength of ſinews to remove huge bodies in that of matter, ſo much as the great weakneſs or ſequacity of thoſe elements wherein they are centred or ſupported; and, as an ingenious writer obſerves, the power of the almighty is often evidenc'd by the weakneſs of the very inſtrument. There needed not the monſters of *Afric* to correct the ſins of the *Egyptians*, a ſwarm of locuſts could do it, and vermin formed out of the very duſt; and tho' a whole country were deſtroy'd by ſuch, will you argue, ſays he, they muſt needs have had the craft of foxes or the courage of lions? Some have intimated, that the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador could not, with all his worrying and baiting of king *James*, prevail ſo effectually for the deſtruction of Sir *Walter Ralegh* (how eaſy and tempting ſoever it might be to trample over the fence that is already broken down) but that he was forced to belabour the point with *Spaniſh* gold, among thoſe creatures who had the greateſt influence at court. For, as one writes, "The bargain was made, "and *Ralegh* was devoted for a ſacrifice before they knew "whether he was ſucceſsful or not; and, if we may "believe the accounts that are left upon record of that "part of hiſtory, the king of *Spain* gave a good ſum of "money for his head. Some have gone ſo far, as to "tell us who had the money, at leaſt a good part of it. "If this be true, the *Engliſh* court had in it, at that "time, ſome of the moſt infamous people that were "ever concern'd in any adminiſtration. As to thoſe "who reprove the king himſelf with it, I ſhall ſay no "more than this, they ought to have been very ſure of "the truth of it, before they recorded a thing of a "*Britiſh* king ſo much beneath the character of any "monarch in the world, *viz.* to take money from an "enemy for the blood of their own ſubjects, and of ſuch "ſubjects too as were moſt dangerous to the very enemy "they were ſold to; which is neither leſs nor more, "than ſelling their own ſafety, as well as innocent "blood." See *An Hiſtorical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir* Walter Ralegh, 8*vo.* 1719, p. 38. However it was, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador ſeems to have left the *Engliſh* court well ſatisfied on the 16th, and embark'd for *Spain* on the 20th of *July* 1618, having firſt emptied all the priſons in *England* of *Romiſh* prieſts, many of whom he carried with him home, further to grace his triumphs. Yet all true *Engliſhmen* conceived hopes that the late action under *Ralegh* at *Guiana*, and a tumult lately happening at the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador's houſe in *Barbican*, upon the murder of a boy, would fruſtrate the match. But this ambaſſador return'd to *England* in the beginning of *March* 1619, under pretence of purſuing that deluſive negotiation, and was lodg'd, not without murmurs, at the biſhop of *Ely*'s houſe in *Holborne*. He was alſo trick'd out with titular honours, the uſual reward of ſuch ſervices as his were; being newly made *Conde de Gondomar*, as Sir *John Finet* obſerves; otherwiſe, in the whole, not ſo ſubſtantially rewarded at home, as the ſlaviſh pains he took abroad to pleaſe his prince was thought to deſerve. The train of his other titles may be read in a pamphlet, not long after his return, dedicated to him here, call'd *The* Spaniſh Engliſh *Roſe*; *or* Engliſh Spaniſh *Pomegranate*; by a moſt fulſom flatterer, named *Michael Du Val*, who has further bolſter'd him out, as well as Sir *John Digby*, newly created baron of *Sherborne*, (another precious promoter of the faid match) with ſuch extravagant additions of falſe honours, as both diſparage and diſcredit thoſe which were real. As for the pernicious practices of this *Spaniſh* ambaſſador in *England*, which might gain him thoſe airy gratuities, they are unfolded in another tract, entitled *Vox Populi*, or *News from* Spain; *tranſlated according to the* Spaniſh *copy*; *which may ſerve to forewarn both* England *and the* United Provinces *how far to truſt to* Spaniſh *Pretences*. Printed 4*to.* 1620, reprinted, thirty-nine years after, with the title of, *A choice Narrative of Count* Gondomar's *Tranſactions during his Embaſſy in* England; (in this edition, ſaid to be) *written by Sir* Robert Cotton. The editor, *John Rowland*, had no other reaſon for aſcribing it to this renowned antiquary than his having treaſur'd it up in manuſcript, and that he died *heart-broken:* whereas he was not ſo much as *heart-grieved* when the firſt edition was publiſh'd; tho' in the *Second Part*, hereafter mention'd, he is ſaid to have made heavy complaint againſt *Gondomar*. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid editor, *Rowland*, may have obſerved juſtly enough in his dedication of it to Sir *W. Paſton*, "That *Gondomar*, with his facetious "words and geſtures, could pipe king *James* aſleep; "that he did ſometimes hold the helm himſelf, and was "near running the ſhip aground, or to have ſplit her "upon the rocks: That the influence of his ill aſpect, "and eclipſing the ſun beams, is hardly over unto this "preſent age: That his ſucceſſor, *Don Carlo Coloma*, "was thought, by many judicious men, to be more "prudent; and that *Gondomar* was but a buffoon com-"par'd to him." In the treatiſe itſelf, *Gondomar* is repreſented in a *Spaniſh* council lately held at *Aragon*, and delivering his chief ſervices to have been, 1*ſt*, His working a diſlike between king *James* and his *Houſe of Commons*, perſuading him to rule by his *prerogative*; and as for money, to furniſh himſelf by the *marriage* with *Spain* and by domeſtick projects, without any ſubſidy: alſo that he hereby kept *England* from furniſhing its navy. 2*dly*, His ſhewing only a colourable reſiſtance of our *Eaſt-India* trade, as being rather hurtful than helpful to the ſtate, by carrying out our ſolid treaſures, and bringing home ſpice, ſilk, feathers and toys; beſides waſting our mariners. 3*dly*, His oppoſing our *Weſt-Indian* voyages moſt ſtrenuouſly, as what would raiſe another *England* to with-ſtand their *New Spain* in *America*; therefore that he croſs'd all the undertakings for *Virginia* and the *Bermudas*, cauſing the recuſants, who were ſharers, to withdraw their ventures and diſcourage the work. 4*thly*, That by this means likewiſe, he kept the voluntary forces from *Venice*, till it was almoſt too late to ſuccour them. 5*thly*, That he ſtickled hard for the *Cautionary Towns*, which the late king *Philip* called the *keys* of the *Low-Countries*. And 6*thly*, That the laſt, and not the leaſt ſervice he did was, in overthrowing Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s voyage, and purſuing him, "I need not ſay *almoſt* to death, "ſays he, if all things *hit right* and *all ſtrings hold*." Further, that his commiſſion would not let him tarry to be a ſpectator of his execution, "which I deſired the rather "(ſays

However, before he left *England*, an excellent letter ſeems to have been written by *Ralegh* in his own defence, and conveyed to the king; which, as we have it in print, runs thus: "May "it pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty, If in my journey outward bound I had my men "murder'd at the *Iſlands*, and yet ſpared to take revenge; if I did diſcharge ſome *Spaniſh* "barks taken, without ſpoil; if I did forbear all parts of the *Spaniſh Indies*, wherein I might "have taken twenty of their towns on the ſea-coaſts, and did only follow the enterprize I "undertook for *Guiana*, where, without any directions from me, a *Spaniſh* village was burnt, "which was new ſet up within three miles of the mine; by your majeſty's favour, I find "no reaſon why the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador ſhould complain of me.

"If it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murder twenty-ſix *Engliſhmen*, tying them back to "back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole month, and "came to them on the land without ſo much as one ſword; and it may not be lawful for

"(ſays he) *that by conceſſion, I might have wrung from "the inconſiderate* Engliſh *an acknowledgment of my "maſter's right in thoſe places*, puniſhing him for attempt-"ing there, tho' they might preſcribe for the firſt foot. "And this I did to ſtop their mouths hereafter, and "becauſe I would quench the heat and valour of that "nation, that none ſhould dare hereafter to undertake "the like, or be ſo hardy as to look out at ſea, or "breathe upon our coaſt: and laſtly, becauſe I would "bring to ignominious death that old pirate, who is one "of the laſt, now living, bred under that *Engliſh Virago*, "and by her fleſh'd in our blood and ruin. To do this "I had many agents; firſt, divers courtiers, who were "hungry and gaped wide for *Spaniſh* gold: ſecondly, "ſome who bare him at heart for inveterate quarrels: "thirdly, ſome foreigners, who having in vain ſought "the *elixir* heretofore, hope to find it in his head: "fourthly, all men of the *Romiſh* faith, who are of the "*Spaniſh* faction, and would have been my blood-hounds "to hunt him or any ſuch to death willingly. And "laſtly, I left behind me ſuch an inſtrument, compos'd "artificially, of a ſecular underſtanding and a religious "profeſſion, as he is every way adapted to ſcrew himſelf "into the cloſet of the heart, and to work upon femi-"nine levity, who in that country have maſculine "ſpirits, to command and purſue their plots unto death." How much ſoever this may be called a fictitious ſpeech, it is founded on ſuch matters of fact, that *Ruſhworth*, and others of our moſt ſerious hiſtorians, have admitted the ſubſtance thereof as perfect hiſtory. The ſame year this pamphlet was firſt printed, there was written another, call'd *Vox Spiritûs*, or *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Ghoſt: being a Conference between Sir* Gondomar, *his majeſty*'s *ambaſſa-dor of* Spain; *the* Frier Confeſſor, *and Father* Baldwin *the Jeſuite, at* Ely-Houſe *in* Holborne, *Nov.* 20, 1620. For ſo I noted the true title to be, in a good old MS. copy of this conference, communicated to me, ſome time paſt, by Dr. *Thomas Short*, an eminent phyſician, at *Sheffield* in *Yorkſhire*. It has lately been printed in *Phœnix Britannicus*, from another good copy in the library of a very worthy gentleman, under the title of *Proſopopœia:* or *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Ghoſt*, &c. but dated as tho' written two years later, which is a miſtake, as any one would ſoon find who is acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe times. The purpoſe of this tract is, further to diſcloſe *Gondomar*'s miſchievous tranſactions in *England*; as how he lull'd and deceived king *James*, perverted ſome noblemen to the *Popiſh* religion, and corrupted the prelacy to a toleration of *Catholicks*; how the navy was neglected; what money was expended upon one *ſurvey*, to know in whoſe poſſeſſion were the *abbey-lands*; how much a ſearch coſt of our harbours and havens; and how much to enumerate the well-affected to their religion: till the ghoſt of *Ralegh* riſing, detects their deviſes under theſe five heads. 1. The propagation of the *Catholick* religion. 2. The exaltation of the pope's ſupremacy. 3. The glorification of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. 4. The extenuation of the *Low-Country*'s glory. 5. The abuſe of *England*'s ſimplicity; and the whole, finally, to decry the match with the *Infanta*. In 1622, about *Eaſter*, *Gondomar* committed a groſs *ſoleciſm* in politicks, by ſuffering his ungovernable paſſion ſo to expoſe his leiger honour, by ſtriking *William Lithgow*, the *Scotch* traveller, whom he had long deceived with promiſes of reparation for the impriſonment, tortures, and robberies committed on him by the *Inquiſition* at *Malaga*, as may be read in the book of his *Travels*; that the ſaid ambaſſador got his ears ſoundly box'd by him before a numerous crowd of noble witneſſes. "His *fiſtula*, ſays *Lithgow* (meaning, "I think, his cane, tho' alluding to his diſeaſe) was "contrabanded by a *fiſt*; and for victory, favour lent "me authority." He was impriſon'd for it nine weeks in the *Marſhalſea*; "whence I returned (ſays he) with "more credit, than he left *England* with honeſty." In *June* following, as *Camden* tells us, *Gondomar* was re-ported to be impriſon'd in *Spain*, for ſo much promoting the match; and that the *Infanta* was to be marry'd to the grand duke of *Tuſcany*. Two years after, came out *The ſecond Part of* Vox Populi, *or* Gondomar's *appearing in the Likeneſs of a* Machiavel *in a* Spaniſh *Parliament: wherein are diſcover'd his treacherous and ſubtle Practices to the Ruin as well of* England *as the* Netherlands. Tranſlated out of the *Spaniſh* copy: Printed at *Goricum*, 4to. 1624. Dedicated to *Frederick* and *Elizabeth*, king and queen of *Bohemia*, and *Maurice*, prince of *Orange*, count of *Naſſau*; by *T. S.* of *V.* alias *Thomas Scot*, as the late *Thomas Rawlinſon*, Eſq; was rightly of opinion; with pictures of *Gondomar*, his litter, and bottomleſs chair, *&c.* "Herein (ſays the author to one of thoſe princes) you "ſhall perceive the curtain drawn from before the *Spa-"niard*, that the world may, for certain, ſee he is not "ſo beautiful as many of our *Engliſh*, who ſo long have "doated on him, would make him to be; nor on the "other ſide, ſo terrible that your *Dutch* need fear him, "how grim ſoever he looks upon them." It would be too tedious to recite the particulars of his deluding and defrauding the *Engliſh* nation recorded in this pamphlet; how he wreſted preſents and penſions from the *Catholicks*, no leſs than ten thouſand pounds from Sir *Robert Cotton*'s friends and acquaintance; and from ſeveral ladies great ſums of money, to be repaid when *Dona Maria* arrived in *England*, or to prefer them at court under her; ſelling the place of groomeſs of the ſtole to ſix ſeveral ladies; and many other ſuch like profound acts of policy. But above all, that his compaſſing the ſecret of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s voyage and tranſmitting it to *Spain*, and pro-curing his death, drew the ſpecial notice and thanks of his royal ſoveraign, as the crown and maſter-piece of his negotiations. Much paper might be alſo employ'd in repeating the jeſts, ſtories, and ſayings of this *Gondomar* while among us, which have been treaſur'd up by ſome rare politicians of thoſe times; in moſt of which he was more witty than wiſe, expoſing in ſome his narrow ſpirit in matters of gratitude; and in others, frequently ridicul-ing the very religion he profeſs'd. Two years afterwards, the court was haunted with another pamphlet, call'd *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Ghoſt*; *or* England's *Forewarner*. *Diſ-covering a ſecret Conſultation newly holden in the Court of* Spain. *Together with his tormenting of* Count de Gon-domar; *and his ſtrange Affrightment, Confeſſion, and publick Recantation: laying open many Treacheries for the Subverſion of* England, *&c.* 4to. *Uitricht*, 1626: which I ſhall here ſay no more of having before quoted it in theſe ſheets; nor of another book beſides, call'd *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Ghoſt*; printed in 8*vo.* ſeveral years after; becauſe written on a ſubject which concerns not this ambaſſador. We may refer *Gondomar*'s diſgrace in the *Spaniſh* court, with the ſending over of his ſon by the king of *Spain*, a beggar of reward in king *Charles*'s court, for the ſervices of his father, to the honour of *Spaniſh hiſtory*; and conclude the little, of much that might be here ſaid more of him, in the words of an obſervant contemporary; who relating how the hy-pocritical archbiſhop of *Spalato* was made away with by poiſon, *&c.* adds, "That the ſtateſman *Gondomar*, "was requited in like ſort, notwithſtanding all his ſer-"vices for the church of *Rome*, his ſolici ations againſt "Sir *Walter Ralegh*, his catechizing of *Spalato*, &c. "For, by way of gratitude, he had, as is reported, "given him a *Spaniſh fig*, or elſe, tho' ever a merry "man, died at laſt for very grief." See *James Wadſ-worth*'s further *Obſervations of the* Engliſh Spaniſh *Pilgrim, concerning* Spain, 4*to.* 1630, p. 28.

"your

" your majeſty's ſubjects, being charged firſt by them, to repell force by force; we may " juſtly ſay, O miſerable *Engliſh!*

" If *Parker* and *Mecham* took *Campeachy* and other places in the *Honduras*, ſeated in the " heart of the *Spaniſh Indies*; burnt towns, and killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing ſaid " unto them at their return; and myſelf, who forbore to look into the *Indies*, becauſe I would " not offend, muſt be accus'd; I may as juſtly ſay, O miſerable *Ralegh!*

" If I have ſpent my poor eſtate, loſt my ſon, ſuffer'd by ſickneſs, and otherwiſe a world " of hardſhips; if I have reſiſted with manifeſt hazard of my life, the robberies and ſpoils " with which my companions would have made me rich: if when I was poor, I could have " made myſelf rich: if when I had gotten my liberty, which all men and nature itſelf do " much prize, I voluntarily loſt it: if when I was ſure of my life, I rendered it again: if I " might elſewhere have ſold my ſhip and goods, and put five or ſix thouſand pounds in my " purſe, and yet brought her into *England*; I beſeech your majeſty to believe, that all this " I have done, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid, that your majeſty had given liberty and truſt to " a man, whoſe end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your majeſty's " truſt.

" My mutineers told me, that if I returned for *England* I ſhould be undone; but I be- " lieved in your majeſty's goodneſs, more than in all their arguments. Sure, I am the " firſt that being free and able to enrich myſelf, yet hath embraced poverty and peril; and " as ſure I am, that my example ſhall make me the laſt. But your majeſty's wiſdom and " goodneſs I have made my judges; who have ever been, and ſhall ever be, your majeſty's " moſt humble vaſſal, *Walter Ralegh.*" [a]

When *Ralegh* had ſettled his affairs in the weſt of *England* he began his journey for *London*, purſuant to his firſt reſolution: but before he came to *Aſhburton*, twenty miles from *Plymouth*, he was met by Sir *Lewis Stucley*; who ſaid, " he had orders for arreſting him and " his ſhip." *Ralegh* anſwer'd, " he had ſaved him the labour, and done it to his hands." And tho' at that time *Stucley* had no warrant, as our MS. author aforeſaid goes on, for ſuch arreſt, either from the king, or the lords of the council, " for it ſeems that his haſte was ſo great, " and his heart ſo ſet upon ſome *ſuppoſed purchaſe*, that he could not ſtay for a warrant;" [b] yet *Ralegh*, being told by him, that he had ſuch a verbal commiſſion from the ſecretary, did in no wiſe reſiſt even that authority. So they went back together to *Plymouth*, and lay at Sir *Chriſtopher Harris* his houſe; where Sir *Walter Ralegh* was ſo little watch'd, that he was ſometimes two or three days without ſeeing Sir *Lewis Stucley*. And *Ralegh* himſelf ſays, that *Stucley* left him nine or ten days to go where he liſted, while he rode about the country. [c] However, as we learn from captain *King*, it did, at laſt, come into *Ralegh*'s mind (whether upon ſome private advices, how inſuperably the prejudice of his enemies was working againſt him; or any ſuggeſtions of his own, how he might work a reconciliation more ſucceſsfully from abroad, it is not ſaid, but contrive he did) to convey himſelf out of the kingdom. Therefore, while they were at *Plymouth*, he employ'd our author, the ſaid captain *King* to provide him a bark that would carry him over into *France*. King *James*'s *Declaration* ſays, *Ralegh* dealt for a bark, as for a friend, and proffered twelve crowns for the paſſage: [d] *Stucley* ſays, he dealt with two captains of *French* barks: [e] the *Declaration* ſays, *Ralegh* was then under no guard, and *Stucley*, that he was then under his keeping. But leaving theſe inconformities to others, I here follow captain *King*, who informs us, that himſelf procur'd the veſſel, which is moſt likely, and that he detain'd it nigh four days, riding at anchor beyond command of the fort. The firſt night, about one of the clock, they ſecretly took boat to have gone aboard, but before they reach'd the bark, *Ralegh*, whether through ſome more prevailing thought that might ariſe of a generous reliance upon the king, or a more confident dependance upon the juſtice of his cauſe, or for any thing he left behind, or would have firſt left either in writing or otherwiſe, does not yet appear; but certain it is he changed his reſolution, and returned to his lodging unſuſpected by any one. The next day, he ſent money to the maſter of the bark, to retain him one night more; and yet *Ralegh* never went nigh him afterwards.

It has been objected, as captain *King* goes on, (who does not ſay by whom, but I find it in the king's *Declaration* [f]) that *Ralegh* was obliged to return, becauſe the night was ſo dark

[a] Sir *Walter Ralegh* to king *James*, after his return from *Guiana*; printed in his *Remains*, and compared with ſome manuſcript copies.

[b] Captain *King*'s Narrative, &c. MS. as before.

[c] *Idem*, and Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Dying Speech.

[d] The *Declaration*, p. 41, 42.

[e] Stucley's *Petition and Information*, &c. p. 5, 6.

[f] King *James*'s Declaration, p. 42.

that

that he could not find the veſſel. " but I (ſays the captain) who was with him, will take my " oath, that if he had been only willing to have rowed a quarter of a mile farther, he might " have ſeen her. Beſides, if that night would not have ſerved, one of the other three would, " the wind being fair, and the tide falling out conveniently.

AFTER this, ſays captain *King*, *Stucley* received a warrant to bring up Sir *Walter Ralegh*, but with no more ſpeed than his health would permit; and he took to his aſſiſtance, one *Manourie*, a *French* quack, " upon what occaſion (ſays *King*) I here willingly omit, as well " becauſe I would not meddle with any *inſtrument of ſtate*, as becauſe I, little ſuſpecting what " followed, was ſomewhat careleſs in the obſervance of their carriage."

IN their journey they baited and lodg'd at divers gentlemen's houſes of *Ralegh*'s acquaintance upon the road, from ſome of whom hearing, more diſtinctly the nearer he approach'd it, what a ſtorm his enemies had brew'd at court, he began to regret his having neglected the opportunity he had at *Plymouth* of retiring; which he diſcourſed of to his lady and to me, ſays captain *King*, who told him, " He could blame none but himſelf." But after that peremptory warrant which a purſuivant brought down for the ſpeedy bringing up of his perſon, he began again to meditate upon a retreat; tho', as he grew more deſirous, it grew more difficult. Therefore, when he had made ſuch inland advancement on his journey as to have no means left that would favour him by water, " He once more employed me (ſays captain *King*) who " was always ready to do any thing that might procure his ſafety; *being well aſſur'd in my* " *own conſcience*, tho' he ſought to abſent himſelf till the *Spaniſh* fury was over, yet, as he " always ſaid, *That no miſery ſhould make him diſloyal to his king or country.* And altho' " *Manourie*, in his *Declaration*, ſets down that Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſhould, to him in private, " *ſpeak ill* of his majeſty; yet I muſt proteſt till my laſt hour, that in all the years I followed " him, *I never heard him name his majeſty but with reverence*: I am ſorry the aſſertion of " that man ſhould prevail ſo much againſt the dead."

The particulars of captain *King*'s employment for this ſecond eſcape, we ſhall reſpite a while, to make way for thoſe, which, according to the due courſe of time, muſt now be recur'd to out of that *Frenchman's Declaration*, as captain *King* calls it above, and ſhall do it with ſuch juſtice as not to omit or diſguiſe any of the ill words, againſt his majeſty, aſcribed to *Ralegh* therein. But can only do it from that which was ſuffer'd to appear after *Ralegh*'s death, annexed to king *James* his *Declaration*; and thereby chuſe rather to hazard a treſpaſs upon the patience of ſome readers, who may think it a detail of improbable, at leaſt inſignificant objections, than incur the cenſure of partiality from others in omitting it; ſince king *James*, and conſequently his council, thought it would paſs for matter of ſuch importance, by their making it ſo great a part of what was hoped would juſtify his proceedings againſt *Ralegh*; and of ſuch authority, as to need no other evidence: not that it is there too expreſſively or poſitively call'd *Manourie*'s *Declaration*, or his confeſſion or examination upon oath, but by a pretty, light, pliable phraſe, 'tis ſaid, " The ſtory himſelf reporteth to have paſs'd in this manner."

UPON *Saturday*, the 25th of *July*, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Sir *Lewis Stucley*, and the ſaid *Manourie* went to lie at Mr. *Drake*'s, where the letters of commiſſion from the privy council were brought to Sir *Lewis Stucley*, and that *Ralegh* hereat changing countenance, exclaimed with an oath, *Is it poſſible my fortune ſhould return upon me thus again?* This haſtening their departure, they advanc'd on *Sunday* morning nearer to *London* about four miles, and baited at Mr. *Horſey*'s. That here *Ralegh* firſt cauſed *Manourie* to be ſounded what was in his heart (ſuſpecting, apparently, that he was deſigned as a ſpy over him) by his old domeſtick, captain *King*; who, diſcourſing *Manourie* upon *Ralegh*'s calamities, ſaid, *I wiſh we were all at* Paris. *Manourie* anſwer'd, *I would we were all at* London; *what ſhould we do at* Paris? *Becauſe*, ſaid *King*, *as ſoon as we come to* London, *they will commit Sir* Walter *to the* Tower, *and cut off his head.* *Manourie* ſaid, *he hoped better things, and that, according to his ability, he was ready to do him all honeſt ſervice.* After dinner they ſet forward for *Sherborne*; and here *Ralegh* is ſaid to tell *Manourie*, *All that was his, and the king had unjuſtly taken it from him.* *Manourie*, and *Ralegh*'s retinue lay in the town that night; but *Ralegh* himſelf and *Stucley*, at old Mr. *Parham*'s. On *Monday* they got to *Salisbury*, where, as *Ralegh* was walking on foot down the hill, and had found, by enquiry, that *Manourie* had got ſome phyſick about him, he deſired him to prepare a vomit againſt morning. " For I know," ſaid he, (as he is here repreſented, with a ſurpriſing faith already in ſuch a man) " 'twill " be good to evacuate bad humours; and by this means, I ſhall gain time to work my friends, " order my affairs, and perhaps pacify his majeſty: otherwiſe, as ſoon as I come to *London*, " they'll have me to the *Tower*, and cut off my head, which I cannot eſcape without coun-

terfeiting ſickneſs, which your vomits will effect without ſuſpicion." Accordingly that, at *Salisbury*, he complained of a dimneſs of ſight, with a dizzineſs in his head; and, when he was conducted towards his chamber, that he ſtagger'd, and ſtruck himſelf with ſuch violence againſt a pillar in the gallery, as made *Stucley* think he was ſick indeed; and in that belief, *Manourie* left him for that time. On *Tueſday* morning, *Ralegh* ſent his lady with the greateſt number of his ſervants forwards to *London*; and now it was he alſo ſent captain *King* thither, on the expedition aforeſaid (whom we ſhall meet with there, prepared for the ſame, as ſoon as *Manourie* is brought to an end of this ſame ſtory.) Then comes a ſervant of *Ralegh*'s, into *Stucley*'s chamber, and declares his maſter was out of his wits, that he left him in his ſhirt, upon all four, ſcratching and gnawing the ruſhes on the planks. *Stucley* ſent *Manourie*, who found him in bed; and aſking "what he ail'd?" he anſwer'd, "Nothing; "but that he did it on purpoſe." That then *Ralegh* aſked for the vomit, and took it without any heſitation. At *Stucley*'s entrance, that he fell a raving; and, before his vomit operated, had ſuch ſtrong convulſions upon him, that *Stucley*, and all the help he could get, were not ſtrong enough to prevent the contraction of his ſinews as faſt as the company could draw them ſtraight, inſomuch that *Stucley* cauſed him to be chaf'd and fomented, but that *Ralegh*, truly, afterwards laugh'd at it to *Manourie*, and ſaid (ſuch a confident is he now grown!) *he had made* Stucley *a perfect phyſician.*

In the next place, *Ralegh* muſt be obſerved to take ſome repoſe; ſo *Manourie* is ſhut into the room with him, and having diſſuaded him from a more violent vomit, becauſe his firſt did not yet work, *Ralegh* aſk'd, if he knew not of ſome preparation which would make him look ghaſtly and irkſome outwardly, and not affect the vitals, or make him inwardly ſick. After a pauſe, *Manourie* aſſur'd him he could furniſh him with a harmleſs ointment, which would yet ſoon make him all over like a leper. "Whereby, we are told, *Ralegh* ſaid, "the "lords would be afraid to approach him, and that it would move their pity beſides." Soon after he had been thus anointed on the brows, arms and breaſt, the bliſters roſe ſo ſucceſsfully, and ſo ſoon ripen'd to their full diſcolourations, that *Stucley*, at his next viſit, perceiving *Ralegh*'s body all broke out in purple ſpots with yellow heads, and the reſt of his ſkin ſo inflamed with heat, concluded he was ſtruck over with the plague, and that it was highly contagious. But aſking *Manourie*'s opinion, he truly concealed all, for that, as yet, he knew nothing of *Ralegh*'s intended flight; but thought it was only to gain time to ſatisfy his majeſty. However, away went *Stucley* to the grave biſhop *Andrewes*, then upon the point of his tranſlation to *Wincheſter*, and ſoon made known what a frightful figure Sir *Walter Ralegh* was become; deſcribed all the tokens upon him, and, in the end, return'd with two doctors, and one batchelor of phyſick. All their ſkill could not enlighten them with one ſpark of knowledge in the nature of his diſtemper; but they gave their opinion in writing, that the patient could not be removed into the air without manifeſt hazard of his life; and *Manourie* ſet his hand to it.

Here, *Ralegh* is deſcrib'd to have been much delighted that matters went on ſo proſperouſly, eſpecially that the vomit worked ſo thoroughly in the preſence of theſe learned doctors. But having apprehended they would inſpect his water, he directed *Manourie* to rub the urinal with a certain drug, which turned all to ſuch a diſmal colour, and ſuch a diſagreeable ſcent, that if heaven did not preſcribe, the patient muſt periſh; for nothing could the phyſicians do but pronounce the diſeaſe mortal. Further, that he then made *Manourie* bind his arm about with the black ſilk ribband which he took from his poniard; but that not diſtempering his pulſe agreeable to expectation, he had more bliſters raiſed the next day. By this time his phyſick having opened his ſtomach and made him hungry, he got *Manourie* ſecretly to buy a leg of mutton and three loaves, which he fed upon in private, and by this ſubtilty, was thought to have faſted three days, that is to *Friday* the laſt of *July*, ever feigning great indiſpoſition and uneaſineſs in company; but when alone, for to get the opportunity of being ſo was the chief ſource of all the artifice he did here really put in practice, he wrote his declaration or *Apology*, and is ſaid to have got *Manourie* to make him a tranſcript of it; which was, as the penman of this ſtory further ſays, *ſince* preſented to his majeſty. But by an expreſſion of that ambiguity and latitude, whether we are deſigned to underſtand it was *before* or *after Ralegh*'s death; that penman, intelligent enough in other parts of *Manourie*'s ſaid *ſtory*, and the reſt of the king's *Declaration* (for they were both of them viſibly caſt in one mould) might think it not neceſſary to be ſo here. It was ſurely a moſt vexatious ſtratagem, that *Ralegh* ſhould unexpectedly make ſuch a provoking vindication of his voyage, and thereby defeat the preparations that were

Writes his *Apology*.

were making to cut him off for it: but however it may, in the opinion of posterity, have cleared his innocence; among his contemporaries, it could not secure his safety.

The same night, as the story goes on, apparently to raise inflammations beyond his own person, he insinuated to *Stucley*, that he thought he had taken poison at Mr. *Parham*'s, for that he was a *Papist*, and kept a priest in his house; but desired, and particularly to *Monsieur*, that it might not be spoken of. A while after, being in his bed-chamber undress'd, and no body present but his friend *Manourie*, he is said to have taken a looking-glass in his hand to admire his spotted face, and to have merrily observed to his said confident, *how they should one day laugh for having thus cozen'd the king, council, physicians, and* Spaniards *and all.*

On the first of *August*, being the day that the king arrived in his progress at *Salisbury*, *Ralegh* is said to have taken *Manourie* in private, and having open'd a red leather trunk, put into his hand nine pieces of *Spanish* gold, saying, "There is twenty crowns in pistolets, "which I give you for your physical receipts, and the victuals you bought me: and I will "give you fifty pounds a year if you will do what I tell you; and if Sir *Lewis Stucley* asks "what conference you have had with me, tell him that you comfort me in my adversity, "and that I make you no other answer than what is here written," giving him a piece of paper containing these words, "*Ve la, M. Manourie, l'acceptance de tous mes travaux; perte* "*de mon estate, et de mon fils; mes maladies et douleurs: Ve la, c'effect de ma confience au* "*roy.*" [b] Which paper of *Ralegh*'s own hand-writing, was afterwards produced by *Manourie.*

And now *Ralegh* is pretended to practise more unreservedly still about the escape with *Manourie*, as being all in his power to aid him, and he the only person trusted by *Stucley.* Whereupon he proposes, that *Ralegh*, at his coming to *London*, should lie *perdue* at a friend of *Manourie*'s in *Shire-Lane*, which did not long engage his approbation, for *Ralegh* resolved otherwise; telling this only person trusted by *Stucley* (through an incredible profuseness of communication) "that he had sent captain *King* to hire him a bark below *Gravesend*, which "would go with all winds, and another little boat to carry him to it." Adding, that "to "hide himself in *London*, he should be always apprehensive of a discovery by the general "searchers that are there; but that to escape, he must get leave to go to his own house, and "being there, he would so handle the matter as to slip from *Stucley* through a back-door into "the boat with ease; for no body would dream he could go on foot, seeing him so feeble as "he seemed to be." Then that *Manourie* should say, "Why would you fly? your *Apology* "and your last *declaration*, do they not sufficiently justify you?" and that *Ralegh* should silence him with, "Tell me no more; a man that fears, is never secure."

In the next place, *Ralegh* is said to have procur'd the king's licence to be at his own house when he should come to *London*: and that when *Manourie* hereupon observed, his majesty seemed not inclin'd to take away his life, since he suffer'd him to repair to his own habitation for the recovery of his health; that *Ralegh* should reply, "They used all these kinds of flatteries "to the duke of *Biron*, to draw him fairly into prison, and then they cut off his head." Adding, "I know they have concluded among them, it is expedient that a man should die to re-assure "the traffick which I have broken with *Spain.*" Thereupon, says our story, he broke forth into the most hateful and traiterous words against the king's own person (but it surprisingly

[a] *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Apology for his Voyage to* Guiana, was not publish'd, that I can find, before 1650, and then commonly annexed to his *Select Essays*, printed in 8*vo.* the same year, where it contains 58 pages. But in *Henry Hexam*'s *Tongue-Combat between two Soldiers in the* Gravesend *Tilt-boat*, 4to. 1623, p. 75, *&c.* it is quoted as a piece then well known, in manuscript at least, if not in print. And *T. Chaloner* must have had a knowledge of this *Apology*, or of *Ralegh*'s *Journal*, when among the verses prefix'd to *T. Gage*'s *Survey of the* West-Indies, *Fol.* 1648, he said,

Renowned *Ralegh twice* did undertake
With *labour* great, and *dangers* not a few,
A *true discovery* of these parts to make,
And thereof *wrote* both what he *saw* and *knew.*

This *Apology* was afterwards reprinted with the *Essays* abovementioned in 1667. And again with the *Abridgment of* Ralegh's *History of the World*, 8vo. 1700. But neither of the printed editions is so correct, in names, places, numbers, *&c.* as some manuscripts, in being, might probably have render'd them; particularly one copy presented to the library of *St. John*'s college, *Cambridge*, by the learned and reverend Mr. *Thomas Baker*; containing 22 pages in a small hand, *folio.* This is dated two days after *Ralegh*'s death, and sent by way of letter, from one *who had long somewhat inwardly known him*, to a friend; which particular we have not in the printed copies; but it begins as those in print do, with these words, *If ill success of this enterprize of mine had been without example*, &c. There is also a good old copy or two of this *Apology* among Sir *Hans Sloane*'s MS. collections, mark'd, in his library, A. 271, and B. 521. Other manuscripts there are also of it in other libraries of the learned. As to the character of it, no more need be said than in captain *King*'s words, where he "refers "those who would be satisfied about this voyage, to an "*Apology* written by *Ralegh* himself, *in which he hath* "*faithfully and truly set down* (says he) *all the passages* "*thereof.*"

[b] As much as to say, "Behold there, *M. Manourie*, "the fruit of all my toils; the loss of my fortune and "of my son, the sickness I have endured and the sor-"rows: behold there, the effect of that faith I repo-"sed in his majesty." But behold where? ——for that *ve la* or *voila*, repeated as it is, plainly points at some more copious or convincing evidence which accompanied this expression, and more particularly demonstrated those losses and afflictions to have been the fruit of *Ralegh*'s trust or faith in the king; to which these words appear but a bare direction; and which therefore seems here to have been suppress'd.

omits

omits them all to object only his) ending with this improbable rant, " that if he could but " ſave himſelf for this time, he would plot ſuch *Plots* as ſhould make the king think himſelf " happy to ſend for him again, and reſtore him to his eſtate with advantage; yea, and would " force the king of *Spain* to write into *England* in his favour."

NAY, when *Manourie* (as we are further perſuaded) ſhewed ſuch care and concern for *Stucley* as to aſk, what would become of him if *Ralegh* eſcap'd? Whether he would be put to death, or loſe his office and eſtate? *Ralegh* is ſaid to anſwer, " Not to death; but he would " be impriſon'd for a while, yet his lands were aſſured to his eldeſt ſon, and for the reſt it was " no part of his care." Then *Manourie* aſks, if it were not treaſon in himſelf to be aiding to his eſcape? " No; anſwers *Ralegh*, you are a foreigner. However, if you pretend to know " any thing, they'll put you in priſon." " But what if I am diſcover'd to have a hand in " your eſcape?" ſays t'other. " Why follow me into *France*, your own country, replies " *Ralegh*; quit all and I will make amends for all."

As they travell'd, between *Andover* and *Stains*, *Manourie*, as this ſtory that is aſcrib'd to him acknowledges, diſcovered *Ralegh*'s intended eſcape to *Stucley*, who thenceforth uſed extraordinary diligence in guards and watches upon him, which *Ralegh perceiving*, as it is alſo own'd, nevertheleſs truſts *Manourie* with a new propoſal at *Stains* in theſe words; " I ſee it is not poſſible to " eſcape by our two means alone, *Stucley* is ſo watchful, and ſets ſuch ſtrict guard upon me, " and will be too hard for us with all our cunning; therefore there is no way but to make him " of our council; and if we can perſuade him to let me ſave myſelf, I will give him in hand " the worth of two hundred pounds ſterling." Upon theſe words, he drew forth and ſhewed *Manourie* a jewel made in the faſhion of hail, powder'd with diamonds, having a ruby in the middle, valued at a hundred and fifty pounds ſterling; and putting it into his hands ſaid, " Beſides this jewel, he ſhall have fifty pounds in money: pray tell him as much from me, " and perſuade him to it, I know he will truſt you."

THIS overture being made by *Manourie*, *Stucley*, after ſome parley, ſent back word by him to *Ralegh*, " *that he would accept of his offer*, and bad him tell *Ralegh he was* " *content to do as he had deſired*: but would chuſe rather to go with him than tarry behind " with ſhame and reproach;" directing *Manourie* further to aſk, " how this could be done " without loſing his office of vice-admiral, which coſt him ſix hundred pounds; alſo to " what place they ſhould go, how they ſhould live afterwards, and what means he would " carry with him to furniſh this intended eſcape?" *Ralegh* obviates all this with praying him to tell *Stucley*, " that if he would ſwear unto him not to diſcover him, he would tell him his " whole intent; and that for the firſt point, tho' *Stucley* were to loſe his office, he ſhould yet " be no loſer; that as ſoon as he was got into *France* or *Holland*, his wife was to ſend him " a thouſand pounds; and that he ſhould carry with him only a thouſand crowns in money " and jewels to ſerve at preſent." After ſupper, *Ralegh* is further repreſented ſo open, ſo contrary to all his former character, and beyond all manner of belief, as to ſay, " O if I " could eſcape without *Stucley*, I ſhould do bravely; but its no matter, I'll carry him along, " and afterwards diſpatch myſelf of him well enough." Then *Manourie* having appriſed *Stucley* of all that paſs'd, brought them together. *Ralegh* ſhewed the jewel, and, probably, deliver'd it, for *Stucley* ſhewed himſelf content, and it was probably upon the acceptance of it, but deſired a little reſpite to diſpoſe of his office. *Manourie*, having thus ſeen the agreement made, took his leave of them for *London* (the part deſign'd for him ending here) after having ſaid to *Ralegh*, " he did not think of ſeeing him again, while he was in *England*." *Ralegh*, at parting, gave him, by a letter to a perſon at *Radford*, an iron furnace, with a diſtillatory of copper belonging to it; and charged him " to tell every body he met, how ſick he was, " and that he left him in an extreme looſeneſs that very night."

BUT as *Ralegh* had diſpatch'd captain *King* to *London* with inſtructions to be in readineſs for him, he kept moving on; when there fell out an accident which gave him freſh hopes to facilitate his eſcape. For when he came to his inn at *Brentford*, he was met by a *Frenchman*, named *La Cheſnay*, a follower of *Le Clerc*, agent from the *French* king; who told *Ralegh*, the ſaid *French* agent was very deſirous to ſpeak with him, as ſoon as he got to *London*, about ſome affairs which highly concerned his ſafety. Accordingly the next night after *Ralegh* was at *London*, the ſaid *Le Clerc* and *La Cheſnay* came to viſit him at his houſe: and there *Le Clerc* offer'd him a *French* bark, which he had prepared for him to eſcape in; and withal, his letters recommendatory for his ſafe conduct and reception, to the governor of *Calais*; and to ſend a gentleman expreſly that ſhould attend and meet him there. But *Ralegh* underſtanding the *French* bark not to be ſo ready nor ſo fit as that he had already propoſed for himſelf,

himſelf, gave him thanks, and told him, that he would make uſe of his own bark, but for his letters, and the reſt of his offer, that he ſhould be beholden to him, becauſe his acquaintance in *France* was worn out. [a] With this paſſage, and a word or two only of *Ralegh*'s attempt to eſcape, after he came to *London*, it not being thought proper here to expatiate upon the arts uſed in betraying it, ends the tedious fardel of objections accumulated to render him unworthy of mercy in the king's *Declaration*, and the ſtory aſcribed to the obſcure *Frenchman* aforeſaid in it, but unconfirmed by any affidavit or evidence upon oath, which, in other ſuch caſes, have been thought neceſſary vouchers: therefore how far to be call'd heinous offences, acts of hoſtility, depredations, abuſes of his charge, impoſtures and declenſions of juſtice, the reader may now firſt give his own judgment, and then compare it with what has been before ſaid of theſe accuſations by others. [b]

And now comes on the remainder of captain *King*'s *Narrative*; wherein he tells us, that from *Salisbury* he was ſent before to *London* to provide a boat, and to lay her as low as *Tilbury*; and that he was alſo advis'd to put one *Cotterell* in truſt, who had been *Ralegh*'s ſervant, for the proviſion of a wherry. As ſoon as *King* came to *London*, he dealt with *Cotterell*, who ſeemed as willing to do Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſervice as himſelf; but telling him of one *Hart*, who had been boatſwain to the ſaid captain's ſhip, and had a *ketch* of his own; with him the captain therefore agreed, and gave him money to get it in readineſs, having vowed ſecrecy upon the reward which the captain further promiſed him. But he had no ſooner received the *thirty pieces of ſilver* than he betray'd the deſign to Mr. *William Herbert*, who as ſuddenly made it known; but *King* not ſuſpecting any diſcovery, ſtill fed *Hart* with money to keep the *ketch* at *Tilbury*.

[a] *Ralegh* might ſay this to get his recommendation the ſtronger, but indeed his fame was now in high requeſt at the *French* court. For one of the nobleſt ſcholars in *France*, *Nicholas Claudius Fabricius*, lord of *Peireſk*, writing, ſoon after, a letter over to *Camden*, concludes it with theſe words, *J'ay eu un grand deſplaiſir d'entendre le mauvais ſuccez de la* navigation *de my lord* Rallé; *parce que c'eſt* un perſonage, dont la *valeur* et le *merite* ſont en grande recommendation: *s'il ſe fait aucune relation de ſon* voyage, *je ſeray bien aiſe de la voir. Camdeni Epiſtolæ*, 2°. 1691, p. 243. The original of this letter, written by the ſaid *Peireſkus* to *Camden*, is preſerv'd in the *Cotton* library.

As for that negotiation of this *French* agent with Sir *Walter Ralegh* after he arrived at *London*, to remove him from thoſe who thirſted after his blood, into the protection of a ſtate which better knew how to value his great accompliſhments, it was not ſo cloſely manag'd by them, but it took wind at court, inſomuch that *Monſieur de la Cheſnaye* was brought to an examination before the lords, and having confeſs'd his being employ'd by *Le Clerc* in the deſign of conveying Sir *Walter Ralegh* to *France*, he was, in *September* following, committed to a juſtice of peace's houſe in the nature of a cloſe priſoner. *Le Clerc* was alſo cited to appear before the *council*. And here, through thoſe eternal *peccadillos* which are ever brambling the courſe of embaſſies, aroſe a diſpute, which however juſtifiably it might be maintain'd by the ſaid *French* ambaſſador, ſeems yet to have added ſome fuel to the fire of indignation already kindled againſt Sir *Walter Ralegh*. For *Le Clerc* declar'd, he would continue dumb to all their interrogatories till he ſhould be uſed with that diſtinction which others, qualified as he was, had before been. Inſtancing, that Sir *W. Becher*, then agent for king *James* in *France*, had, at an audience before the council of ſtate, claimed the right, in honour of his repreſentative quality, of not propounding his buſineſs till the lords of the council ſhould *ſtand* up as he did, and be *uncover'd* as he was: for, being in that place ambaſſador, he ſhould be allowed to ſet and be cover'd, as the counſellors were at the time of their audience. This, *Le Clerc* affirmed, had been yielded to by the king his maſter's counſellors, and therefore he challeng'd the like reſpect from their lordſhips. The lords anſwer'd, that different countries had their different forms of treaty; and that the manner of proceeding in *France*, was no rule for ours in *England*. But *Le Clerc* perſiſted inflexibly in his right to this privilege. Then the lords, neither to comply with his demand, nor conſtrain his reſolution, determin'd to lay aſide all form or ceremony, by retiring, promiſcuouſly, into another room, no ways affected with the obſervances of the *council-chamber*, and there to diſcourſe over his tranſactions in favour of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as a matter of private and indifferent converſation. Here *Le Clerc* made many ſolemn proteſtations that he knew nothing at all of the matter, till at length, after the confrontment of *Le Cheſnay*, and his re-confeſſion of their employment for Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s eſcape, *Le Clerc* could no longer face it out, but confeſs'd it likewiſe himſelf. King *James* being informed thereof, *Le Clerc* had notice given him by the lords, to forbear all further exerciſe of his charge, and not to appear at court, till it ſhould be known, by the return of a meſſenger they had ſent expreſs to *France*, whether the king his maſter would herein avow his miniſter's actions. This was on, or not long after, the 17th of *September*; ſoon after Sir *W. Becher* was confin'd to his houſe in *France*; and about a month after, a diſpatch came over to *Le Clerc* with particular charge to deliver it himſelf into king *James*'s own hand, to try if he could by that means, recover himſelf again at court. Away poſted *Le Clerc* to *Royſton*, where the king then was, and offering, himſelf to preſent the letters, could gain no admiſſion; but being refer'd to the lords in waiting, he ſaid, he would either perſonally, according to his inſtructions, or not at all, perform that ſervice. So he returned to *London*, and from thence, in a few days, or about a week before Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s death, to *France*, with his letters undeliver'd; and the revocation of the *Engliſh* agent thereupon enſued. See *Camden*'s Annals of King *James*; but chiefly *Finetti Philoxenis:* or choice *Obſervations of Sir* John Finet, *Maſter of the Ceremonies to the two laſt Kings, touching the Reception, Precedence, Treatment, Audience, Punctilios and Conteſts of foreign Ambaſſadors in* England, 8vo. 1656, p. 56. Alſo *L' Ambaſſadeur, et ſes Fonctions, par Monſieur de Wiquefort*, 4°. 1690, tom. 1. p. 397. where, tho' he ſays, *La cour de France auroit bien voulu maintenir ſon miniſtre*; yet that after monſieur *Le Clerc* returned to *France*, *il ne fut pas fort conſideré depuis ce temps là*. Such the fate of unſucceſsful ſervice!

[b] Upon the great murmurs and diſcontent among the people, which ſo generally aroſe at the putting of Sir *Walter Ralegh* to death, inſomuch that, tho' one of *Eſſex*'s adverſaries, he was pitied even by *Eſſex*'s friends; "King *James*, after the mode of weak and ill-conſulted "princes (ſays *Oſborne*) ſet forth a *Declaration*; which, "according to the ordinary ſucceſs of ſuch apologies, "*render'd the condition of that proceeding worſe in the world's* "*opinion*." Another author obſerving, "Such is the power "of envy, and ſo really criminal it is to be maſter of "more merit than ſuch a prince knew how to value, and "to have done ſervices which they could not ſufficiently "reward, that this alone was *Ralegh*'s crime:" and having obſerved that his very enemies had ackowledged the reaſonableneſs of his attempt at *Guiana*, with the juſt meaſures he took to put it in execution; and, beſides his perſonal valour and publick conduct, the excellence of all the diſpoſitions he made for his expedition, concludes (with regard to the king's *Declaration*,) "That *they had* "*not any thing to lay to his charge on that part, but what* "*was ſo evidently malicious, and ſo fooliſh in the con-*"*trivance alſo, as made all men aſhamed that heard it.*" See the *Hiſtorical Account of Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Voyages and Adventures*, 8vo. 1719, p. 37, 38.

On *Friday* night, which was the 7th of *Auguſt*, Sir *Walter Ralegh* came to *London*,[a] when captain *King* attended on him at his lodgings, but was told by *Ralegh* that he could in no wiſe get ready to go off that night. It ſeems to be the next day that *Stucley* got his warrant to indemnify him for any contract he ſhould enter into with Sir *Walter Ralegh*, or to authorize his compliance with any offer he ſhould make him for his eſcape, or in ſhort, as others have not ſpared to call it, a licence to betray him; for tho' *Ralegh* might now have been ſecured in a direct and undiſguiſed manner, yet the glory was to do it inſidiouſly, and under the vizor of friendſhip; being not more ſuitable to the genius of predominant power, than neceſſary on the preſent occaſion, to give room for ſo many more little circumſtances of objection as might occur to ſupply the place of one wanting, that ſhould have been capital. And this night it was that the *French* ambaſſador aforeſaid, came to *Ralegh*'s houſe, and made the propoſal before recited. But when captain *King* came to him again the ſame night, *Ralegh* ſaid there was no going now without *Stucley*, whom he doubted not but he ſhould engage to go along with him, and that the next night, without failure, he would meet the captain at the *Tower Dock*. As for Mr. *Herbert*, aforeſaid, he was employ'd in *garrowing* Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s houſe, as the captain phraſes it, while *Ralegh*, being thus drawn out of it by *Stucley*, under pretence of bearing him company, might be the more unexpectedly ſeiz'd with all ſuch private papers as he ſhould have about him; in hopes, no doubt, that by one means or other, ſomething might turn out to make a charge of ſufficient weight againſt him. But, in the concluſion, ſays our ſaid author, all the papers which were found, proved to be no other, than what might, without any diſcredit, have been laid open to all the world.

Captain *King* went, as he further tells us, on *Sunday* night to the place appointed with two wherries; and Sir *Walter Ralegh* alſo came thither; having put on a falſe beard, and a hat with a green hatband. He was accompanied with Sir *Lewis Stucley*, young *Stucley*, and his own page. Then aſking captain *King*, if all things were ready? he anſwer'd, they were, and that the cloak-bag and the four piſtols were in the boat. *Stucley* then ſaluted captain *King*, and aſk'd, *whether* thus far *he had not diſtinguiſhed himſelf an honeſt man?* to which *King* anſwer'd, *that he hop'd he would* continue *ſo*.

After they enter'd the boats and divided the piſtols, they had not rowed above twenty ſtrokes before the watermen told them, that Mr. *Herbert* had lately taken boat, and made as if he would have gone through-bridge, but returned down the river after them. This raiſed ſome apprehenſion in *Ralegh*, but, upon *Stucley*'s encouragement, they rowed on; yet *Ralegh*, not well ſatisfied, called captain *King* near to him, who was in the other boat with young *Stucley* and *Hart*, and intimated, that he could not go forward unleſs he was ſure of the watermen, whom he then alſo ſpake to, aſking, whether, if any ſhould come to arreſt them in the king's name, they would row forwards or return. At this, the great boobies were ſo frightned that they cry'd, and anſwer'd, they knew no body there but captain *King*, who had hired them to *Graveſend*; and that they neither dared, nor would go any further. *Ralegh* ſaid, that a brabbling matter with the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, was the cauſe that of neceſſity he muſt go to *Tilbury* to embark for the *Low Countries*; and that he would give them ten pieces of gold for their pains.

Then began *Stucley*'s part, curſing and damning himſelf that he ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to venture his life and fortune with a man ſo full of doubts and fears. He ſwore that if the watermen would not row on, he would kill them; and perſuaded *Ralegh* that there was no ſuch danger as he ſuſpected; of which opinion captain *King* alſo ſtill was. Thus the time paſt till they drew near *Greenwich*, when a wherry croſs'd them, which *Ralegh* ſaid came to diſcover them. *King* ſought to diſſuade him from this ſuppoſition, and told him, that if they could but reach *Graveſend*, he would hazard his life to get to *Tilbury*. Theſe delays ſpent the tide, and the watermen ſaid, it was impoſſible to get to *Graveſend* before morning. Hereupon *Ralegh* would have landed at *Purfleet*, and *Hart* would have poſſeſs'd him, that tho' it was night he could procure him horſes to *Tilbury*. *Stucley* appeared very zealous for this propoſal, and ſaid, that upon that condition he could be content to carry the cloak-bag on his own ſhoulders half a mile; but *King* told him, that if they could not go by water, it was impoſſible, at that time of night, to get horſes to go by land.

By this time they had rowed as far as *Woolwich*, or rather about a mile beyond, which might be to a reach call'd the *Gallions* near *Plumſtead*. Here, approaching two or three ketches, *Hart* began to doubt whether any one of them was his. Upon this, *Ralegh* con-

[a] *Camden*, in his *Annals of King James*, ſays, *Ralegh* was brought to *London* on the 9th of *Auguſt* 1618; but, as I compute from the king's *Declarations*, it is a miſtake. He alſo in the ſame article, confirms *Stucley*'s acceptance of the bribe to eſcape with *Ralegh*.

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cluded they were all betray'd, and bid the watermen turn back, hoping to have got to his own houſe before morning; and began to examine *Hart* very ſtrictly; who pretended he had given his men expreſs charge not to ſtir from *Tilbury* till he came down; but this would not induce *Ralegh* to proceed. Before they had rowed back a furlong, they eſpied another wherry, and hailing her, they ſaid they were for the king. *Ralegh* perceiving they were ſome of Mr. *Herbert*'s crew, propoſed to *Stucley*, ſeeing they were diſcover'd, and in reſpect to his ſafety, that he might remain ſtill in his cuſtody; and that *Stucley* ſhould openly declare to the watermen, he was his priſoner, which he did. Here *Stucley* and he fell into private diſcourſe, contriving how *Ralegh* might reach his houſe; and how *Stucley* might ſave himſelf harmleſs by ſaying, that he only pretended to go along with *Ralegh* in order to diſcover his intentions, and ſeize upon his private papers. Then they whiſper'd ſome time together, and *Ralegh* taking ſome things out of his pockets (whether more rubies powder'd with diamonds, our author does not ſay) and gave them to *Stucley*, who all this while, not only hugg'd and embrac'd him, as it ſeem'd with the greateſt tenderneſs, but made the utmoſt proteſtations of love, friendſhip, and fidelity. When they were got back to *Greenwich*, *Stucley* ſaid, that he durſt not carry *Ralegh* to his houſe, but perſuaded him to land, which they did; the other ſtrange boat landing at the ſame time, in which the men, they perceived, belonged to Mr. *W. Herbert* and Sir *William St. John*, the ſame who had made good profit of *Ralegh* before, as we have read. Upon *Greenwich* bridge, *Stucley* told captain *King*, it would be for Sir *Walter*'s good, that he ſhould pretend he was conſenting with him to betray his maſter. *King*, not able to fathom the depth of this policy, as he tells us, refus'd it, thinking he ſhould not only thereby belie his own conſcience, but make himſelf odious to the world; therefore, tho' *Ralegh* himſelf made ſome motion of it to him, he could not, how ſerviceable ſoever it might prove, be guilty of ſo much inſincerity towards him. Then *Stucley* arreſted the captain in his majeſty's name, and committed him to the charge of two of Mr. *Herbert*'s men. After this they all went to a tavern, and by the way, captain *King* heard *Ralegh* ſay, *Sir* Lewis, *theſe actions will not turn out to your credit.* *Ralegh* was kept apart from *King* till morning, when as they enter'd into the *Tower*, *Ralegh* ſaid to him, Stucley *and* Cotterell *have betray'd me*; adding, *for your part, you need be in fear of no danger, but as for me, it is I am the mark that is ſhot at.* Then captain *King*, being forced to take his leave, left *Ralegh*, *to his tuition, with whom I do not doubt* (ſays he) *but his ſoul reſteth.* And ſo concludes his *Narrative.*

HERE the curious reader would probably be willing to know what *Stucley* had to ſay for himſelf upon this buſineſs; and this I have alſo ſome opportunity of relating from the *tract* he publiſh'd after *Ralegh*'s death in his own defence; which tho', for its author's behaviour aforeſaid, it has been ſo much diſregarded, that of all the hiſtorians general and particular, who have written of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and ſome few of them, whoſe characters are pretty well known, to his diſparagement; I never met with one who has ſhewn it ſo much credit as to quote it: yet, as I have found ſome few paſſages not altogether uſeleſs in explaining other parts of this life, ſo thoſe, which concern this part, I have thought proper more particularly here to inſert, in obſervance to a good *biographical* maxim, which enjoyns us, as far as the parts they bear in our narrative will permit, to ſhew a due reſpect to the characters of all men, and conſequently not, in favour of any, to proſtitute our own.

IN this tract, which is properly enough addreſs'd to the king, one of the earlieſt motives to revenge, in that *poor inſtrument of ſtate*, as *Stucley* no leſs properly calls himſelf, againſt *Ralegh*, appears to be a pretence, that *Ralegh* had abridg'd *Stucley*'s father of an incredible dividend in a prize many years before taken at ſea,[a] whereof a more particular account has been before given in its proper place; as the laſt motive will appear to be what *Ralegh* ſaid of this *Stucley* in his *Dying Speech.* But the arguments *Stucley* makes uſe of for having betray'd him, are drawn firſt from *Ralegh*'s having pretended to be poiſon'd at Sir *Edward Parham*'s houſe, who was *Stucley*'s kinſman. For he reports *Ralegh* to have ſaid, "Tho' the gentleman would "not hurt me, yet there might be prieſts that did it: for I remember, after my morning's "draught of a cup of ale, which Sir *Edward Parham* offer'd me in the hall, I felt preſently "a kind of excoriation in my bowels, as if ſome jeſuite had been the butler." "Now, ſays "*Stucley*, when I ſaw the puſtles break out upon him at *Salisbury*, my compaſſion, I confeſs, "was too credulous to report it." But that being thus deceived himſelf, and thereby wronging his kinſman, it moved his indignation againſt *Ralegh* for abuſing both: ſo that in ſhort, he

[a] *To the king's moſt excellent majeſty, The humble petition and information of Sir* Lewis Stucley, *knight, vice-admiral of* Devon, *touching his own behaviour in the charge committed to him for the bringing up of Sir* Walter Ralegh, *and the ſcandalous aſperſions caſt upon him for the ſame.* 4to. 1618, p. 8.

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drew *Ralegh* to his deſtruction by a lie, becauſe he had induced *Stucley* to aſperſe his kinſman with one. And tho' divinity would not, as *Stucley* owns, yet reaſon of ſtate would hold it lawful to lie for the diſcovery of treaſon, in ſervice to the commonwealth. Then he endeavours to reconcile himſelf to the commonwealth, by anſwering the objection of his being ſo inſtrumental to the depriving it of ſo ſufficient a member as had not left his equal behind him, in theſe words: "No man denies but he had many ſufficiencies in him: but what were theſe "but ſo many weapons of practice and danger againſt the ſtate, if he eſcaped? being ſo deeply "tainted in ſo many points of diſcontent, diſhoneſty, and diſloyalty. He knew, as he had "written, that as in nature, ſo in policy, *a privatione ad habitum non fit regreſſio.* And "therefore being deſperate of any fortune here, agreeable to the height of his mind, who can "doubt but he would have made up his fortune elſewhere, upon any terms againſt his ſove-"raign and country?" [a] In another place, which relates to *Ralegh*'s laſt endeavours of eſcaping, he tells the king, "On the *Saturday* when I received your majeſty's commiſſion by "my couſin *Herbert*, I received alſo intelligence by him, that at that inſtant *Ralegh* was "flying from my cuſtody without my privity, not having, as yet, made him any *ſemblance* "of *condeſcent*: [b] ſo that I almoſt came upon him unawares, even as he was putting on his "falſe beard, and other diſguiſements; which declares he did ſtill diſtruſt your goodneſs, "doubtleſs out of the conſcience of his guiltineſs, whatever he writ or ſaid to the contrary. "And is it any marvel then, that he was angry with me at his death for bringing him back? "Beſides, being a man, as he was thought, of ſo great a wit, it was no ſmall grief that a man of "ſo mean wit as I ſhould be thought to go beyond him. Yea, but you ſhould not have uſed "ſuch craft to go beyond him. No? *Sic ars deluditur arte. Neque enim lex juſtior ulla eſt* "*quàm necis artifices arte perire ſuâ.* But why did you not execute your commiſſion bravely "to his apprehenſion on him in his houſe? why? my commiſſion was to the contrary, to "diſcover his pretenſions, and to ſeize his ſecret papers, *&c.* And can any honeſt ſubject "queſtion my honeſty in the performance of ſuch a commiſſion, which tended to diſcover the "ſecret intentions of an ill-affected heart to my ſoveraign? How can any diſlike this in me, "and not bewray his own diſhoneſt heart unto the ſtate? Yea, but tho' another might have "done this, yet how might you do it, being his kinſman and his friend? Surely if I had "been ſo; yet in a publick employment and truſt laid upon me, I was not to refuſe it, much "leſs to prefer private kindneſs and amity before my publick duty and loyalty: for what did "I know the dangerous conſequence of theſe matters which were to be diſcover'd? or who "knows them yet, of thoſe that make themſelves my competent judges? But if there were "no kindred or amity between us, as I avow there never was, what bond then might tie me "to him, but the tie of compaſſion to his miſeries? which was in my ſoveraign's heart to "diſtribute, when he ſaw time, that did command me, and not in the diſpenſation of me, "nor of any other *inſtrument's* power that is to be commanded." [c] Theſe are his arguments; and he concludes his *pamphlet* with making two humble petitions to his moſt *excellent majeſty*; "Firſt, ſeeing that I, your poor loyal ſubject, am burdened and oppreſſed with the teſtimony "of a bitter enemy, of a perjur'd and condemned man, againſt all reaſon, conſcience and "law; that I may have your majeſty's leave, to the confirmation of the truth, which I have "avowed to be ſufficient; to receive the ſacrament upon it in your majeſty's chapell." But if he did receive the ſacrament, to confirm the truth of his aſſertions, for this ſeems to be the meaning of his words, if they have, or were intended to have any; how that would juſtify the falſhood of his actions; and how, his taking of the ſacrament would be of any credit to him, who has own'd, that divinity would not hold his practices lawful; or how clear him for the violation of that truſt and fidelity he had before taken the ſacrament, as we ſhall hear preſently, to maintain, he was not thought caſuiſt, or even *inſtrument* of ſtate enough to reſolve: the laſt petition is, "That his majeſty would be ſo gracious as to ſuffer a *declaration* to come "forth from the ſtate, for the clearing of theſe matters, and further ſatisfaction of the world;" which plainly diſcovers, that this *pamphlet*, ſent out under the name of this *inſtrument*, was a mere concerted preparative to the ſaid *declaration* which ſo obſervantly followed it; like a fomentation to ſupple the minds of the uneaſy people, that the ſoveraign unguent might enter more effectually. But how little ſatisfaction the ſaid declaration gave, we have already noted: and for *Stucley*'s performance, it made not ſo much as himſelf eaſy; being, in his own opinion, ſo inſufficient to deface the black and odious ſtains of his conduct, that he was forced to write

[a] *Ibid.* p. 14, 15.

[b] *Manourie*'s ſtory as before, ſomewhat diſcredits this of *Stucley*'s, who ſeems, before he came with *Ralegh* to *London*, to have made ſome *ſemblance of condeſcent* when the jewel was offer'd him.

[c] Stucley's *Petition* and *Information*, &c. p. 7, *&c.*

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an *Apology* beſides; and that was ſo little regarded, as never to have been thought worthy of the preſs. Whether his life was more ſucceſsful than his writings, and how it fared with him after this piece of court-ſervice, may be gathered from ſeveral authors. Some hiſtorical compurgators of this reign, and conſequently no friends to *Ralegh*'s memory, yet own, that *Stucley*'s deſtiny was ſuitable to his dealings, being afterwards hang'd, ſay they, for clipping of gold.[a] But thoſe who had better intelligence, and knew the truth more particularly, have delivered it more perfectly; where they affirm, "That *Stucley* having, for a bag of money, falſified his "faith, which he had confirm'd by the tie of the holy ſacrament, he was, before the year "came about, caught clipping the ſame coin, in the king's own houſe at *Whitehall*, which "he had received as the reward of his perfidiouſneſs; for which being condemned to be "hang'd, he was driven to ſell himſelf to his ſhirt, to purchaſe his pardon of two knights." "Then (to avoid the ſight and ſcorn of mankind) withdrew himſelf to a little iſland in the "*Severn* ſea, called the *Iſle of Landy*, and there died a poor diſtracted beggar;"[b] which, as we find it elſewhere ſufficiently confirm'd, was in leſs than two years after *Ralegh*'s death.[c] Thus horribly did the deceiver's reward prove his puniſhment; and thus we leave this notable monument of improſperous treachery.

RALEGH, as we before mention'd, was now priſoner again in the *Tower* of *London*, being brought thither on *Monday* morning the 10th of *Auguſt*. About two or three days after, a committee was ſelected to examine into the aforeſaid eſcape, it being a matter luckily capable, and highly neceſſary to be enlarg'd upon, in order to fill up the meaſure of accuſation. Such a premeditated flight was therefore declaim'd againſt as a crime ſo heavy and ſo heinous, ſuch a diſdain or deſpair of his majeſty's mercy, as was greatly to be expected could never obtain his forgiveneſs. Then again, for Sir *Walter Ralegh* to alienate himſelf thus from his native country by means of a foreign power, was ſtretch'd out to the idea of a ſeparation as horrid as the breach of ſome huge rock or promontory from the main land, when its foundation was ſap'd and waſh'd away by undermining waves. Put into the *Tower*.

THE arguments *Ralegh* now returned to extenuate this mighty tranſgreſſion, having been by no author tranſmitted to us, it is not impoſſible but they were with the reſt of his juſtification before thoſe commiſſioners, during the time of this his laſt impriſonment, induſtriouſly ſtifled. There is, notwithſtanding, one of his own letters on this ſubject deſcended, by means of the preſs, to us. It is directed, by the error of the editor it ſeems, to the duke, tho' as yet, no more than marquis of *Buckingham*, and dated the 14th of *October*. Herein, ſays *Ralegh*, with relation to his late attempted eſcape, "That which doth comfort my ſoul in this offence "is, that even in the offence itſelf, I had no other intent than his majeſty's ſervice, and to "make his majeſty know that my late enterprize was grounded upon a truth, and which "with one ſhip ſpeedily ſet out, I meant to have aſſured or to have died; being reſolved, "as it is well known, to have done it from *Plymouth*, had I not been reſtrain'd. Hereby "I hoped, not only to recover his majeſty's gracious opinion, but have deſtroy'd all thoſe "malignant reports which had been ſpread of me. That this is true, that gentleman whom "I ſo much truſted, my *keeper*, and to whom I open'd my heart, cannot but teſtify; and "wherein, if I cannot be believed living, my death ſhall witneſs. Yea, that gentleman "cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards *London*, I deſired to ſave no other "treaſure than the exact *deſcription* of thoſe places in the *Indies*. That I meant to go hence "as a diſcontented man, God, I truſt, and my own actions will diſſuade his majeſty; whom "neither the loſs of my eſtate, thirteen years impriſonment, and the denial of my pardon, "could beat from his ſervice: nor had the opinion of being counted a fool, or rather diſtract, "by returning as I did, ballanc'd with my love to his majeſty's perſon and eſtate, any "place at all in my heart.

"IT was that laſt ſevere letter from the lords for the ſpeedy bringing of me up, and the "impatience of diſhonour, that firſt put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual "impriſonment, never to recover my reputation loſt, which ſtrengthned me in my late, and "too late lamented reſolution, if his majeſty's mercy do not abound; if his majeſty do not "pity my age, and ſcorn to take the extremeſt and utmoſt advantage of my errors; if his "majeſty, in his charity, do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-"ſaving natural impulſion, without all ill intent, and thoſe of an ill heart; and that your

[a] *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, 8vo. p. 94. And *Frankland*'s Annals of King *James* and King *Charles* I. *Fol.* 1681, p. 32, *&c.*

[b] *Howel*'s Letters, vol. 2, p. 372.

[c] *Camden* very well agrees in this miſerable end of that faithleſs knight, where he ſays, "That Sir *Lewis* "*Stucley*, who had betrayed Sir *Walter Ralegh*, died in "a manner mad, on the 29th of *Auguſt*, 1620. *Annals of King* James.

" lordſhip, remarkable in the world for the nobleneſs of your diſpoſition, do not vouchſafe " to become my interceſſor; whereby your lordſhip ſhall bind an hundred gentlemen of my " kindred to honour your memory, and bind me, for all the time of that life which your " lordſhip ſhall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever proſper; and over-bind me " to remain your moſt humble ſervant, *W. Ralegh.*" [a]

THOUGH all other events and motions in this expedition were now alſo rack'd and tenter'd by his adverſaries; tho' the commiſſioners (who were perhaps the ſame, mention'd in a kind of oblique manner, at the end of the king's *Declaration*, as witneſſes thereof) came now conſtantly to the *Tower*, to pick out or catch hold of any thing that might contribute ſome plauſible matter to condemn him; yet after the examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments of the moſt diſcontented perſons in the late voyage, none of all the depoſitions upon oath, that are pretended to have been taken, or were really worm'd out of them, were ever thought ſo material by the ſaid commiſſioners, as to have been diſtinctly brought to light, either in that *Declaration* or elſewhere, againſt Sir *Walter Ralegh*. Much leſs may we expect to meet with any of the arguments urged by himſelf in his own defence during this inquiſition, or cloſe and private manner of ſifting him from ſo many quarters. And yet, if they had been fairly preſented to the publick, it is not thought they could have given the world greater ſatisfaction, or have cleared him better than what he had juſt before written, both in his letter to the lord *Carew* and at the end of his *Apology*, to prove the authority he had for the late action at *Guiana*, the integrity of his conduct in it, with the reaſon and neceſſity thereof. Wherein it appears, he abſolutely depended on the honour of king *James* to continue now, as he had begun, the maintenance of his right to that country which *Ralegh* had lawfully poſſeſſed for the crown; at leaſt, ſo far, as not to renounce or circumvent his own commiſſion; otherwiſe, how well he knew that if he made the leaſt oppoſition to any reſiſtance of his attempt, he was liable to be purſued as an invader; or, if he returned with any gold, to be perſecuted as a plunderer by the *Spaniards*; and if he did neither, that he was ſtill no leſs liable to be accus'd as an impoſtor by his co-adventurers. But in this latter reſpect, all ſuſpicion was clearly removed, even from thoſe who by their loſſes in this voyage would have been moſt readily prompted to make ſuch reproach, when they found *Ralegh* prove himſelf as in theſe writings, to the face of mankind, ſuch a far greater loſer than any of the reſt hereby, as was before obſerved: and as for the other two objections, *Ralegh* has alſo made it no leſs amply evident in the ſame pieces, how glaringly he muſt appear to the world, a mere premeditated or deſigned ſacrifice to one of them, if king *James* ſhould maim his ſoveraignty of its title to *Guiana*, or now diſclaim'd the undertaking there which he had before authoriz'd. For therein he has ſhewed, that his majeſty was well reſolved of his right in thoſe parts bordering the *Orenoque* to the ſouth, as far as the *Amazons*, by having formerly given the *Engliſh* leave to plant and inhabit there; and that his own propoſal to go thither, was not accounted of as what would endanger the peace, even by the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, who pretended it to be needleſs that *Ralegh* ſhould carry ſuch ſtrength with him, if he intended no other enterprize, for that he ſhould work any mine there without diſturbance; but had a good reaſon return'd by *Ralegh* for that ſtrength, from the example of Sir *John Hawkins*. Further ſhewing, that for the *Spaniards* to ſet up a town upon the *Orenoque*, was ſuch a uſurpation, and that their king ſhould thereupon call himſelf king of *Guiana*, was as unreaſonable as if he were to call himſelf king of *Ireland*, becauſe he took poſſeſſion at *Smerwick*, and built a fort there. Having alſo ſhewn, that no peace could be broken there by him, where no peace was maintain'd by the *Spaniards*, both from their bloody uſage of the *Engliſh*, who had lately been to trade there, and from the words in the king of *Spain*'s late letters to the governor; " who firſt " call'd us *enemies*, when he hoped to cut us in pieces, ſays *Ralegh*, and having fail'd, *peace-* " *breakers:* when to be an enemy and a peace-breaker in one and the ſame action, is impoſ- " ſible." [b] Moreover, that here the *Spaniards* began the firſt ſlaughter; that their town was not burnt by any knowledge or permiſſion of his, nor his directions to the mine followed. Laſtly, having obſerved how little the *Spaniards* can endure that the *Engliſh* nation ſhould look upon any part of *America*, being above a fourth part of the whole known world, tho' the hundredth part was never poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards:* and withal, the many ill conſequences of acknowledging, that we have offended the king of *Spain* by landing in *Guiana*, even to the ruin of our navigation, trade, power, and dominion in this quarter of the globe,

[a] See the *Cabala*; or *Myſteries of State*, in *Letters of the great Miniſters to King* James *and King* Charles, *&c.* 4to. 1654, page 309.

[b] Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s letter to the lord *Carew*, at the end of his *Apology*, p. 62.

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where there was as much room and reaſon for advancing the honour and riches of *England* as of any ſtate in chriſtendom; he concludes his *Apology* with theſe words, *I have ſaid it already, and I will ſay it again, that if* Guiana *be not his majeſty's, the working of a* mine *there, and the taking of a* town *there, had been equally perilous; for, by doing the one, I had rob'd the king of* Spain, *and been a* thief; *and, by the other, a diſturber or breaker of the* peace.

Now it is plain, that king *James* ſo much waved his right to *Guiana*, at leaſt till *Ralegh* was put to death (for then he aſſum'd it again, by the power he gave for another expedition to thoſe parts, [a] however, irreſolutely, according to cuſtom, he revok'd it) that as we obſerve in his *Declaration*, not only the *place* which *Ralegh* went to is pretended to be *out of his commiſſion*, but the *title* he ſtood upon, to be *no ways compatible with it*. Yet ſo inconteſtably did *Ralegh* make it appear, no doubt in his examinations at preſent, no leſs than in the writings abovemention'd, *that if any peace could be broken where no peace had been maintain'd, it muſt either be by king* James *himſelf, in firſt granting a commiſſion to plunder another prince* (for he knew where *Ralegh* was going, and no where declines his knowledge that the *Spaniards* were ſettled there) *and then betraying it to procure a defeat of the very attempt he had empower'd; or elſe by the* Spaniards *themſelves, in reſiſting his endeavours to put it in execution*; that after all this queſtoning, canvaſing, and heaping up of allegations againſt him, the council could not think it juſtifiable to take away Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s life for all that had paſſed at *Guiana*. Yet, as he muſt be put to death, they found a way to appeaſe the *Spaniards* with his blood, by making this laſt action at *St. Thome* the *efficient* cauſe, but the obſolete condemnation at *Wincheſter*, fifteen years paſt, the *nominal* cauſe of his deſtruction: as a courſe whereby both the law would be judicially ſatisfied, and the title be left, for fear of diſpleaſure, undecided. So in the whole, it was reſolved there ſhould be room enough to revoke the king's former mercy, as it appears in his *Declaration*; and that *Ralegh* might loſe his head upon his former attainder; [b] notwithſtanding the repugnancies apparent in ſuch a concluſion to men of penetration;

[a] About a year after the death of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, king *James* granted captain *Roger North*, a commiſſion to inhabit and ſettle a colony near the river of *Amazons* in *Guiana*; but was ſoon aw'd by *Gondomar* ſo much, that, on the 15th of *May* 1620, he iſſued a proclamation to recall that gentleman from the ſaid undertaking, and committed his brother, the lord *North*, to the *Fleet* priſon for haſtning the ſaid voyage, as may be read in *Camden*'s *Annals* of that king's reign. Some other little attempts were ſeveral years after made there, which may be read of in a manuſcript entitled, *An exact Narrative of the State of* Guiana, *and of the* Engliſh *Colony in* Surynam, *in the Beginning of the War with the* Dutch, *and of its Actions during the War; with the taking thereof by the Fleet from* Zeland: of which ſome copies are preſerved in the *Aſhmolean* and other libraries. But how all this ſpacious and fruitful country has been ſince ſhamefully de erted, by the *Engliſh* eſpecially; the quiet poſſeſſion there by the *Spaniards*, to this day, is ſufficient witneſs. Whereupon we cannot forbear reciting here the reflection of a late writer, in an eſſay, partly before quoted, *On the needful Improvements in Trade:* wherein, expreſſing how much he is for promoting merchants to rational and profitable adventures, and ſailors to new diſcoveries, as things moſt valuable in their nature, ſolid in their deſign, and glorioufly advantageous in their ſucceſs, he proceeds thus: "By ſuch adventures and diſcoveries, all our encreaſe in "colonies and plantations has been produced. 'Twas "by ſuch happy attempts, that the famous Sir *Walter* "*Ralegh* and his aſſiſtants, ſettled the *Britiſh* nation upon "the *Northern* continent of *America*; and, had he been "encouraged, or rather had he not been baſely betray'd, "he had ſettled us alſo upon the *Southern* continent; "and the power of *Great Britain* in her colonies and "iſlands, in that part of the world, had been ſuperior "as well in wealth as in extent of land, and in ſtrength "of people, to all the nations of the world that ever "ſettled there. And perhaps, by this time, we had "wanted no *Aſſiento* to carry *Negroes* to *America*; no "*Licence* to trade to the *Gulph of Mexico*, but the *South-Sea* had been our own, and all the wealth and glory "of *America* paid homage to king GEORGE. But "fate, and the ill policies of thoſe times hinder'd; and "the golden mountains of *Chili*, and the ſilver mines of "*Potoſi*, the wealth of the richeſt part of the world, is "ſacrificed to the luſt and ſloth of the pooreſt, and "proudeſt nation under the ſun." See the *Humouriſt*, vol. 2. 8*vo*. 1725, p. 39. Another modern author, in his *Addreſs to the* South-Sea *Company*, obſerving this attempt of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s to have been the greateſt enterprize that ever was undertaken by any private perſon; how much it would be to the glory of the ſaid *Company* to bring it to perfection; how much it was to the infamy of that age in which this great man ſuffer'd, that ſuch an enterprize was not only diſcourag'd, but even betray'd to the *Spaniard*, and this gallant gentleman expoſed to ruin; alſo how juſt a reproach to this nation ever ſince, that ſuch a part of the world, ſo timely and ſo effectually diſcover'd to us, has not been made our own, and all thoſe nations, who would ſubmit to us, and be aſſiſtant to the great work, be taken into protection, confederated and made uſe of in ſubjecting that inexhauſtible treaſure to be found there, to the government and crown of *Great Britain*; he concludes the ſaid *Addreſs* in theſe words: "The country is within the pa-"tent or charter of the *South-Sea Company*; the under-"taking ſeems to be their due: their charter begins at "the river *Orenoque*, and none can attempt it without "them. If they pleaſe to take ſuch a propoſal into "conſideration, the author of theſe ſheets is ready to "lay before them a plan or chart of the rivers and "ſhores, the depths of water, and all neceſſary inſtruc-"tions for the navigation, with a ſcheme of the under-"taking, which he had the honour, about thirty years "ago, to lay before king WILLIAM, and to de-"monſtrate how eaſy it would be to bring this attempt "to perfection. If the *Company* decline it, 'tis then "humbly propos'd, that they will give leave to a ſociety "of merchants to undertake it under the *Company*'s li-"cence, and on ſuch conditions as may be thought "reaſonable; of which more ſhall be ſaid when ſuch a "propoſal ſhall be entertain'd by the *Company*." See an *Hiſtorical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir* Walter Ralegh, 8*vo*. 1719; from p. 42 to 55.

[b] "A head (ſays *Oſborne*) of more weight to our "court (eſpecially in that dearth of wiſdom then raging) "than the *Infanta* could be, notwithſtanding that the "moſt general, no leſs than the leaſt ſuſpected reports, "made her alone owner of the greateſt beauty, virtue, "gallantry and prudence that were at that day extant "in womankind! But, as the fooliſh idolaters were "wont to ſacrifice the choiceſt of their children to the "devil, the common enemy of humanity; ſo our king "gave up this incomparable jewel to the will of this "monſter in ambition (the *Spaniard*) under the pretence "of a ſuperannuated tranſgreſſion, contrary to the opi-"nion of the moſt honeſt ſort of gownmen; who main-"tain'd, that his majeſty's pardon lay incluſively in the "commiſſion he gave him upon his ſetting out to ſea: "it being incongruous that he, who remain'd under the notion

penetration; among whom, *Carew Ralegh* has very well obſerv'd thereupon, *that his father was condemn'd for being a* friend *to the* Spaniards, *and loſt his life by the ſame ſentence, for being their* enemy. [a]

A METHOD, however, of diſpatching him being thus piec'd out, the king, or thoſe with whom he left the management of this affair when he went upon his progreſs, appear'd very eager for bringing it to a period. Therefore, as the ſhorteſt way, a privy ſeal was ſent to the judges, forthwith to order execution. But they conſidering there ought to be ſome face of regularity in the matter, and a little finger in the court of juſtice to ſlide it off with as much decency and ſmoothneſs as the buſineſs would allow of, demur'd upon that extrajudicial manner of proceeding. Therefore, on *Friday* the 23d of *October*, there was a conference held upon the form or manner how priſoners, who have been attainted of treaſon and ſet at liberty, ſhould be brought to execution, between all the juſtices of *England*; as one of them, judge *Hutton* tells us: wherein the queſtion being put, "Whether a privy ſeal was ſufficient, it "being directed to the juſtices of the *King's Bench*, to command them to award execution "againſt Sir *Walter Ralegh*; or how they ſhould proceed before execution be awarded?" It was reſolved by all, "That he ought to be brought to bar, by *Habeas Corpus* to the lieu-"tenant of the *Tower*, and then demanded, if he could ſay any thing why execution ſhould "not be awarded? For the proceedings againſt him being before *commiſſioners*, they are deliver'd "only into the court of *King's Bench*, or they might have remain'd in a bag or a cheſt, and "no roll made thereof; and ſo long time paſſing, it is not a *legal courſe* that he ſhould be "commanded by a *privy ſeal* or *great ſeal* to be executed, without being demanded, what "he hath to ſay? For he might have a pardon, or he might ſay that he was not the ſame "perſon: as if one be outlawed of felony, and taken, he ſhall not be preſently hang'd, but "he ſhall be brought to bar, and ſo demanded, *&c.* Upon this reſolution, a *privy ſeal* "came to the juſtices of the *King's Bench*, commanding them to proceed againſt him accor-"ding to law." [b] In what ſenſe he was ſo proceeded againſt may be better underſtood by that notice which on the 24th of *October*, being the next day, *Ralegh* received from the *commiſſioners* to prepare for death; [c] and by his not being ſuffer'd, when he ſoon after appear'd in court, before the judges, *according to law*, to make any defence of himſelf for what had been the occaſion of his coming thither; as may be ſeen by the following abſtract of the ſaid proceedings, which I have been favour'd with from authentick copies.

Brought to *Weſtminſter-*hall.

ON *Wedneſday*, the 28th of *October*, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, at eight o'clock in the morning, was awaked out of a fit of a fever, with ſummons preſently to appear at the *King's Bench* bar at *Weſtminſter*; and, ſoon after nine o'clock, he was, by writ of *Habeas Corpus*, brought thither. The writ being deliver'd to the judges by Sir *Walter Apſley*, and Sir *Walter Ralegh's* conviction at *Wincheſter* read, the attorney, Mr. *Henry Yelverton*, ſet forth, "That the "priſoner having been fifteen years ſince convicted of high treaſon, and then received the "judgment of death, his majeſty, of his abundant grace, had been pleaſed to ſhew mercy "unto him, till now, that juſtice calls to him for execution. Sir *Walter Ralegh* (continued "he) hath been a *ſtateſman*, and a man, who, in regard to his *parts* and *quality*, is to be "pitied: he hath been as a *ſtar* at which the world have gazed; but ſtars may fall, nay "they muſt fall when they trouble the *ſphere* wherein they abide. [d] It is therefore his ma-"jeſty's pleaſure now to call for execution of the former judgment, and I now require order "for the ſame." Then the clerk of the crown, Mr. *Fanſhaw*, having read the record of the conviction and judgment, the priſoner, holding up his hand, was aſked, "what he could

"notion of one dead in the law, ſhould, as a general, "diſpoſe of the lives of others, not being himſelf maſter "of his own. But the *Spaniſh* faction, then abſolute at "court, and ſole managers of the king's *power* no leſs "than his *juſtice*, did ſo far tender his catholick ma-"jeſty's full ſatisfaction in the procuring of his death, "the only man of note left alive who had helped to "beat them in the year 1588; that no abſurdity lying in "the way of his proſecution, could deter them from "making uſe of his former condemnation; remembring, "withal, how far his wit had puzzled them at *Wincheſter*, "and how much the jury, who condemn'd him there, "were touch'd in their conſciences; which made it the "leſs probable they ſhould be able to impannel one ſo "wicked as would do it then. Beſides, *No peace be-"yond the Line*, was a belief ſo rivetted in the opinion "of all, as he could not have been indicted anew, with-"out the king's producing the original articles, by which "his accuſers would have been convinced of malice, or "his prince of folly. *Memoirs of King* James, p. 108.

[a] See *Howel's* Letters, vol. 2, p. 371; and the tract entitled, *A brief Relation of Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Trouble, &c.* where *Carew Ralegh's* words are, p. 9, as follows. "Here *juſtice* was indeed *blind!* blindly executing one "and the ſame perſon, upon one and the ſame con-"demnation, for things contradictory; for Sir *Walter* "*Ralegh* was condemn'd for being a friend to the *Spa-"niard*, and loſt his life for being their utter enemy. "Thus kings, when they will do what they pleaſe, "pleaſe not him they ſhould, God; and having made "their power ſubſervient to their will, deprive themſelves "of that juſt power whereby others are ſubſervient to them."

[b] *Sir* Richard Hutton's *Reports*, fol. 1656, p. 21. Alſo judge *Crook's* Reports 2, fol. 495; ſerjeant *Rolle's* Reports, 50, p. 7. and *W. Nelſon's* Abridgment, *&c.* vol. 3. 1726, fol. 365.

[c] Camden's *Annals of King* James.

[d] So in the copy here chiefly followed, but in one more ancient, this compariſon is thus turn'd into a metaphor; Sir *Walter Ralegh, in his time, was a* ſtar; *yea, and of ſuch nature as* ſhined fair, but *out of the neceſſity of ſtate,* like ſtars, when they trouble the ſphere, muſt indeed *fall.*

"ſay

" ſay, why execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him?" *Ralegh* told the lords, " his " voice was grown weak by his late ſickneſs, and an ague he had at that inſtant upon him, in " which he was brought thither; therefore (as it appears in another copy of theſe proceedings " before refer'd to) deſired the relief of a pen and ink." But the lord chief juſtice, Sir *Henry Montague*, telling him " he ſpake audibly enough," he went on to this effect: " That he " hoped the judgment he received to die ſo long ſince, could not now be ſtrained to take " away his life; ſince by his majeſty's commiſſion for his late voyage, it was imply'd to be " reſtor'd, in giving him power as marſhal on the life and death of others; and ſince he " undertook the ſame to honour his ſoveraign, and enrich his kingdom with gold, *of the ore* " *whereof, this hand*, ſaid he, *hath found and taken in* Guiana." Then beginning to mention by what unavoidable and unblameable means the ſaid enterprize miſcarried, the *lord chief juſtice* interrupted, and told him, " whatever he ſpoke touching his voyage was not to the " purpoſe; alſo that his commiſſion could be of no ſervice to him; that treaſon was not " pardon'd by implication, and that he muſt ſay ſomething elſe to the purpoſe, otherwiſe they " muſt proceed to give execution." [a] *Ralegh*, then finding whatever he ſhould offer in his own juſtification would be *no way to the purpoſe*, put himſelf upon the king's mercy; yet gave ſome reaſons, " why he hoped the king would take compaſſion upon him concerning " that judgment which was ſo long paſt, in which both his majeſty was of opinion, and " there were ſome preſent who could witneſs, that he had hard uſage." [b] The lord chief juſtice adviſ'd him to the wiſdom of ſubmiſſion, and told him, " he was called to grant exe- " cution upon the judgment given fifteen years ſince; all which time he had been as a man " dead in the law, but the king, in mercy, ſpared him; that he might think it heavy if " this were done in cold blood; but it was not ſo, for new offences had ſtir'd up his majeſty's " juſtice to revive what the law had formerly caſt upon him. *I know*, continued he, *that you* " *have been valiant and wiſe, and I doubt not but you retain both theſe virtues, for now you* " *ſhall have occaſion to uſe them. Your faith hath heretofore been queſtioned, but I am reſolved,* " *you are a good chriſtian; for your* book, *which is an* admirable work, *doth teſtify as much.* " *I would give you counſel, but I know you can apply unto yourſelf far better than I am able to* " *give you.*" Yet, with the good neighbour in the goſpel, he was for pouring ſome oil into his wounds; tho' far was it from yielding the refreſhment he promis'd, by reaſon of the ſeveri- ty wherewith he ſo ſharpened the infuſion. " I give you the *oil* of comfort, ſaid he, tho' in " reſpect that I am a miniſter of the law, mixed with *vinegar*." Nay, the judge further gave him, how unneceſſary ſoever he juſt before own'd it to be, one *lecture upon ſorrow*. " Sorrow, ſaid he, will not avail you in ſome kind; for were you pained, ſorrow would " not eaſe you; were you afflicted, ſorrow would not relieve you; were you tormented, " ſorrow would not content you; and yet the ſorrow for your ſins would be an everlaſting " comfort to you." Then another alſo upon *death*. " You muſt do as that valiant captain " did, ſaid he, who, perceiving himſelf in danger, ſaid, in defiance of death, *Death, thou* " *expecteſt me; but*, maugre thy ſpite, *I expect thee*. Fear not death too much, nor fear " death too little; not too much, leſt you fail in your hope; nor too little, leſt you die " preſumptuouſly: and here I muſt conclude my prayers to God for it, and that he would " have mercy on your ſoul." So he ended with ſaying, " *Execution is granted.*"

RALEGH then deſir'd, that he might not be cut off ſo ſuddenly; for that he had ſome- thing to do in diſcharge of his conſcience, ſomething to ſatisfy his majeſty, and ſomething the world in: he deſir'd further, that he might be heard at the day of his death; and concluded, with calling on " God to be his judge, before whom he ſhould ſhortly appear, that he *was* " *never diſloyal to his majeſty; which I will juſtify*, ſaid he, *where I ſhall not fear the face of* " *any king on earth.*" Thus the manuſcripts here chiefly followed, conclude; [c] but in the more ancient copy of theſe proceedings, *Ralegh*'s concluſion, to the ſame ſenſe, is thus more copiouſly expreſs'd: " I moſt humbly beſeech your lordſhips, that you will grant me ſome time before

[a] Another *Account* relates this paſſage thus: " When " *Ralegh* began to juſtify himſelf for the late *voyage*, the " lord chief juſtice ſilenced him therein, ſaying, There " was no other matter there in queſtion, but concerning " the judgment of *death* formerly given againſt him, " which, *the king's pleaſure was, upon ſome occaſions beſt* " *known to himſelf*, to have executed, unleſs he could " ſhew good cauſe to the contrary." See the *Proceedings againſt Sir* Walter Ralegh *at* Weſtminſter, annexed to Sir *T. Overbury*'s Account of his Arraignment at *Wincheſter*, 4*to*. 1648, p. 26.

[b] In another copy of this proceeding againſt him at *Weſtminſter*, which is the old MS. I have before me, as a- bovemention'd, this paſſage is thus expreſſed: " Concerning " my judgment at *Wincheſter*, I preſume, moſt of you, " that now hear me, are reſolved *how that was obtain'd*; " and I know that his majeſty was ſo *reſolved* touching " that *trial*, that if he had not been anew exaſperated " againſt me, certain I am, I might (if I could by na- " ture) have lived a thouſand and a thouſand years, " before he would have taken the advantage thereof."

[c] In a volume of the *Harleyan* manuſcripts, 90, C. 7. fol. 439; and another manuſcript among the collections of the late Mr. *Granger*.

" my execution, that I may ſettle my affairs and my mind more than they yet are; for I have " much to do, both for my reputation, conſcience and loyalty; and I would beſeech the " favour of pen, ink and paper, to expreſs myſelf ſomething thereby, and to diſcharge my- " ſelf of ſome truſt of worldly matters that were put in me; which leiſure, I beſeech you " think, that I crave not for to gain one minute of life; for now being old, ſickly, in diſ- " grace, and certain to go to it, life is weariſome to me. And I do laſtly beſeech your " lordſhips, that, when I come to die, I may have leave to ſpeak freely at my farewell, to " ſatisfy the world only, *that I was ever loyal to the* king, *and a true lover of this* com- " monwealth; *for this I will ſeal with my blood.*" So craving their prayers, he was led away to the *Gate-houſe*, near the *Palace-yard*.

THE king was all this while retir'd as it were, or at ſome remoteneſs from this tragical ſcene, and, as I have receiv'd it from particular tradition, in *Hertfordſhire*; as if he would have diverted himſelf not only from the ſight or report, but even the thoughts of it: [a] yet what an effectual and expeditious hand he had in it, may further appear by his ſpecial *warrant for the execution*; which was produced, ready ſign'd, as if it at *Weſtminſter*, in a manner, as ſoon as the ſentence was over, being dated the ſame day, and directed to his chancellor, *Verulam*. Herein, his *gracious majeſty*, " diſpenſing with the manner of execution according to his former judgment, " and releaſing him of the ſame to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd, ſays, *our pleaſure is*, inſtead " thereof, *to have the* head only *of the ſaid Sir* Walter Ralegh *cut off*, at or within our palace of " *Weſtminſter*: commanding the ſaid chancellor hereupon to direct two ſeveral writs under the " great ſeal; one to the lieutenant of the *Tower*, or his deputy, for the delivery of Sir *Walter* " *Ralegh* to the ſheriffs of *Middleſex* at the ſaid palace; and the other, to the ſaid ſheriffs for " the receiving the ſaid Sir *Walter Ralegh* from the ſaid lieutenant, and for executing him there; " for which this to be his warrant and diſcharge, againſt us, our heirs and ſucceſſors for ever." [b]

WE find, about the ſame time, ſome petitions preſented to the king in behalf of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, which were ſtrengthned with the ſolicitations of ſome perſons in great power and eſteem with his majeſty; but ſhall not wonder at their having no effect with him, to mitigate this peremptory and rigorous doom, if it be true as an author, who had opportunity enough of obſerving his diſpoſition, and abilities ſufficient to give a clear judgment of it, has ſaid thereof, with relation to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that " King *James* ſo far participated of the humour " of a puſillanimous prince, as to pardon any ſooner than thoſe injur'd by himſelf." [c] As for *Ralegh*, we find not that he harbour'd the leaſt expectation or deſire of a reprieve; for that all the oppreſſions of age, ſickneſs, obloquy, ſpoil and loſs of all his means, beſides the other indignities he now lay under, baniſh'd every wiſh of redreſs in this world, but by that diſſolution which puts an end to all worldly miſeries, appears pretty evident in the letter he ſeems to have written but a ſhort time before his death to the king; in which, he rather acknowledges ſome former tendencies to favour and compaſſion, than deſires any repetition of them, and gives a very good reaſon for his having no further proſpect of any thing ſubſtantial therein, where he ſays, " I have not ſpared my labour, my poor eſtate, and the hourly hazard of " my life; but God hath otherwiſe *diſpoſed of* all, *and now end the days of my* hope." But if the days of his *hope* had ended when he landed at *Plymouth*, the days of his *life* had probably been augmented to a much greater number. Not, if it had been prolonged into many other acts, that they might have adorn'd it with ſuch unfading renown, as that one whereby with ſuch univerſal admiration he finiſh'd it. That letter aforeſaid, he concludes with the generous profeſſion of " being in nothing ſo miſerable, as in that I could never meet with an " occaſion, ſays he, wherein to be torn in pieces for your *majeſty's ſervice*. [d] But his majeſty choſe rather to let his own name and memory be torn in pieces for *Ralegh*'s honour, and not only by all indifferent or impartial judges, but by his own countrymen; [e] and even by antagoniſts

[a] In *Camden*, alſo it may appear, that the king came not to *London* to give audience to foreign ambaſſadors now (as in all other parts of his reign) flocking over, till a day or two after *Ralegh*'s death, then he came privately to *Whitehall* in the evening; but ſeems very reſtleſs about this time; very often in his boots, and hunting to and fro; ſometimes at *Oatlands*, ſometimes at *Theobalds*, ſometimes at *Hampton-Court*; not but he found time to dedicate his *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer* to his favourite *Buckingham*, in *February* following; but how he reconcil'd a certain *article* in that *prayer* with the intention of his *Declaration* aforeſaid againſt Sir *Walter Ralegh*, about the ſame time publiſh'd, I leave for others to compare. The queen, all this while, lay on her death-bed; nay, even when ſhe lay dead, in *March* following, and before the ſolemnity of her funerals, the king was ſo buſy in that important affair of his life, the *horſe-races* at *New-Market*, that he got a violent fit of ſickneſs thereby; ſo that it was fear'd his favourite diverſion would prove as fatal to him as it was thought a few years after the medicinal applications of that favourite peer aforeſaid did.

[b] Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. 17, fol. 115.

[c] Oſborne's *Memoirs of King* James, p. 107.

[d] See Sir *Toby Mathews*'s *Collection of Letters*, p. 65.

[e] Biſhop *Burnet*, ſpeaking of ſome great errors in king *James*'s reign, goes on thus: " Beſides theſe publick " actings, king *James* ſuffer'd much in the opinion of " all people, by his ſtrange way of uſing one of the great- " eſt men of that age, Sir *Walter Ralegh*; againſt whom, " the *proceedings at firſt* were much cenſur'd, but the " *laſt*

antagoniſts to one another in other parts of hiſtory, than ſuffer any mercy to interfere with that ſordid but deceitful, and ſoon after derided purſuit of a profitable alliance with the crown of *Spain*.

WHETHER any ſuch conditions were offer'd him at this time to lengthen the ſhort line of an uncomfortable exiſtence, which were either ſo extortionate as *Ralegh* could not comply with them, or ſo baſe and deteſtable as to be worſe than death, the particulars are not come to light; unleſs ſome glimpſes thereof may be diſcerned in that *Epigram* he wrote a little while before his end, in alluſion to the light of a candle: which is as follows.

Cowards may fear to die, but courage ſtout,
Rather than live in *ſnuff*, will be *put out*.

MOREOVER, how ſublimely his thoughts were now ſequeſter'd or elevated from all worldly conſiderations, and with what ſerenity, what ſteadineſs, he did in a manner poſſeſs the joys of a better ſtate before he could be driven to it, is viſible in that poem he wrote about the ſame time, on the *pilgrimage* his ſoul was ſuddenly to make to the regions of *eternity*, which concludes with this diſtich:

Of *death* and *judgment*, *heaven* and *hell*,
Who *often thinks*, muſt needs *die well*.

AND that his faith was no leſs ſtedfaſt in the hopes of a reſurrection, we are as convincingly aſſur'd by thoſe *verſes* which, this laſt night of his life, he probably wrote alſo here, in the *Gate-houſe*; they being found there in his bible; and, according to the moſt ancient copies I can meet with, pen'd in theſe words:

Even ſuch is *Time!* who takes in truſt
Our youth, our joys, and all we have;
And pays us but with *earth* and *duſt*:
Who, in the dark and ſilent *grave*,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the ſtory of our days.
But from that earth, that grave and duſt,
The *Lord* ſhall *raiſe* me up, I truſt.

THE next morning, being *Thurſday* the 29th of *October*, and the *lord mayor's* day, Sir *Walter Ralegh* was conducted, by the ſheriffs of *Middleſex*, to the old *Palace-yard* in *Weſtminſter*, where there was a large ſcaffold erected before the *parliament-houſe* for his execution. He had on, a wrought night-cap under his hat; a ruff band; a black, wrought velvet night-gown over a hair-colour'd ſattin doublet, and a black, wrought waiſt-coat; a pair of black, cut, taffety breeches, and aſh-colour'd ſilk ſtockings. He mounted the ſcaffold with a chearful countenance, and ſaluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen of his acquaintance there preſent. Then proclamation being made by an officer for ſilence, he introduced his ſpeech with informing them, that as he was yeſterday taken out of his bed in a ſtrong fit of a fever, which much weaken'd him, and whoſe untimelineſs forbearing no occaſion or place, he expected it again to day: therefore did firſt implore God, that he would preſerve him from the interruptions thereof at this time, and next, deſir'd the audience, if any diſability of voice or dejection of countenance ſhould appear in him, that they would impute it rather to the diſorder of his body than any diſmaiedneſs of mind. Then pauſing a little, he ſat down, and directed himſelf towards a window, where the lords *Arundel*, *Northampton*, *Doncaſter*, with other nobles were ſitting, and begun his *ſpeech*. But they being at ſome diſtance from the ſcaffold, he apprehended they did not plainly diſtinguiſh his words, therefore ſaid, he would ſtrain his voice, for that he would willingly have them hear him. To which the lord *Arundel* anſwer'd,

" *laſt part of them* was thought both *barbarous* and *illegal*." A little further, ſpeaking of the ſame king, he ſays, " His *reign*, in *England*, was a *continual courſe of mean practices*: the firſt condemnation of Sir *Walter Ralegh* was very black; but the executing him after ſo many years, and after an employment that had been given him, was counted a barbarous ſacrificing him to the *Spaniards*." *Hiſtory of his own Times*, vol. 1. 1724, fol. 16 and 17. And a late hiſtorian, who was otherwiſe a great oppoſer of biſhop *Burnet*, yet agrees with him in this particular; where ſpeaking of the artifices by which king *James* was prevail'd on to put the gallant *Ralegh* to death, he ſays, however, he thinks, it might reſult more from want of courage than from cruelty, that " *The action was inexcuſable*; being not more unjuſt than mean-ſpirited, and one of the greateſt blemiſhes in this reign." See *A ſhort View of the Hiſtory of* England, &c. *By* Bevil Higgons, *Eſq*; 8vo. 1734, p. 234.

they

they would rather come down to the ſcaffold; which he, and ſome others did. Then Sir *Walter Raleigh*, having ſaluted them ſeverally, began again, as follows.

His laſt *Speech.*

" I THANK God, that he has ſent me to die in the light and not in darkneſs. I likewiſe " thank God, that he has ſuffer'd me to die before ſuch an aſſembly of honourable witneſſes, " and not obſcurely in the *Tower*; where, for the ſpace of thirteen years together, I have " been oppreſs'd with many miſeries. And I return him thanks, that my fever hath not taken " me at this time, as I prayed to him it might not, that I might clear myſelf of ſome ac- " cuſations unjuſtly laid to my charge, and leave behind me the teſtimony of a true heart " both to my king and country.

" THERE are two main points of ſuſpicion that his majeſty hath conceived againſt me, " and which, I conceive, have ſpecially haſtned my coming hither; therefore I deſire to " clear them to your lordſhips, and reſolve you in the truth thereof. The firſt is, that his " majeſty hath been inform'd, I have had ſome plot or confederacy with *France*, for which " he had ſome reaſons, tho' grounded upon a weak foundation. One was, that when I re- " turn'd to *Plymouth*, I endeavoured to go to *Rochel*, which was becauſe I would fain have " made my peace before I came to *England*. Another reaſon was, that again I would have " bent my courſe to *France*, upon my laſt intended eſcape from *London*, being the place " where I might have the beſt means of making ſuch peace, and the beſt ſafeguard during " that terror from above. Theſe, join'd with the coming of the *French* agent to my houſe " here in *London*, only to confer about my ſaid voyage, together with the report of my " having a commiſſion from the king of *France*, might occaſion my being ſo ſuſpected in " this particular, and his majeſty to be ſo diſpleaſed with me. But this I ſay; for a man " to call God to witneſs at any time to a falſhood, is a grievous ſin. To call him as witneſs " to a falſhood at the point of death, when there is no time for repentance, is a crime far " more impious and deſperate; therefore, for me to call that Majeſty to witneſs an untruth, " before whoſe tribunal I am inſtantly to appear, were beyond meaſure ſinful, and without " hope of pardon. I do yet call that great God to witneſs, that, as I hope to ſee him, to " be ſaved by him, and live in the world to come, I never had any plot or intelligence " with the *French* king; never had any commiſſion from him, nor ſaw his hand or ſeal; " that I never had any practice or combination with the *French* agent, nor ever knew or " ſaw ſuch a perſon, till I met him in my gallery unlook'd for. If I ſpeak not true, O " Lord, let me never enter into thy kingdom.

" THE ſecond ſuſpicion or imputation was, that his majeſty hath been inform'd, I had " ſpoken diſloyally of him. The only witneſs of this was, a baſe *Frenchman*, a runnagade, " a chymical fellow, whom I ſoon knew to be perfidious; for being drawn by him into the " action of freeing myſelf at *Wincheſter*, in which I confeſs my hand was touch'd, he, being " ſworn to ſecrecy over-night, reveal'd it the next morning. 'Tis ſtrange, that ſo mean a " fellow could ſo far encroach himſelf into the favour of the lords; and, gaping after ſome " great reward, could ſo falſly accuſe me of ſeditious ſpeeches againſt his majeſty, and be " ſo credited. But this I here ſpeak, it is no time for me to flatter or to fear princes, I, who " am ſubject only unto death: and for me, who have now to do with God alone, to tell a " lye to get the favour of the king were in vain: and yet, if ever I ſpake diſloyally or " diſhoneſtly of the king, either to this *Frenchman* or any other; ever intimated the leaſt " thought hurtful or prejudicial of him, the Lord blot me out of the book of life.

" I CONFESS, I did attempt to eſcape, and it was only to ſave my life. I likewiſe confeſs, " that I feigned myſelf to be indiſpoſed at *Salisbury*; but I hope it was no ſin; for the " prophet *David* did make himſelf a fool, and ſuffer'd ſpittle to fall upon his beard to eſcape " from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him as a ſin: what I did, " was only to prolong time, till his majeſty came, in hopes of ſome commiſeration from " him.

" BUT I forgive that *Frenchman*; and likewiſe Sir *Lewis Stucley*, the wrongs he hath done " me with all my heart; for I have received the ſacrament this morning of Mr. *Dean*, and " I have forgiven all men; but, in charity to others, am bound to caution them againſt him, " and ſuch as he is. For Sir *Lewis Stucley*, my keeper and kinſman, hath affirmed, that I " ſhould tell him, my lord *Carew* and my lord of *Doncaſter* here, did adviſe me to eſcape; " but I proteſt before God, I never told him any ſuch thing; neither did theſe lords adviſe " me to any ſuch matter. It is not likely that I ſhould acquaint two privy-counſellors of " my eſcape; nor that I ſhould tell him, my keeper, it was their advice; neither was there

any

" any reaſon to tell it him, or he to report it; for it is well known, he left me ſix, eight, " or ten days together alone, to go whither I liſted, while he rode about the country. He " further accus'd me, that I ſhould ſhew him a letter, whereby I did ſignify, that I would " give him ten thouſand pounds to eſcape; but God caſt my ſoul into everlaſting fire if ever " I made ſuch proffer of ten thouſand pounds, or one thouſand pounds; but indeed, I ſhewed " him a letter, that if he would go with me, there ſhould be order taken for the diſcharge " of his debts when he was gone; neither had I one thouſand pounds, for, if I had, I could " have made my peace better with it otherwiſe than by giving it *Stucley*. Further, he gave " out, when I came to Sir *Edward Parham*'s houſe, who had been a follower of mine, and " gave me good entertainment, I had there received ſome dram of poiſon. When I anſwer'd " that I feared no ſuch thing, for I was well aſſur'd of thoſe in the houſe; and therefore wiſhed " him to have no ſuch thought. Now I will not only ſay, that God is the God of revenge, " but alſo of mercy; and I deſire God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven." Then caſting his eye upon his note of remembrance, he went on thus:

" It was told the king, that I was brought perforce into *England*; and that I did not " intend to return again. Whereas captain *Charles Parker*, Mr. *Treſham*, Mr. *Leak*, and " divers others that knew how I was dealt withal by the common ſoldiers, will witneſs to " the contrary. They were an hundred and fifty of them who mutiny'd againſt me, " and ſent for me to come to them; for unto me they would not come. They kept me " cloſe priſoner in my cabbin, and forced me to take an oath, that I would not go into " *England* without their conſent, otherwiſe they would have caſt me into the ſea. After I " had taken this oath, I did, by wine, gifts, and fair words, ſo work upon the maſter- " gunner, and ten or twelve of the faction, that I won them to deſiſt from their purpoſes, " and intended, when I returned home, to procure their pardon; in the mean while pro- " poſed, that I would diſpoſe of ſome of them in *Ireland*; to which they agreed, and would " have gone into the north parts, from which I diſſuaded them, and told them, they were " *Red-ſhanks* who inhabited there, ſo drew them to the ſouth; and the better to clear myſelf " of them, was forced to get them a hundred and fifty pounds at *Kingſale*, otherwiſe I had " never got from them.

" There was a report alſo, that I meant not to go to *Guiana* at all; and that I knew not " of any mine, nor intended any ſuch matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not " the wit to keep. But it was my full intent to go for gold, for the benefit of his majeſty, " myſelf, and thoſe who went with me, with the reſt of my countrymen: tho' he that knew " the head of the mine, would not diſcover it when he ſaw my ſon was ſlain, but made him- " ſelf away." Then turning to the earl of *Arundel*, he ſaid, " My lord, you being in the " gallery of my ſhip at my departure, I remember you took me by the hand, and ſaid, you " would requeſt one thing of me; which was, whether I made a good voyage or a bad, that " I would return again into *England*; which I then promis'd, and gave you my faith I " would." So you did, ſaid his lordſhip, 'tis true, and they were the laſt words I ſaid to " you." Another ſlander was raiſed of me, that I ſhould have gone away from them, and " have left them at *Guiana*; but there were a great many worthy men, who accompanied me " always, as my ſerjeant-major, and divers others (whom he nam'd) that knew it was none " of my intention. Alſo it hath been ſaid, that I ſtinted them of freſh water; to which I " anſwer, every one was, as they muſt be in a ſhip, furniſh'd by meaſure, and not according " to their appetites. This courſe all ſeamen know muſt be uſed among them, and to this " ſtraight were we driven. Another opinion was held, that I carried with me ſixteen thouſand " pieces of gold; and that all the voyage I intended, was but to gain my liberty, and this " money into my hands: but, as I ſhall anſwer it before God, I had no more in all the " world, directly or indirectly, than one hundred pounds; whereof I gave about forty-five " pounds to my wife. But the ground of this falſe report was, that twenty thouſand pounds " being adventured, and but four thouſand appearing in the ſurveyor's books, the reſt had " my hand to the bills for divers adventures; but, as I hope to be ſaved, I had not a " penny more than one hundred pounds. Theſe are the material points I thought good to " ſpeak of; I am at this inſtant to render my account to God, and I proteſt, as I ſhall " appear before him, this that I have ſpoken is true.

" I will borrow but a little time more of Mr. *Sheriff*, that I may not detain him too " long; and herein I ſhall ſpeak of the imputation laid upon me through the jealouſy of " the people, that I had been a perſecutor of my lord of *Eſſex*; that I rejoiced in his death, " and ſtood in a window over-againſt him when he ſuffer'd, and puff'd out tobacco in de-

" fiance of him; when as, God is my witneſs, that I ſhed tears for him when he died;
" and, as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my lord of *Eſſex* did not ſee my face at
" the time of his death; for I was far off, in the armory, where I ſaw him, but he ſaw not
" me. 'Tis true, I was of a contrary faction; but I take the ſame God to witneſs, that I
" had no hand in his death, nor bare him any ill affection, but always believed it would be
" better for me that his life had been preſerved; for after his fall, I got the hatred of thoſe
" who wiſhed me well before: and thoſe who ſet me againſt him, ſet themſelves afterwards
" againſt me, and were my greateſt enemies: and my ſoul hath many times been grieved,
" that I was not nearer to him when he died; becauſe, as I underſtood afterwards, he aſked
" for me at his death, and deſired to have been reconciled to me.

" And now I entreat, that you all will join with me in prayer to that great God of hea-
" ven, whom I have grievouſly offended, being a man full of all vanity, who has lived a
" ſinful life in ſuch callings as have been moſt inducing to it; for I have been a ſoldier, a
" ſailor, and a courtier, which are courſes of wickedneſs and vice; that his Almighty Good-
" neſs will forgive me; that he will caſt away my ſins from me; and that he will receive me
" into everlaſting life: ſo I take my leave of you all, making my peace with God." [a]

Then proclamation being made, that all men ſhould depart the ſcaffold, he prepared himſelf for death, giving away his hat and cap and money to ſome attendants who ſtood near him. When he took leave of the lords and other gentlemen, he intreated the lord *Arundel* to deſire the king, that no ſcandalous writings to defame him might be publiſh'd after his death. Concluding, *I have a long journey to go, therefore muſt take my leave.* Then having put off his gown and doublet, he call'd to the headſman to ſhew him the ax, which not being ſuddenly done, he ſaid, *I pr'ythee let me ſee it. Doſt thou think that I am afraid of it?* Having finger'd the edge of it a little he return'd it, and ſaid, ſmiling, to the ſheriff, *This is a ſharp medicine, but it is a ſound cure for all diſeaſes*; and having intreated the company to pray to God to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen him, the executioner kneeled down and aſked him forgiveneſs; which *Ralegh*, laying his hand upon his ſhoulder, granted. Then being aſked, which way he would lay himſelf on the block, he anſwer'd, *So the* heart *be right, it is no matter which way the* head *lies.* As he ſtoop'd to lay himſelf along, and reclined his head, his face being towards the eaſt, the headſman ſpread his own cloak under him. After a little pauſe, he gave the ſign that he was ready for the ſtroke by lifting up his hand, and his head was
Beheaded. ſtruck off at two blows, his body never ſhrinking or moving. His head was ſhewed on each ſide of the ſcaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and, with his velvet night-gown thrown over it, was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning coach of his lady's. His body, as we are told, was buried hard by, in the chancel of St. *Margaret*'s church, near the altar; but his head was long preſerved in a caſe by his widow, for ſhe ſurvived him twenty-nine years, as I have found by ſome *anecdotes* remaining in the family; and after her death, it was kept alſo by her ſon *Carew*, with whom it is ſaid to have been buried. [b]

Thus

[a] This laſt ſpeech of *Ralgeh*'s is taken partly from an old MS. copy in the *Harleyan* library, and another in MS. alſo before me, but, principally, from three of the moſt ancient copies we have of it in print, at the end of *Overbury*'s *Narrative of his Arraignment*, and in his *Remains*; each ſupplying ſomething the others are wanting in, yet none varying conſiderably from the reſt, either in form of expreſſion, or matter of fact. From thence alſo, the ſuccceding particulars above of his behaviour at his death are drawn. Sir *Walter Ralegh* was not content with pronouncing of this ſpeech, but left a ſummary of it, ſigned at this time by his own hand. This we have but one copy of in print, and it is, at the end of his *Apology*, as follows. *Sir* Walter Ralegh's *Anſwer to ſome Things at his Death.* " I did
" never receive any direction from my lord *Carew* to make
" my eſcape, nor did I ever tell *Stucley* any ſuch thing. I did
" never name my lord *Hay* and my lord *Carew* to *Stucley*
" in other words or ſenſe than as my honourable friends,
" among other lords. I did never ſhew unto *Stucley* any
" letter wherein there was 10000*l.* named, or any one
" pound; only I told him, that I hoped to procure the
" payment of his debts in his abſence. I never had
" commiſſion from the *French* king. I never ſaw the
" *French* king's hand or ſeal in my life. I never had
" any plot or practice with the *French*, directly or in-
" directly, nor with any other prince or ſtate unknown
" to the king. My true intent was, to go to a mine of
" gold in *Guiana*; it was not feign'd; but it is true, that
" ſuch a mine there is, within three miles of *St. Thome.*
" I never had in my thought to go from *Trinidado* and
" leave my companies to come after to the ſavage iſland,
" as *Hatby Fearn* hath falſely reported. I did not carry
" with me a hundred pieces. I had with me about ſixty, and
" brought back near the ſame number. I never ſpake
" to the *French Manourie* any one diſloyal word or diſho-
" nourable ſpeech of the king; nay, if I had not *loved*
" the *king* truly, and *truſted* in his goodneſs, ſomewhat
" *too much*, I know that I had not now ſuffer'd death.

" Theſe things are moſt true, as there is a God, and
" as I am now to appear before his tribunal ſeat; where
" I renounce all mercy and ſalvation if this be not truth.
" *At my death*, W. Raleigh."

[b] However it was thought by *Anthony Wood*, as was obſerved in a former note, that the ſaid *Carew Ralegh* was buried at *Weſtminſter* in the ſame grave with his father; it is aſſerted, at *Weſt-Horſely*, in *Surrey*, which was his ſeat, that the ſaid ſon was buried there. And they have a tradition, that when he was inter'd, the head of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, which had been kept by him, was then put into the grave with his corpſe. And I have ſeen a letter concerning ſuch of the *Raleghs* as were baptized or buried at *Horſely* aforeſaid, written by *William Nicholas*, Eſq; who reſides upon that eſtate, to a friend; wherein that ingenious gentleman " does verily believe,
" the head he ſaw dug up there in 1703, from the ſide
" of a grave where a *Carew Ralegh* had been buried,
" was that of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; there being no bones
" of a body to it, nor room for any, the reſt of that ſide
" of the grave being firm chalk." All we ſhall mention more of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s head, is, the ſtory remember'd

THUS have we ſeen how Sir *Walter Ralegh*, after a ſhining and conſpicuous ſeries of actions againſt the enemies of his country, and for the improvement of navigation as well as the enlargement and enrichment of the *Britiſh* empire, under one ſoveraign, was deprived of his *liberty*, his *eſtate*, and his *life* under another; how Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who had been one of the greateſt ſcourges of *Spain*, was made a ſacrifice to it; how the ſervices of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, I ſay, in *camp*, in *court*, by *land*, by *ſea*, with *ſword* and *pen*, were an honour to queen *Elizabeth*'s reign; and how his ſufferings at *Wincheſter*, at *Weſtminſter*, by *impriſonment*, by *law*, with *ſlander* and the *ax*, were the diſgrace of king *James*'s. Writers vary in their accounts of his age; but the moſt credible hiſtorians inform us, that he was ſixty ſix years old at his execution. [a] Yet was it conjectured, by the extraordinary effuſion of blood from his veins, that he had ſtock and ſtrength enough left of nature to have ſurvived many years. "His death was managed by him, as one author has obſerved, with ſo high and religious "a reſolution, as if a *Roman* had acted a *Chriſtian*, or rather a *Chriſtian* a *Roman*:" [b] and this is confirm'd by Sir *Richard Hutton*'s evidence, who ſays, "He died in a good and "religious manner; ſpake much, and without any fear of death ſubmitted himſelf to the "block; by his death he gained great reputation in this life, and, by the grace and mercy "of God, remiſſion of his ſins and eternal life hereafter." [c]

AND now, ſince it is time to cloſe the ſcene, "let this glorious and gallant cavalier, whoſe "enemies have confeſs'd he was one of the weightieſt and wiſeſt men that this iſland ever "bred, reſt in his grave, and may his virtues live in poſterity;" [d] whom to inſpire therewith, the felicities of commemoration, however here diſpoſed of, ſeem to have ſignally combin'd; having tranſmitted many ample teſtimonies, how emulous the harmony of record and the ſpirit of communication have been to reſtore thoſe honours to his memory which were torn from his perſon; and make hiſtorical compenſation for ſuch honourable calamities: and that ſo early, that from this ſpeedy growth of his fame, through his extraordinary merits and misfortunes, the learned and judicious Mr. *Nathanael Carpenter*, who wrote but few years after his death, drew that comprehenſive character which has ſo much engaged the concurrence of all ſucceeding writers; where he ſays, *Who hath not* known *or* read *of that prodigy of* wit *and* fortune, *Sir* WALTER RALEGH? *A man unfortunate in nothing elſe but in*

ber'd by *Oſborne* and *Fuller*; who tell us, that Mr. *Edward Wiemark*, a wealthy citizen, great news-monger, and conſtant *Paul*'s-walker, hearing there, the news of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s death the day he was beheaded, and ſaying, among other things, *His* head *would do very well upon the* ſhoulders *of Sir* Robert Naunton, then ſecretary of ſtate, was complain'd of, and ſummon'd to the privy council; where he pleaded, that he intended no diſreſpect to Mr. *Secretary*, only ſpake in reference to the old proverb, that *Two heads were better than one*; ſo for the preſent was diſmiſs'd. Not long after, when rich men were call'd upon for a contribution to St. *Paul*'s cathedral, *Wiemark*, at the council-table, ſubſcribed a hundred pounds. But Mr. *Secretary* ſaid, *Two hundred are better than one, you know, Mr.* Wiemark; which, between fear and charity, he was fain to ſubſcribe.

[a] Camden's *Annals of King* James. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* and *Prince*'s Worthies.

[b] Oſborne's *Memoirs*.

[c] *See* Hutton's *Reports*, as before. Nor only in proſe, but in verſe we have ſeveral teſtimonies of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s heroick comportment at his death. I have ſeen three or four *epitaphs* on him highly extolling the ſame, in print; whereof one ends thus:

Heaven hath his ſoul, the world his fame,
The grave his corpſe, *Stucley* his ſhame.

But there is an *Elegy*, written upon Sir *Walter Ralegh*, by Dr. *Henry King*, afterwards biſhop of *Chicheſter*, which, tho' printed among the ſaid prelate's *poems* in 8*vo*. 1657, has been ſo little known to any who have written of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that I chuſe rather to repeat that than any other in this place; and it is as follows.

I will not weep, for 'twere as great a ſin
To ſhed a tear for thee as to have been
An actor in thy death: thy life and age
Was but a various ſcene on fortune's ſtage,
With whom thou tugg'ſt and ſtrov'ſt e'en out of breath
In thy long toil; ne'er maſter'd till thy death;
And then, deſpight of *trains* and *cruel* wit,
Thou did'ſt at once ſubdue malice and it.
I dare not then ſo blaſt thy memory,
As ſay, I do lament, or pity thee.
Were I to chuſe a ſubject to beſtow
My pity on, he ſhould be one as low
In ſpirit as deſert: that durſt not die,
But rather were content by ſlavery
To purchaſe life. Or I would pity thoſe
Thy moſt induſtrious and friendly foes,
Who, when they thought to make thee ſcandal's ſtory
Lent thee a ſwifter flight to heav'n and glory:
Who thought, by cutting off ſome wither'd days,
Which thou couldſt ſpare them, to eclipſe thy praiſe;
Yet gave it brighter foil, made thy ag'd fame
Appear more white and fair, than foul their ſhame.
And did promote an execution,
Which, but for them, nature and age had done.
Such worthleſs things as theſe were only born
To live on pity's alms, too mean for ſcorn.
Thou dieſt an envied wonder, whoſe high fate
The world muſt ſtill *admire*, ſcarce *imitate!*

Among the later poems which have been written upon him, ſince here is not room for Dr. *S. Bowden*'s ingenious verſes inſcrib'd to Miſs RALEGH, who is a direct deſcendant, and now living at *Salisbury*, I ſhall here recite only the concluſion of major *Richardſon Pack*'s *Prologue* to Dr. *Sewell*'s *Tragedy of Sir* Walter Ralegh, as containing a moſt notable admonition to ſucceeding times.

Jealous of *virtue* that was ſo *ſublime*,
His *country* damn'd his *merit* as a crime.
The *traytor*'s doom did on the *patriot* wait:
He *ſav'd*— and then he *periſh'd* by the *ſtate*.
A patient MONARCH, too ſecurely wiſe,
Unhappy kings, they ſee with others eyes!
Weakly conſented to the *guilty* deed,
And made three *kingdoms* in their CHAMPION bleed.
BRITONS, by this EXAMPLE taught, *unite*;
Wound not the *publick* out of *private* ſpite.
To great *atchievements*, juſt *rewards* allow;
Nor tear the *laurel* from the *victor*'s brow.
Exert your *vigor* in the *nation's* cauſe,
But grudge no *rival* his *deſerv'd applauſe*.
Safely WE may defy *MADRID* or *ROME*,
If no ſly *GONDOMAR* prevails at HOME.

[d] Howel's *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 372.

the

the greatneſs *of his* wit *and* advancement! *whoſe eminent worth was ſuch, both in* domeſtick policy, foreign expeditions *and* diſcoveries; *in* arts *and* literature, *both* practic *and* contemplative, *that it might ſeem at once to conquer both* example *and* imitation. [a] But leſt a private judgment ſhould be ſuſpected, more liable to the ignorance of a ſtranger, or the affection of a friend; and that there may be no room left to doubt either of ſuch manifold *worth* in Sir *Walter Ralegh*, or that it was all made *a ſacrifice of ſtate to the enemies and deceivers of the ſtate*, we have reſerved, as moſt convincing, the acknowledgments of an enemy, who made him that ſacrifice, here to conclude with. For king *James*, ſoon after *Ralegh*'s execution, beginning to ſee how he was, and would be deluded by the *Spaniard*, made one of his miniſters write to his agent in *Spain*, to let that ſtate know, they ſhould be look'd upon as the moſt unworthy people in the world, if they did not now act with ſincerity, ſince his majeſty had given ſo many teſtimonies of his; and now of late, *by cauſing Sir* Walter Ralegh *to be put to death, chiefly for the giving* them *ſatisfaction.* Further to let them ſee how, *in many actions of late, his majeſty had* ſtrained *upon the affections of his people, and* eſpecially *in this laſt concerning Sir* Walter Ralegh, *who died with a great deal of* courage *and* conſtancy. Laſtly, that he ſhould let them know, *how able a man Sir* Walter Ralegh *was, to have done his majeſty ſervice. Yet, to give* them content, *he hath not* ſpared *him*; *when by* preſerving *him, he might have given great ſatisfaction to his ſubjects, and had at command,* upon all occaſions, as uſeful a man *as ſerved any prince in* Chriſtendom. [b]

[a] Carpenter's *Geography Delineated. In Two Books. Containing the ſpherical and topical Parts thereof*, 4to. Oxon. 1625 and 1635; lib. 2. cap. 11, p. 261. From whence *Howel, Anthony Wood, J. Prince*, and other writers on Sir *W. Ralegh* have copied this character.

[b] See *A Letter from a great Miniſter of State to Mr.* Cottington, *Agent in* Spain, in *Ruſhworth*'s Hiſtorical Collections, vol. 1, fol. 9, 10.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

FOL. 17, the two laſt letters of reference in the text ſhould be *d.* and *e.* fol. 21. lin. 28. read *immerg'd. idem*, in the Notes, lin. 10. read *Octavo.* fol. 22. laſt lin. of N. for *captain* read *ſome relation of.* fol. 23. lin. 7. from the bottom, *dele Sir.* fol. 28. N. col. 2. lin. 9. read *ſee the* for *captain P. Ralegh's.* fol. 31. lin. 9. read *who rewarded.* fol. 34. lin. 21. for *ſent it over* read *deliver'd it.* fol. 35. N. col. 1. laſt lin. read *tax* for *take.* fol. 48. N. lin. 3. read *Octavo.* fol. 50. N. lin. 25. read *young, by the earl.* fol. 59. N. lin. 8. dele *but.* fol. 60. laſt lin. N. read *report of.* fol. 71. N. lin. 20. read *geographicam.* fol. 82. N. col. 2. lin. 6. read *when by.* lin. 7. dele *by* fol. 90. l. 4. from the bottom, r. *mated.* fol. 120 lin. 21. for *as it ſeems* read *as he now thought.* fol. 127. N. lin. 2. for Sir *Henry Wotton's Parallel* read *The Earl of* Clarendon's *Diſparity.* fol. 130. lin. 16. dele *a.* fol. 131. laſt N. lin. 6. read *fool.* fol. 132. lin. 7. read *to have.* fol. 134. N. col. 2. lin. 1. for *es lunes* read *les unes.* lin. 3. read *chronolgie.* fol. 139. N. lin. 14. for *Suſſex* read *Surrey*, to a friend. fol. 144. N. lin. 2. read *great grand*, &c. fol. 154. lin. 2. read *under the wardens.* fol. 164. N. lin. 5. read *corrupt judges.* fol. 166. lin. 14. from below, read *dealings* were. fol. 179. N. lin. 17. from the bottom, read *fifty* for *forty.* fol. 180. lin. 7. for *Aſhmolean* read *the library of* Caius-College, Cambridge. *idem.* N. lin. 4. read *Moore* for *More.* fol. 206. lin. 6. dele the *period* and put a *comma.*

THE TRIAL OF Sir *WALTER RALEGH*, Knt. For HIGH TREASON,

At Winton *the* 17*th of* November, 1603, 1 Jac. I.

The COMMISSIONERS were,

The Right Honourable Henry Howard, *Earl of* Suffolk, *Lord Chamberlain.*
Charles Blunt, *Earl of* Devon.
Lord Henry Howard, *afterward Earl of* Northampton.
Robert Cecil, *Earl of* Salisbury.
Edward *Lord* Wotton *of* Morley.
Sir John Stanhope, *Vice-Chamberlain.*
Lord Chief Juſtice of England, Popham.
Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, Anderſon.
Mr. Juſtice Gawdie.
Mr. Juſtice Warburton, *and*
Sir William Wade.

FIRST, The Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, was read by the Clerk of the Crown-Office; and the Priſoner bid hold up his Hand:

And then preſently the Indictment, which was in effect as followeth:

THAT he did conſpire, and go about to deprive the King of his Government, to raiſe up Sedition within the Realm, to alter Religion, to bring in the Roman Superſtition, and to procure foreign Enemies to invade the Kingdom. That the Lord Cobham, *the* 9*th of* June *laſt, did meet with the ſaid Sir* Walter Ralegh *in* Durham *Houſe, in the Pariſh of* St. Martin's in the Fields, *and then and there had Conference with him how to advance* Arabella Stuart *to the Crown and royal Throne of this Kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed, That* Cobham *ſhould treat with* Aremberg, *Ambaſſador from the Arch-duke of* Auſtria, *to obtain of him* 600,000 *Crowns, to bring to paſs their intended Treaſons. It was agreed, That* Cobham *ſhould go to* Albert *the Arch-duke, to procure him to advance the pretended Title of* Arabella: *From thence, knowing that* Albert *had not ſufficient Means to maintain his own Army in the* Low-Countries, Cobham *ſhould go to* Spain *to procure the King to aſſiſt, and further her pretended Title.*

It was agreed, the better to effect all this Conſpiracy, That Arabella *ſhould write three Letters, one to the Arch-duke, another to the King of* Spain, *and a third to the Duke of* Savoy; *and promiſe there Things;* Firſt, *To eſtabliſh a firm Peace between* England *and* Spain. Secondly, *To tolerate the* Popiſh *and* Roman *Superſtition.* Thirdly, *To be ruled by them in contracting of her Marriage.*

And, for the effecting theſe traiterous Purpoſes, Cobham *ſhould return by the Iſle of* Jerſey, *and ſhould there find Sir* Walter Ralegh, *Captain of the ſaid Iſle, and take Counſel of* Ralegh *for the diſtributing of the aforeſaid Crowns, as the Occaſion or Diſcontentment of the Subjects ſhould give Cauſe and Way.*

And further, That Cobham *and his Brother* Brook *met on the* 9*th of* June *laſt, and* Cobham *told* Brook *all theſe Treaſons: To the which Treaſons* Brook *gave his Aſſent, and did join himſelf to all theſe; and after, on the* Thurſday *following,*

Cobham *and* Brook *did ſpeak theſe Words*; That there would never be a good World in *England*, till the King (*meaning our Soveraign Lord*) and his Cubs (*meaning his Royal Iſſue*) were taken away.

And, the more to diſable and deprive the King of his Crown, and to confirm the ſaid Cobham *in his Intents,* Ralegh *did publiſh a Book, falſly written againſt the moſt juſt and royal Title of the King, knowing the ſaid Book to be written againſt the juſt Title of the King; which Book* Cobham *after that received of him. Farther, for the better effecting theſe traiterous Purpoſes, and to eſtabliſh the ſaid* Brook *in his Intent, the ſaid* Cobham *did deliver the ſaid Book unto him, the 14th of* June. *And further, the ſaid* Cobham, *on the 16th of* June, *for Accompliſhment of the ſaid Conference, and, by the traiterous Inſtigation of* Ralegh, *did move* Brook *to incite* Arabella *to write to the three forenamed Princes to procure them to advance her Title; and that ſhe, after ſhe had obtained the Crown, ſhould promiſe to perform three Things,* viz. 1. *Peace between* England *and* Spain. 2. *To tolerate with Impunity, the* Popiſh *and* Roman *Superſtitions.* 3. *To be ruled by them three, in the contracting of her Marriage.*

To theſe Motions, the ſaid Brook *gave his Aſſent; and for the better effecting of the ſaid Treaſons,* Cobham, *on the 17th of* June, *by the Inſtigation of* Ralegh, *did write Letters to Count* Aremberg, *and did deliver the ſaid Letters to one* Matthew de Lawrency, *to be delivered to the ſaid Count, which he did deliver, for the obtaining of* 600,000 *Crowns; which Money, by other Letters, Count* Aremberg *did promiſe to perform the payment of; and this Letter* Cobham *received the 18th of* June. *And then did* Cobham *promiſe to* Ralegh, *that when he had received the ſaid Money, he would deliver* 8000 *Crowns to him; to which Motion he did conſent; and afterwards* Cobham *offered* Brook, *that after he ſhould receive the ſaid Crowns, he would give to him* 10000 *thereof; to which Motion* Brook *did aſſent.*

To the Indictment, Sir *Walter Ralegh* pleaded Not Guilty.

The JURY.

Sir *Ralph Conisby*, Knt.	*Thomas Walker*, Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Fowler*, Knt.	*Thomas Whitby*, Eſq;
Sir *Edward Peacock*, Knt.	*Thomas Highgate*, Gent.
Sir *William Rowe*, Knt.	*Robert Kempthon*, Gent.
Henry Goodyer, Eſq;	*John Chawkey*, Gent.
Roger Wood, Eſq;	*Robert Brumley*, Gent.

Sir *Walter Ralegh* was asked, whether he would take Exceptions to any of the Jury.

Ralegh. I know none of them; they are all Chriſtians and honeſt Gentlemen; I except againſt none.

E. *Suff.* You Gentlemen of the King's learned Council, follow the ſame Courſe as you did the other Day.

Ralegh. My Lord, I pray you, I may anſwer the Points particularly, as they are delivered, by reaſon of the Weakneſs of my Memory and Sickneſs.

Popham, Chief Juſtice. After the King's learned Council have delivered all the Evidence, Sir *Walter*, you may anſwer particularly to what you will.

Heale, the King's Serjeant at Law. You have heard of *Ralegh*'s bloody Attempts, to kill the King and his royal Progeny, and, in place thereof, to advance one *Arabella Stuart.* The Particulars of the Indictment are theſe: *Firſt*, That *Ralegh* met with *Cobham* the 9th of *June*, and had Conference of an Invaſion, of a Rebellion, and an Inſurrection, to be made by the King's Subjects, to depoſe the King, and to kill his Children, poor Babes, that never gave Offence: Here is Blood, here is a new King and Governor. In our King conſiſts all our Happineſs, and the true Uſe of the Goſpel; a Thing, which we all wiſhed to be ſetled after the Death of the Queen. Here muſt be Money to do this, for Money is the Sinew of War Where ſhould that be had? Count *Aremberg* muſt procure it of *Philip* King of *Spain*, 5 or 600,000 Crowns, and out of this Sum, *Ralegh* muſt have 8000; then there muſt be Friends to effect this. *Cobham* muſt go to *Albert*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, from whom *Aremberg* was Ambaſſador at that time in *England*. And what then? He muſt perſuade the Duke to aſſiſt the pretended Title of *Arabella*. From thence *Cobham* muſt go to the King of *Spain*, and perſuade him to aſſiſt the ſaid Title. Since the Conqueſt, there was never the like Treaſon. But out of whoſe Head came it? Out of *Ralegh*'s, who muſt alſo adviſe *Cobham* to uſe his Brother *Brook* to incite the Lady *Arabella* to write three ſeveral Letters, as aforeſaid in the Indictment; all this was on the 9th of *June*. Then three Days after, *Brook* was acquainted with it: After this, *Cobham* ſaid to *Brook*, 'Twill never be well in *England*, till the King and his Cubs are taken away. Afterwards *Ralegh* delivered a Book to *Cobham*, treacherouſly written againſt the Title of the King. It appears, that *Cobham* took *Ralegh, to be either a God, or an Idol. Cobham* endeavours to ſet up a new King, or Governor. God forbid, mine Eyes ſhould ever ſee ſo unhappy a Change. As for the Lady *Arabella*, ſhe, upon my Conſcience, hath no more Title to the Crown than I have; which, before God, I utterly renounce. *Cobham*, a Man bred in *England*, hath no Experience abroad. But *Ralegh*, a Man of great Wit, Military, and a Sword-man. Now whether theſe Things were bred in a hollow Tree, I leave to them to ſpeak of, who can ſpeak far better than myſelf.

Sir *Edward Coke, the King's Attorney.* I muſt firſt, My Lords, before I come to the Cauſe, give one Caution; becauſe we ſhall often mention Perſons of eminent Places, ſome of them great Monarchs: Whatever we ſay of them, we ſhall but repeat what others have ſaid of them; I mean the capital Offenders in their Confeſſions: We, profeſſing Law, muſt ſpeak reverently of Kings and Potentates. I perceive theſe honourable Lords, and the reſt of this great Aſſembly, are come to hear what hath been ſcattered upon the Wreck of Report. We carry a juſt Mind, to condemn no Man, but upon plain Evidence. Here is Miſchief, Miſchief *in ſummo gradu*, exorbitant Miſchief. My Speech ſhall chiefly touch theſe three Points; *Imitation*, *Supportation*, and *Defence.*

The Imitation of Evil ever exceeds the Precedent; as on the contrary, Imitation of Good ever comes ſhort. Miſchief cannot be ſupported, but by Miſchief: Yea, it will ſo multiply, that it will bring all to Confuſion. Miſchief is ever underprop'd by Falſhood of foul Practices. And becauſe all theſe things did concur in theſe Treaſons, you ſhall underſtand the Main, as before you did the Bye.

The Treaſon of the Bye, conſiſteth in theſe Points: *Firſt*, That the Lord *Grey*, *Brook*, *Markham*, and the reſt, intended by Force in the Night, to ſurprize the King's Court; which was a Rebellion in the Heart of the Realm, yea, in the Heart of the Heart, in the Court. They intended to make him, that

that is a Soveraign, ſubject to their Power, purpoſing to open the Doors with Muſquets and Calivers, and to take alſo the Prince and Council. Then, under the King's Authority, to carry the King to the *Tower*, and to make a *Stale of the Admiral*: When they had the King there, to extort three Things from him. *Firſt*, A Pardon for all their Treaſons. *Secondly*, A Toleration of the *Roman* Superſtition: Which, their Eyes ſhall ſooner fall out, than they ſhall ever ſee; for the King hath ſpoken theſe Words in the hearing of many, *I will loſe the Crown and my Life, before ever I will alter Religion.* And *Thirdly*, To remove Counſellors: In the room of the Lord Chancellor, they would have placed one *Watſon* a Prieſt, abſurd in Humanity, and ignorant in Divinity. *Brook*, of whom I will ſpeak nothing, Lord Treaſurer; the great Secretary muſt be *Markham*, *Oculus Patriæ*. A Hole muſt be found in my Lord Chief Juſtice's Coat. *Grey* muſt be *Earl Marſhal*, and *Maſter of the Horſe*, becauſe he would have a Table in the Court: Marry, he would advance the Earl of *Worceſter* to a higher Place. All this cannot be done without a Multitude. Therefore *Watſon* the Prieſt telleth a reſolute Man, That the King was in Danger of *Puritans* and *Jeſuits*; ſo to bring him in blindfold into the Action; ſaying, That the King is no King till he be crowned, therefore every Man might right his own Wrongs: But he is *Rex Natus*, his Dignity deſcends as well as yours, my Lords. Then *Watſon* impoſeth a blaſphemous Oath, That they ſhould ſwear to defend the King's Perſon, to keep ſecret what was given them in Charge, and ſeek all Ways and Means to advance the Catholick Religion. Then they intend to ſend for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, in the King's Name, to the *Tower*, leſt they ſhould make any Reſiſtance, and then to take Hoſtages of them; and to enjoin them to provide for them Victuals and Munition. *Grey*, becauſe the King removed before *Midſummer*, had a further Reach, to get a Company of Sword-men to aſſiſt the Action: Therefore he would ſtay, till he had obtain'd a Regiment from *Oſtend* or *Auſtria*. So you ſee, theſe Treaſons were like *Sampſon*'s Foxes, which were joined in their Tails, tho' their Heads were ſevered.

Ralegh. You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray remember, I am not charged with the Bye, being the Treaſon of the Prieſt.

Attorney. You are not: My Lords, you ſhall obſerve three Things in the Treaſons. *Firſt*, They had a Watch-word (the King's Safety); their Pretence was *Bonum in ſe*, their Intent was *Malum in ſe*. *Secondly*, They avouched Scripture; both the Prieſts had, *Scriptum eſt*; perverting and ignorantly miſtaking the Scriptures. *Thirdly*, They avouched the Common Law to prove, That he was no King till he was crowned, alledging a Statute of 13 *Eliz.* This, by way of Imitation, hath been the Courſe of all Traytors.

In the 20th of *Edward* II, *Iſabella* the Queen, and the Lord *Mortimer*, gave out, That the King's Perſon was not ſafe, for the Good of the Church and Commonwealth.

The Biſhop of *Carliſle* did preach on this Text, *My Head is grieved*; meaning by the Head, the King; that when the Head began to be negligent, the People might reform what is amiſs.

In the 3d of *Henry* IV, Sir *Roger Claringdon*, accompanied with two Prieſts, gave out, that *Richard* II. was alive, when he was dead.

Edward III. cauſed *Mortimer*'s Head to be cut off, for giving Counſel to murther the King.

The 3d of *Henry* VII. Sir *Henry Stanley* found the Crown in the Duſt, and ſet it on the King's Head. When *Fitzwater* and *Garret* told him, that *Edward* V. was alive, he ſaid, *If he be alive, I will aſſiſt him*: But this coſt him his Head.

Edmund de la Pole, Duke of *Suffolk*, killed a Man in the Reign of King *Henry* VII, for which the King would have him hold up his Hand at the Bar, and then pardoned him. Yet he took ſuch Offence thereat, that he ſent to the Noblemen, to help to reform the Commonwealth; and then ſaid, he would go to *France* and get Power there. Sir *Roger Compton* knew all the Treaſon, and diſcovered *Windon* and others, that were attainted.

He ſaid, there was another Thing that would be ſtood upon, namely, that they had but one Witneſs; then he vouched one *Appleyard*'s Caſe (*Temp. Eliz.*) a Traytor in *Norfolk*, who ſaid a Man muſt have two Accuſers. *Helmes* was the Man that accuſed him; but Mr. *Juſtice Catlin* ſaid, that that Statute was not in force at that Day; his Words were, *Thruſt her into the Ditch.*

Then he went on ſpeaking of Accuſers, and made this Difference: An Accuſer is a Speaker by Report; when a Witneſs is he, that upon his Oath ſhall ſpeak his Knowledge of any Man.

A third ſort of Evidence there is likewiſe, and this is held more forcible than either of the other two; and that is, when a Man, by his Accuſation of another, ſhall, by the ſame Accuſation, alſo condemn himſelf, and make himſelf liable to the ſame Fault and Puniſhment: This is more forcible than many Witneſſes. So then, ſo much by way of Imitation. Then he defined Treaſon: There is Treaſon in the Heart, in the Hand, in the Mouth, in Conſummation; comparing that *in Corde* to the Root of a Tree; *in Ore*, to the Bud; *in Manu*, to the Bloſſom; and that which is *in Conſummatione*, to the Fruit.

Now I come to your Charge, you of the Jury: The Greatneſs of Treaſon is to be conſidered in theſe two Things, *Determinatione finis*, and *Electione mediorum*. This Treaſon excelleth in both, for that it was to deſtroy the King and his Progeny. Theſe Treaſons are ſaid to be *Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*; this goeth farther, and may be termed *Crimen extirpandæ Regiæ Majeſtatis & totius Progeniei ſuæ*. I ſhall not need, my Lords, to ſpeak any thing concerning the King, nor of the Bounty and Sweetneſs of his Nature, whoſe Thoughts are innocent, whoſe Words are full of Wiſdom and Learning, and whoſe Works are full of Honour; altho' it be a true Saying, *Nunquam nimis, quod nunquam ſatis*. But to whom do you bear Malice? To the Children?

Ralegh. To whom ſpeak you this? You tell me News I never heard of.

Attorney. Oh Sir, do I; I will prove you the notoriouſeſt Traytor, that ever came to the Bar. After you have taken away the King, you would alter Religion: As you Sir *Walter Ralegh* have followed them of the Bye in Imitation; for I will charge you with the Words.

Ralegh. Your Words cannot condemn me, my Innocency is my Defence: Prove one of theſe Things wherewith you have charged me, and I will confeſs the whole Indictment; and that I am the horribleſt Traytor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thouſand thouſand Torments.

Attorney. Nay, I will prove all: Thou art a Monſter; thou haſt an *Engliſh* Face, but a *Spaniſh* Heart. Now you muſt have Money: *Aremberg* was no ſooner in *England* (I charge thee *Ralegh*) but thou incitedſt *Cobham* to go unto him, and to deal with him for Money, to beſtow on diſcontented Perſons, to raiſe Rebellion in the Kingdom.

Ralegh. Let me anſwer for myſelf.

Attorney.

Attorney. Thou ſhalt not.

Ralegh. It concerneth my Life.

Lord Chief Juſtice Popham. Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Mr. *Attorney* is but yet in the General; but when the King's Council have given the Evidence wholly, you ſhall anſwer every Particular.

Attorney. Oh! do I touch you?

Lord Cecil. Mr. *Attorney*, when you have done with this general Charge, do you not mean to let him anſwer to every Particular?

Attorney. Yes, when we deliver the Proofs to be read. *Ralegh* procured *Cobham* to go to *Aremberg*, which he did by his Inſtigation: *Ralegh* ſupped with *Cobham* before he went to *Aremberg*; after Supper, *Ralegh* conducted him to *Durham* Houſe; from whence *Cobham* went with *Lawrency*, a Servant of *Aremberg*'s, unto him, and went in by a Back-way. *Cobham* could never be quiet until he had entertain'd this Motion, for he had four Letters from *Ralegh*. *Aremberg* anſwered, the Money ſhould be performed, but knew not to whom it ſhould be diſtributed. Then *Cobham* and *Lawrency* came back to *Durham* Houſe, where they found *Ralegh*. *Cobham* and *Ralegh* went up, and left *Lawrency* below, where they had ſecret Conference in a Gallery, and after *Cobham* and *Lawrency* departed from *Ralegh*. Your Jargon was Peace! What is that? *Spaniſh* Invaſion, *Scotiſh* Subverſion. And again, you are not a fit Man to take ſo much Money for procuring of a lawful Peace, for Peace procured by Money is diſhonourable. Then *Cobham* muſt go to *Spain*, and return by *Jerſey*, where you were Captain: And then, becauſe *Cobham* had not ſo much Policy, or at leaſt Wickedneſs, as you, he muſt have your Advice for the diſtribution the Money. Would you have deſpoſed ſo good a King, lineally deſcended of *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV: Why then muſt you ſet up another? I think you meant to make *Arabella* a titular Queen, of whoſe Title I will ſpeak nothing; but ſure you meant to make her a Stale: Ah good Lady! you could mean her no good.

Ralegh. You tell me News, Mr. *Attorney*.

Attorney. Oh Sir! I am the more large, becauſe I know with whom I deal: For we have to deal to-day with a Man of Wit.

Ralegh. Did I ever ſpeak with this Lady?

Attorney. I will track you out before I have done; *Engliſhmen* will not be led by Perſuaſion of Words, but they muſt have Books to perſuade.

Ralegh. The Book * was written by a Man of your Profeſſion, Mr. *Attorney*.

Attorney. I would not have you impatient.

Ralegh. Methinks you fall out with yourſelf; I ſay nothing.

Attorney. By this Book, you would perſuade Men, that he is not the lawful King. Now let us conſider ſome Circumſtances: My Lords, you know my Lord *Cobham* (for whom we all lament, and rejoice; lament in that his Houſe, which hath ſtood ſo long unſpotted, is now ruinated: Rejoice, in that his Treaſons are revealed) is neither Politician no Sword-man; *Ralegh* was both, united in the Cauſe with him, and therefore Cauſe of his Deſtruction. Another Circumſtance is, the ſecret contriving of it. *Humphry Stafford* claimed Sanctuary for Treaſon, *Ralegh* in his *Machiavilian* Policy hath made a Sanctuary for Treaſon. He muſt talk with none but *Cobham*, becauſe (ſaith he) one Witneſs can never condemn me. For *Brook* ſaid unto Sir *Griffith Markham*, take heed how you do make my Lord *Cobham* acquainted; for whatſoever he knoweth, *Ralegh* the Witch will get it out of him. As ſoon as *Ralegh* was examined on one Point of Treaſon concerning my Lord *Cobham*, he wrote to him thus; *I have been examined of you, and confeſſed nothing.* Further, you ſent to him by your truſty *Francis Kemiſh*, that one Witneſs could not condemn; and therefore bad his Lordſhip be of good Courage. Came this out of *Cobham*'s Quiver? No: But out of *Ralegh*'s *Machiavelian* and Deviliſh Policy. Yea, but *Cobham* did retract it: Why then did you urge it? Now then ſee the moſt horrible Practices that ever came out of the bottomleſs Pit of the loweſt Hell. After that *Ralegh* had Intelligence that *Cobham* had accuſed him, he endeavoured to have Intelligence from *Cobham*, which he had gotten by young Sir *John Payton*: But I think it was the Error of his Youth.

Ralegh. The Lords told it me, or elſe I had not been ſent to the *Tower*.

Attorney. Thus *Cobham*, by the Inſtigation of *Ralegh*, entred into theſe Actions: So that the Queſtion will be, Whether you are not the principal Traytor, and he would nevertheleſs have entred into it? Why did *Cobham* retract all that ſame? *Firſt*, Becauſe *Ralegh* was ſo odious, he thought he ſhould fare the worſe for his ſake. 2*dly*, He thought thus with himſelf, if he be free, I ſhall clear myſelf the better. After this, *Cobham* asked for a Preacher to confer with, pretending to have Dr. *Andrews*; but indeed, he meant not to have him, but Mr. *Galloway*, a worthy and reverend Preacher, who can do more with the King (as he ſaid) than any other; that he, ſeeing his conſtant Denial, might inform the King thereof. Here he plays with the Preacher. If *Ralegh* could perſuade the Lords, that *Cobham* had no Intent to travel, then he thought all ſhould be well. Here is Forgery. In the *Tower*, *Cobham* muſt write to Sir *Thomas Vane*, a worthy Man, That he meant not to go into *Spain*; which Letter *Ralegh* deviſed in *Cobham*'s Name.

Ralegh. I will waſh my Hands of the Indictment, and die a true Man to the King.

Attorney. You are the abſoluteſt Traytor that ever was.

Ralegh. Your Phraſes will not prove it, Mr. *Attorney*.

Attorney. *Cobham* writeth a Letter to my Lord *Cecil*, and doth will *Mellis*, his Man, to lay it in a *Spaniſh* Bible, and to make as tho' he found it by chance. This was after he had Intelligence with this Viper; then he was falſe.

Lord Cecil. You mean a Letter intended to me; I never had it.

Attorney. No, my Lord, you had it not. You, my Maſters of the Jury, reſpect not the Wickedneſs and Hatred of the Man, reſpect his Cauſe; if he be guilty, I know you will have Care of it, for the Preſervation of the King, the Continuance of the Goſpel authoriſed, and the Good of us all.

Ralegh. I do not hear yet, that you have ſpoken one Word againſt me; here is no Treaſon of mine done. If my Lord *Cobham* be a Traytor, what is that to me?

Attorney. All that he did, was by thy Inſtigation, thou Viper; for I *Thou* thee, thou Traytor.

Ralegh. It becometh not a Man of Quality and Virtue, to call me ſo: But I take Comfort in it, it is all you can do.

Attorney. Have I anger'd you?

Ralegh. I am in no Caſe to be angry?

* *This Book was intitled*, A Defence of the Queen's Proceedings, againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*. *Written by one* Robert Snag. *See the Arraignment of Sir* Walter Ralegh. *By Sir* Thomas Overbury, 4to. 1648.

C. J.

C. J. Popham. Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Mr. *Attorney* ſpeaketh out of the Zeal of his Duty, for the Service of the King, and you for your Life; be valiant on both ſides.

Now they proceed to the reading the Proofs.

The Lord Cobham's *Examination read.*

" He confeſſeth he had a Paſport to go into *Spain*, " intending to go to the Arch-duke, to confer " with him about theſe Practices; and becauſe " he knew the Arch-duke had not Money to " pay his own Army, from thence he meant to go " to *Spain*, to deal with the King for the 600,000 " Crowns, and to return by *Jerſey*; and that no- " thing ſhould be done, until he had ſpoken with " Sir *Walter Ralegh*, for diſtribution of the Money " to them which were diſcontented in *England*. " At the firſt beginning, he breathed out Oaths " and Exclamations againſt *Ralegh*, calling him " Villain and Traytor; ſaying, he had never en- " tered into theſe Courſes, but by his Inſtigation, " and that he would never let him alone.

Here Mr. *Attorney* willed the Clerk of the Crown-Office, to read over theſe laſt Words again (*he would never let him alone.*)

The Lord Cobham's *Examination.*

" Beſides, he ſpake of Plots and Invaſions: Of " the Particulars whereof he could give no Ac- " count, tho' *Ralegh* and he had conferred of them, " becauſe he was (as he ſaid) confounded with " them. Further, he ſaid, he was afraid of *Ra-* " *legh*, that when he ſhould return by *Jerſey*, that " he would have him and the Money to the King. " Being examined of Sir *Arthur Gorge*, he freed " him, ſaying, They never durſt truſt him; but " Sir *Arthur Savage* they intended to uſe, becauſe " they thought him a fit Man.

Ralegh. Let me ſee the Examination: This is abſolutely all the Evidence can be brought againſt me; poor Shifts! You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you underſtand this: This is that which muſt either condemn, or give me Life; which muſt free me, or ſend my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets. This is what muſt prove me a notorious Traytor, or true Subject to the King. Let me ſee my Accuſation, that I may make my Anſwer.

Clerk of the Council. I did read it, and ſhew you all the Examinations.

Ralegh. At my firſt Examination at *Windſor*, my Lords aſked me, what I knew of *Cobham*'s Practice with *Aremberg*; I anſwered negatively: And as concerning *Arabella*, I proteſt before God, I never heard one Word of it. If that be proved, let me be guilty of a thouſand Treaſons. It is a ſtrange thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard ſo much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella*.

After being examined, I told my Lords, that I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I ſuſpected his viſiting of him: For after he departed from me at *Durham* Houſe, I ſaw him paſs by his own Stairs, and paſſed over to St. *Mary-Saviours*, where I knew *Lawrency* a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* asked my Opinion concerning *Lawrency*; I ſaid, That if you do not apprehend *Lawrency*, it is dangerous, he will fly; if you do apprehend him, you ſhall give my Lord *Cobham* Notice thereof. I was asked likewiſe, Who was the greateſt Man with my Lord *Cobham*? I anſwered, I knew no Man ſo great with him, as young *Wyat* of *Kent*.

As ſoon as *Cobham* ſaw my Letter to have diſcovered his Dealing with *Aremberg*, in his Fury he accuſed me; but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented him, and ſaid, he had done me wrong. When he came to the End of his Accuſation, he added, That if he had brought this Money to *Jerſey*, that I would have delivered him and the Money to the King. Mr. *Attorney*, You ſaid this never came out of *Cobham*'s Quiver, he is a ſimple Man: Is he ſo ſimple? No: He hath Diſpoſitions of his own, he will not eaſily be guided by others, but when he has once taken Head in a Matter, he is not eaſily drawn from it; he is no Babe. But it is ſtrange for me to deviſe with *Cobham*, that he ſhould go to *Spain*, to perſuade the King to disburſe ſo much Money, he being a Man of no Love in *England*, and I having reſigned my Room of chiefeſt Command, the Wardenſhip of the *Stannaries*: Is it not ſtrange for me, to make myſelf *Robin Hood*, or a *Kett*, or a *Cade*; I knowing *England* to be in better Eſtate to defend itſelf than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* united, *Ireland* quieted, *Denmark* aſſured, which before was ſuſpected. I knew, that having loſt a Lady whom Time had ſurpriſed, we had now an active King, a lawful Succeſſor. The State of *Spain* was not unknown to me. I had written a Diſcourſe, which I had intended to preſent unto the King, againſt Peace with *Spain*. I knew the *Spaniards* had ſix Repulſes, three in *Ireland*, and three at Sea, and once in 1588 at *Cales*, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was diſcouraged and diſhonoured. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudeſt Prince living; but now he cometh creeping to the King my Maſter, for Peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his Ports ſix or ſeven ſcore Sail of Ships, he hath now but ſix or ſeven. I knew of twenty-five Millions he had from his *Indies*, he hath ſcarce one left. I knew him ſo poor, that the Jeſuits in *Spain*, who were wont to have ſuch large Allowance, were fain to beg at the Church-door. Was it ever read or heard, that any Prince ſhould diſburſe ſo much Money, without a ſufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, would not lend her Majeſty Money, without Lands in Mortgage. I knew the Queen did not lend the *States* Money, without *Fluſhing*, *Brill*, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought, he would let *Cobham* have ſo great a Sum?

I never came to the Lord *Cobham*'s, but about Matters of his Profit, as the ordering of his Houſe, paying of his Servants Board-wages, *&c.* I had of his when I was examined, four thouſand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchaſe; a Pearl of three thouſand Pounds, and a Ring worth five hundred Pounds: If he had had a Fancy to run away, he would not have left ſo much to have purchaſed a Leaſe in Fee-farm. I ſaw him buy three hundred Pounds worth of Books, to ſend to his Library at *Canterbury*, and a Cabinet of thirty Pounds to give to Mr. *Attorney*, for drawing the Conveyances; and God in Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel. But for that Practice with *Arabella*, or Letters to *Aremberg*, or any Diſcourſe with him, or in what Language he ſpake unto him; if I knew any of theſe things, I would abſolutely confeſs the Indictment, and acknowledge myſelf worthy a thouſand Deaths.

Cobham's *ſecond Examination read.*

" The Lord *Cobham* being required to ſubſcribe to " an Examination, there was ſhewed a Note under " *Ralegh*'s Hand, the which when he had peruſed, " he pauſed, and after brake forth into theſe " Speeches: Oh Villain! Oh Traytor! I will now

" tell you all the Truth: And then ſaid, His Pur-
" poſe was to go into *Flanders* and into *Spain*, for
" the obtaining the aforeſaid Money, and that *Ralegh*
" had appointed to meet him in *Jerſey* as he return-
" ed home, to be adviſed of him about the Diſtri-
" bution of the Money.

Popham, Lord Chief Juſtice. When *Cobham* anſwered to the Interrogatories, he made ſcruple to ſubſcribe; and being urged to it, he ſaid, if he might hear me affirm, that a Perſon of his Degree ought to ſet his Hand, he would; I lying then at *Richmond*, for fear of the Plague, was ſent for, and I told he ought to ſubſcribe; otherwiſe it were a Contempt of a high Nature: *Then he ſubſcribed.** The Lords queſtioned with him further, and he ſhewed them a Letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my Lord *Cecil:* He deſired to ſee the Letter again, and then ſaid, Oh Wretch! Oh Traytor! Whereby I perceived you had not performed that Truſt he had repoſed in you.

Ralegh. He is as paſſionate a Man as lives, for he hath not ſpared the beſt Friends he hath in *England* in his Paſſion. My Lords, I take it, he that hath been examined, hath ever been asked at the Time of his Examination, if it be according to his meaning, and then to ſubſcribe. Methinks, my Lords, when he accuſes a Man, he ſhould give ſome Account and Reaſon of it; it is not ſufficient to ſay, we talked of it. If I had been the Plotter, would not I have given *Cobham* ſome Arguments, whereby to perſuade the King of *Spain*, and anſwer his Objections. I knew *Weſtmorland* and *Bothwell*, Men of other Underſtandings than *Cobham*, were ready to beg their Bread.

Sir *Thomas Fowler, one of the Jury.* Did Sir *Walter Ralegh* write a Letter to my Lord before he was examined concerning him, or not?

Attorney. Yes.

Lord Cecil. I am in great Diſpute with myſelf, to ſpeak in the Caſe of this Gentleman: A former Dearneſs between me and him tied ſo firm a Knot of my Conceit of his Virtues, now broken by a Diſcovery of his Imperfections. I proteſt, did I ſerve a King that I knew would be diſpleaſed with me for ſpeaking, in this Caſe I would ſpeak, whatever came of it: But ſeeing he is compacted of Piety and Juſtice, and one that will not miſlike any Man for ſpeaking a Truth, I will anſwer your Queſtion.

Sir *Walter Ralegh* was ſtaid by me at *Windſor*, upon the firſt News of *Copley*, that the King's Perſon ſhould be ſurpriſed by my Lord *Grey*, and Mr. *George Brook*; when I found *Brook* was in, I ſuſpected *Cobham*, then I doubted *Ralegh* to be a Partaker. I ſpeak not this, that it ſhould be thought, I had greater Judgment than the reſt of my Lords, in making this haſte to have him examined; *Ralegh* following to *Windſor*, I met with him upon the Terrace, and willed him, as from the King, to ſtay, ſaying, The Lords had ſomething to ſay to him: Then he was examined, but not concerning my Lord *Cobham*, but of the ſurpriſing Treaſon; my Lord *Grey* was apprehended, and likewiſe *Brook*; by *Brook* we found, that he had given Notice to *Cobham* of the ſurpriſing Treaſon as he delivered it to us, but with as much Sparingneſs of a Brother as he might: We ſent for my Lord *Cobham* to *Richmond*, where he ſtood upon his Juſtification, and his Quality; ſometimes being froward, he ſaid he was not bound to ſubſcribe, wherewith we made the King acquainted. *Cobham* ſaid, if my Lord Chief Juſtice would ſay it were a Contempt, he would ſubſcribe; whereof being reſolved, he ſubſcribed. There was a Light given to *Aremberg*, that *Lawrency* was examined; but that *Ralegh* knew that *Cobham* was examined, is more than I know.

Ralegh. If my Lord *Cobham* had truſted me in the Main, was not I as fit a Man to be truſted in the Bye?

Lord Cecil. *Ralegh* did by Letters acquaint us, that my Lord *Cobham* had ſent *Lawrency* to *Aremberg*, when he knew not he had any Dealings with him.

Lord H. Howard. It made for you, if *Lawrency* had been only acquainted with *Cobham*, and not with you. But you knew his whole Eſtate, and were acquainted with *Cobham*'s Practice with *Lawrency*; and it was known to you before, that *Lawrency* depended on *Aremberg*.

Attorney. 1. *Ralegh* proteſteth againſt the ſurpriſing Treaſon. 2. That he knew not of the Matter touching *Arabella*. I would not charge you, Sir *Walter*, with a Matter of Falſhood: You ſay, you ſuſpected the Intelligence that *Cobham* had with *Aremberg*, by *Lawrency*.

Ralegh. I thought it had been no other Intelligence, but ſuch as might be warranted.

Attorney. Then it was but lawful Suſpicion. But to that whereas you ſaid, That *Cobham* had accuſed you on Paſſion, I anſwer three Ways. 1. I obſerved when *Cobham* ſaid, Let me ſee the Letter again, he pauſed, and when he did ſee that Count *Aremberg* was touched, he cried out, *O Traytor! O Villain! now will I confeſs the whole Truth.* 2. The Accuſation of a Man on Hear-ſay, is nothing: Would he accuſe himſelf on Paſſion, and ruinate his Cauſe and Poſterity, out of Malice to accuſe you? 3. Could this be out of Paſſion? Mark the manner of it: *Cobham* had told this at leaſt two Months before to his Brother *Brook*, *You are Fools, you are on the Bye*, Ralegh *and I are on the Main, we mean to take away the King and his Cubs*; this he delivered two Months before. So mark the Manner and the Matter; he would not turn the Weapon againſt his own Boſom, and accuſe himſelf to accuſe you.

Ralegh. Hath *Cobham* confeſſed that?

Lord Chief Juſtice. This is ſpoken by Mr. *Attorney*, to prove that *Cobham*'s Speech came not out of Paſſion.

Ralegh. Let it be proved that *Cobham* ſaid ſo.

Attorney. Cobham ſaith, he was a long time doubtful of *Ralegh*, that he would ſend him and the Money to the King. Did *Cobham* fear leſt you would betray him in *Jerſey?* Then of neceſſity there muſt be Truſt between you. No Man can betray a Man, but he that is truſted, in my underſtanding. This is the greateſt Argument to prove, that he was acquainted with *Cobham*'s Proceedings. *Ralegh* hath a deeper Reach than to make himſelf, as he ſaid, *Robin Hood*, a *Ket*, or *Cade*; yet I never heard that *Robin Hood* was a Traytor; they ſay he was an Out-law. And whereas he ſaith, that our King is not only more wealthy and potent than his Predeceſſors, but alſo more politick and wiſe, ſo that he could have no Hope to prevail: I anſwer, There is no King ſo potent, wiſe, and active, but he may be overtaken through Treaſon. Whereas you ſay, *Spain* is ſo poor; diſcourſing ſo largely thereof, it had been better for you to have kept in *Guiana*, than to have been ſo well acquainted with the State of *Spain*. Beſides, if you could have brought *Spain* and *Scotland* to have joined, you

* *This Aſſertion among others, in this Account of the Trial, ſhews the groſs Partiality and Falſhood of the Perſon, who took and publiſhed it; for in all the Narratives thereof, it appears, that* Cobham *would never ſubſcribe the Accuſation of* Sir Walter Ralegh, *which had been extorted from him by the Lords, through his Fear and other Paſſions.*

might

might have had hope to prevail. For his ſix Overthrows, I anſwer; he hath the more Malice, becauſe Repulſes breed deſire of Revenge. Then you ſay, you never talked with *Cobham* but about Leaſes, and letting Lands, and ordering his Houſe; I never knew you Clerk of the Kitchen, *&c.* If you had fallen on your Knees at firſt, and confeſſed the Treaſon, it had been better for you. You ſay, he meant to have given me a Cabinet of thirty Pounds; perhaps he thought by thoſe means, to have anticipated me therewith. But you ſay, all theſe are Circumſtances. I anſwer, all this Accuſation in Circumſtance is true: Here now I might appeal to my Lords, that you take hold of this, that he ſubſcribed not to the Accuſation.

Lord H. Howard. *Cobham* was not then preſſed to ſubſcribe.

Attorney. His Accuſation being teſtified by the Lords, is of as great Force, as if he had ſubſcribed. *Ralegh* ſaith again, if the Accuſer be alive, he muſt be brought Face to Face to ſpeak, and alledges 25 *Edw.* III, That there muſt be two ſufficient Witneſſes that muſt be brought Face to Face before the accuſed, and alledgeth 10, and 13 *Eliz.*

Ralegh. You try me by the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, if you proceed only by the Circumſtances, without two Witneſſes.

Attorney. This is a treaſonable Speech.

Ralegh. *Evertere hominem juſtum in cauſa ſua, injuſtum eſt:* Good my Lords, let it be proved, either by the Laws of the Land, or by the Laws of God, that there ought not to be two Witneſſes appointed; yet I will not ſtand to defend this Point in Law, if the King will have it ſo; it is no rare thing to be falſly accuſed. A Judge condemned a Woman in *Sarum*, for killing her Husband, on the Teſtimony of one Witneſs; afterwards his Man confeſſed the Murder, when ſhe was executed. Who after, being touch'd in Conſcience for the Judgment, was uſed to ſay, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita ſua purgaret.* It is alſo commanded by the Scripture, *Deut.* xvii. *In ore duorum aut trium teſtium, &c.* and xix. *Non ſtabit unus teſtis contra aliquem, &c.*

If Chriſt requireth it, as it appeareth, *Mat.* xviii. If by the Statute, Civil Law, and God's Word, it be required that there muſt be two Witneſſes at the leaſt; bear with me if I deſire one.

I would not deſire to live, if I were privy to *Cobham*'s Proceedings: I had been a Slave, a Villain, a Fool, if I had endeavoured to ſet up *Arabella*, and refuſed ſo gracious a Lord and Soveraign. But urge your Proofs.

Lord Chief Juſtice. You have offered Queſtions on divers Statutes, all which mention two Accuſers in Caſe of Indictments; you have deceived yourſelf, for the Laws of 25 *Ed.* III. and 5 *Ed.* VI. are repeal'd. It ſufficeth now, if there be Proofs made either under Hand, or by Teſtimony of Witneſſes, or by Oaths; it needs not the Subſcription of the Party, ſo there be Hands of credible Men, to teſtify the Examination.

Ralegh. It may be an Error in me, and if thoſe Laws be repeal'd, yet I hope the Equity of thoſe Laws remains ſtill; but if you affirm it, it muſt be a Law to Poſterity; the Proof of the Common Law is by Witneſs and Jury; let *Cobham* be here, let him ſpeak it: Call my Accuſer before my Face, and I have done.

Attorney. *Scientia ſceleris eſt mera Ignorantia:* You have read the Letter of the Law, but underſtand it not. Here was your Anchor-hold, and your Rendezvous; you truſt to *Cobham*; either *Cobham* muſt accuſe you, or not accuſe you; if he did, then it would not hurt you, becauſe he is but one Witneſs; if he did not, then you are ſafe.

Ralegh. If ever I read a Word of the Law, or Statute before I was Priſoner in the *Tower*, God confound me.

Attorney. Now I come to prove the Circumſtances of the Accuſation to be true. *Cobham* confeſſed he had a Paſport to travel, hereby intending to preſent Overtures to the Arch-duke, and from thence to go to *Spain*, and there to have Conference with the King for Money: You ſay, he promiſed to come Home by *Jerſey*, to make merry with you and your Wife.

Ralegh. I ſaid, in his Return from *France*, not *Spain.*

Attorney. Further, in his Examination, he ſaith, Nothing could be ſet down for the Diſtribution of the Money to the Diſcontented, without Conference with *Ralegh.* You ſaid, It ſhould have been for Procurement of Peace, but it was for raiſing Rebellion. Further, *Cobham* ſaith, He would never have entred into theſe Courſes, but by your Inſtigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your Scholar was not apt enough to tell us all the Plots; that is enough for you to do, that are his Maſter: You intended to truſt Sir *Arthur Savage*, whom I take to be an honeſt and true Gentleman, but not Sir *Arthur Gorge.*

Ralegh. All this is but one Accuſation of *Cobham*'s, I hear no other thing; to which Accuſation he never ſubſcribed, nor avouched it. I beſeech you, my Lords, let *Cobham* be ſent for, charge him on his Soul, on his Allegiance to the King; if he affirm it, I am guilty.

Lord Cecil. It is the Accuſation of my Lord *Cobham*, it is the Evidence againſt you; muſt it not be of Force without his Subſcription? I deſire to be reſolved by the Judges, Whether by the Law it is not a forcible Argument of Evidence.

The Judges. My Lord, it is.

Ralegh. The King, at his Coronation, is ſworn *In omnibus Judiciis ſuis Æquitatem, non Rigorem Legis obſervare:* By the Rigour and Cruelty of the Law, it may be a forcible Evidence.

Lord Chief Juſtice. That is not the Rigour of the Law, but the Juſtice of the Law; elſe when a Man hath made a plain Accuſation, by Practice, he might be brought to retract it again.

Ralegh. Oh my Lord! you may uſe Equity.

Lord Chief Juſtice. That is from the King; you are to have Juſtice from us.

Anderſon. The Law is, if the Matter be proved to the Jury, they muſt find you guilty; for *Cobham*'s Accuſation is not only againſt you, there are other things ſufficient.

Lord Cecil. Now that Sir *Walter Ralegh* is ſatisfied, that *Cobham*'s Subſcription is not neceſſary; I pray you Mr. *Attorney* go on.

Ralegh. Good Mr. *Attorney* be patient, and give me Leave.

Lord Cecil. An unneceſſary Patience is a Hindrance; let him go on with his Proofs, and then refel them.

Ralegh. I would anſwer particularly.

Lord Cecil. If you would have a Table, and Pen and Ink, you ſhall.

Then Paper and Ink was given him.

Here the Clerk of the Crown read the Letter which the Lord *Cobham* did write in *July*, which was to the Effect of his former Examination, further ſaying, *I have diſcloſed all; to accuſe any falſely, were to burthen my own Conſcience.*

Attorney.

Attorney. Read *Copley*'s Confeſſion the 8th of *June*, he ſaith, *He was offered* 1000 *Crowns to be in this Action.*

Here *Watſon*'s Additions were read.

The great Maſs of Money from the Count was impoſſible, &c.

Brook's Confeſſion read.

There have Letters paſſed, ſaith he, *between* Cobham *and* Aremberg, *for a great Sum of Money, to aſſiſt a ſecond Action, for the ſurprizing of his Majeſty.*

Attorney. It is not poſſible it was of Paſſion; for it was in Talk before three Men being ſeverally examined, who agreed in the Sum to be beſtowed on diſſaffected Perſons. That *Grey* ſhould have 12000 Crowns, and *Ralegh* ſhould have 8000, or 10000 Crowns.

Cobham's Examination, *July* 18.

If the Money might be procured (ſaith he) *then a Man may give Penſions.* Being aſked, if a Penſion ſhould not be given to his Brother *Brook*, he denied it not.

Lawrency's Examination.

Within five Days after *Aremberg* arrived, *Cobham* reſorted unto him. That Night that *Cobham* went to *Aremberg* with *Lawrency*, *Ralegh* ſupped with him.

Attorney. Ralegh muſt have his Part of the Money, therefore now he is a Traytor. The Crown ſhall never ſtand one Year on the Head of the King (my Maſter) if a Traytor may not be condemned by Circumſtances. For if *A* tells *B*, and *B* tells *C*, and *C D*, *&c.* you ſhall never prove Treaſon by two Witneſſes.

Ralegh's Examination was read.

" He confeſſeth *Cobham* offered him 8000 " Crowns, which he was to have for the Further- " ance of the Peace, between *England* and *Spain*; " and that he ſhould have it within three Days. " To which, he ſaid, he gave this Anſwer, When " I ſee the Money, I will tell you more; for I " had thought it had been one of his ordinary idle " Conceits, and therefore made no Account thereof.

Ralegh. The *Attorney* hath made a long Narration of *Copley*, and the Prieſts, which concerns me nothing; neither know I how *Cobham* was altered. For he told me, If I would agree to further the Peace, he would get me 8000 Crowns. I aſked him, Who ſhall have the reſt of the Money? He ſaid, I will offer ſuch a Nobleman (who was not named) ſome of the Money. I ſaid, He will not be perſuaded by you, and will extremely hate you for ſuch a Motion. Let me be pinched to Death with hot Irons, if ever I knew there was any Intention to beſtow the Money on diſcontented Perſons. I had made a Diſcourſe againſt the Peace, and would have printed it: if *Cobham* changed his mind, if the Prieſts, if *Brook* had any ſuch Intent, what is that to me? They muſt anſwer for it. He offered me the Money before *Aremberg* came, that is difference of Time.

Serj. Philips. Ralegh confeſſeth the Matter, but avoideth it, by diſtinguiſhing of Times. You ſaid, it was offered you before the coming of *Aremberg*; which is falſe. For you being examined whether you ſhould have ſuch Money of *Cobham*, or not: You ſaid, Yea; and that you ſhould have it within two or three Days. *Nemo moriturus preſumitur mentiri.*

Lord Henry Howard. Alledge me any Ground or Cauſe, wherefore you gave ear to my Lord *Cobham* for receiving Penſions, in Matters you had not to deal with?

Ralegh. Could I ſtop my Lord *obham*'s Mouth?

Lord Cecil. Sir *Walter Ralegh* preſſeth, that my Lord *Cobham* ſhould be brought Face to Face. If he asks things of Favour and Grace, they muſt come only from him that can give them. If we ſit here as Commiſſioners, how ſhall we be ſatisfied, whether he ought to be brought, unleſs we hear the Judges ſpeak?

Lord Chief Juſtice. This thing cannot be granted; for then a Number of Treaſons ſhould flouriſh: The Accuſer may be drawn by Practice, whilſt he is in Perſon.

Judge Gaudy. The Statute you ſpeak of, concerning two Witneſſes, in Caſe of Treaſon, is found to be inconvenient; therefore by another Law it was taken away.

Ralegh. The common Trial of *England* is by Jury and Witneſſes.

Lord Chief Juſtice. No, by Examination: If three conſpire a Treaſon, and they all confeſs it; here is never a Witneſs, yet they are condemned.

Judge Warburton. I marvel, Sir *Walter*, that you being of ſuch Experience and Wit, ſhould ſtand on this Point; for ſo, many Horſe-ſtealers may eſcape, if they may not be condemned without Witneſſes. If one ſhould ruſh into the King's Privy-Chamber, whilſt he is alone, and kill the King (which God forbid) and this Man be met coming with his Sword drawn all bloody; ſhall not he be condemned to Death? My Lord *Cobham* hath, perhaps, been laboured withal; and to ſave you, his old Friend, it may be that he will deny all that which he hath ſaid.

Ralegh. I know not how you conceive the Law.

Lord Chief Juſtice. Nay, we do not conceive the Law, but we know the Law.

Ralegh. The Wiſdom of the Law of God, is abſolute and perfect, *Hæc fac, & vives, &c.* But now by the Wiſdom of the State, the Wiſdom of the Law is uncertain. Indeed where the Accuſer is not to be had conveniently, I agree with you; but here my Accuſer may, he is alive, and in the Houſe. *Suſanna* had been condemned, if *Daniel* had not cried out: *Will you condemn an innocent Iſraelite, without Examination or Knowledge of the Truth?* Remember it is abſolutely the Commandment of God; if a falſe Witneſs riſe up, you ſhall cauſe him to be brought before the Judges; if he be found falſe, he ſhall have the Puniſhment which the Accuſed ſhould have had. It is very ſure, for my Lord to accuſe me is my certain Danger, and may be a means to excuſe himſelf.

Lord Chief Juſtice. There muſt not ſuch a Gap be opened for the Deſtruction of the King, as would be, if we ſhould grant this. You plead hard for yourſelf, but the Laws plead as hard for the King. I did never hear that Courſe to be taken in a Caſe of Treaſon, as to write to one another, or ſpeak to one another, during the Time of their Impriſonment. There hath been Intelligence between you, and what underhand Practices there may be, I know not. If the Circumſtances agree not with the Evidence, we will not condemn you.

Ralegh. The King deſires nothing but the Knowledge of the Truth, and would have no Advantage taken by Severity of the Law. If ever we had a gracious King, now we have! I hope, as he is, ſuch are his Miniſters. If there be but a Trial of five Marks at the Common Law, a Wi-

a Witneſs muſt be depoſed. Good my Lords, let my Accuſer come Face to Face, and be depoſed.

Lord Chief Juſtice. You have no Law for it: God forbid any Man ſhould accuſe himſelf, upon his Oath.

Attorney. The Law preſumes, a Man will not accuſe himſelf to accuſe another. You are an odious Man: For *Cobham* thinks his Cauſe the worſe, that you are in it. Now you ſhall hear of ſome Stirs to be raiſed in *Scotland*.

Part of Copley's *Examination.*

" Alſo *Watſon* told me, that a ſpecial Perſon " told him that *Aremberg* offered to him a thou- " ſand Crowns to be in that Action; and that " *Brook* ſaid, the Stirs in *Scotland* came out of *Ra-* " *legh*'s Head. "

Ralegh. *Brook* hath been taught his Leſſon.

Lord H. Howard. This Examination was taken before me; Did I teach him his Leſſon?

Ralegh. I proteſt before God, I meant it not by any Privy-Counſellor; but, becauſe Money is ſcant, he will juggle on both Sides.

Ralegh's *Examination.*

" The way to invade *England*, were to begin " with Stirs in *Scotland*.

Ralegh. I think ſo ſtill: I have ſpoken it to divers of the Lords of the Council, by way of Diſcourſe and Opinion.

Attorney. Now let us come to thoſe Words of *Deſtroying the King and his Cubs.*

Ralegh. O barbarous! if they, like unnatural Villains, ſhould uſe thoſe Words, ſhall I be charged with them? I will not hear it; I was never falſe to the Crown of *England*. I have ſpent 40000 Crowns of mine own, againſt the *Spaniſh* Faction, for the Good of my Country. Do you bring the Words of theſe helliſh Spiders, *Clark*, *Watſon*, and others, againſt me?

Attorney. Thou haſt a *Spaniſh* Heart, and thy ſelf art a Spider of Hell; for thou confeſſeſt the King to be a moſt ſweet and gracious Prince, and yet haſt conſpired againſt him.

Watſon's *Examination read.*

" He ſaid, that *George Brook* told him twice, " that his Brother, the Lord *Cobham*, ſaid to him, " That you are but on the Bye, but *Ralegh* and I " are on the Main.

Brook's *Examination read.*

" Being ask'd what was meant by this *Jargon* " the Bye and the Main, he ſaid, That the Lord " *Cobham* told him, that *Grey* and others, were in " the Bye, he and *Ralegh* were on the Main. Be- " ing ask'd what Expoſition his Brother made of " theſe Words, he ſaid, he is loth to repeat it. " And after ſaith, by the *Main*, was meant, the " taking away of the King and his Iſſue. And " thinks on his Conſcience, it was infuſed into his " Brother's Head by *Ralegh*.

Cobham's *Examination read.*

Being ask'd, if ever he had ſaid, *It will never be well in* England, *till the King and his Cubs were taken away.* He ſaid, *He had anſwered before, and that he would anſwer no more to that Point.*

Ralegh. I am not named in all this: There is a Law of two Sorts of Accuſers, one of his own Knowledge, another by Hear-ſay.

Earl of Suffolk. See the Caſe of *Arnold*.

Lord Chief Juſtice. It is the Caſe of Sir *William Thomas*, and Sir *Nicholas Arnold*.

Ralegh. If this may be, you will have any Man's Life in a Week.

Attorney. *Ralegh* ſaith, That *Cobham* was in a Paſſion when he ſaid ſo. Would he tell his Brother any thing of Malice againſt *Ralegh*, whom he loved as his Life?

Ralegh. *Brook* never loved me; until his Brother had accuſed me, he ſaid nothing.

Lord Cecil. We have heard nothing that might lead us to think, that *Brook* accuſed you, *he was only in the Surpriſing Treaſon*; for by accuſing you, he ſhould accuſe his Brother.

Ralegh. He doth not care much for that.

Lord Cecil. I muſt judge the beſt. The Accuſation of his Brother was not voluntary; he pared every thing, as much as he could, to ſave his Brother.

Cobham's *Examination read.*

" He ſaith, he had a Book written againſt the " Title of the King, which he had of *Ralegh*, and " that he gave it to his Brother: *Ralegh* ſaid, it " was fooliſhly written.

Attorney. After the King came within twelve Miles of *London*, *Cobham* never came to ſee him, and intended to travel without ſeeing the Queen, and the Prince. Now in this Diſcontentment, you gave him the Book, and he gave it to his Brother.

Ralegh. I never gave it him, he took it off my Table. For I well remember, a little before that time, I received a Challenge from Sir *Amias Preſton*, and for that I did intend to anſwer it, I reſolved to leave my Eſtate ſettled, therefore laid out all my looſe Papers, amongſt which was this Book.

Lord Howard. Where had you this Book?

Ralegh. In the old Lord-Treaſurer's Study, after his Death.

Lord Cecil. Did you ever ſhew or make known the Book to me?

Ralegh. No, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. Was it one of the Books which was left to me or my Brother?

Ralegh. I took it out of the Study in my Lord Treaſurer's Houſe in the *Strand*.

Lord Cecil. After my Father's deceaſe, Sir *Walter Ralegh* deſired to ſearch for ſome Coſmographical Deſcriptions of the *Indies*, which he thought were in his Study, and were not to be had in print; which I granted, and would have truſted Sir *Walter Ralegh* as ſoon as any Man; tho' ſince, for ſome Infirmities, the Bands of my Affection to him have been broken; and yet, reſerving my Duty to the King my Maſter, which I can by no means diſpenſe with, by God, I love him, and have a great Conflict within myſelf: But I muſt needs ſay, Sir *Walter* uſed me a little unkindly, to take the Book away without my Knowledge; nevertheleſs I need make no Apology in Behalf of my Father, conſidering how uſeful and neceſſary it is for Privy-Counſellors, and thoſe in his Place, to intercept and keep ſuch kind of Writings; for whoſoever ſhould then ſearch his Study, may in all likelihood find all the notorious Libels that were writ againſt the late Queen; and whoſoever ſhould rumage my Study, or at leaſt my Cabinet, may find ſeveral againſt the King, our ſoveraign Lord, ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne.

Ralegh. This Book was in Manuſcript, and the late Lord Treaſurer had wrote in the Beginning of it with his own Hands theſe Words, *This is the Book of Robert Snagg.* And I do own, as my Lord *Cecil* has ſaid, that I believe they may alſo find in my Houſe, almoſt all the Libels, that have been writ againſt the late Queen.

Attorney. You were no Privy-Counſellor, and I hope never ſhall be.

Lord Cecil. He was not a ſworn Counſellor of State, but he has been called to Conſultations.

Ralegh. I think it a very ſevere Interpretation of the Law, to bring me within Compaſs of Treaſon for this Book, writ ſo long ago, of which nobody had read any more than the Heads of the Chapters, and which was burnt by *Brook* without my Privity; admitting I had delivered the ſame to my Lord *Cobham*, without allowing or approving, but diſcommending it, according to *Cobham*'s firſt Accuſation. And put the Caſe I ſhould come to my Lord *Cecil*, as I have often done, and find a Stranger with him, with a Packet of Libels, and my Lord ſhould let me have one or two of them to peruſe, This I hope is no Treaſon.

Attorney. I obſerve there was Intelligence between you and *Cobham* in the *Tower*; for after he ſaid, *It was againſt the King's Title*, he denied it again.

Sir William Wade. Firſt my Lord *Cobham* confeſſeth it, and after he had ſubſcribed it, he revoked it again: To me he always ſaid, *That the Drift of it was againſt the King's Title.*

Ralegh. I proteſt before God, and all his Works, I gave him not the Book.

Nota. *Sir* Robert Wroth *ſpeaketh, or whiſpereth ſomething ſecretly.*

Attorney. My Lords, I muſt complain of Sir *Robert Wroth*; he ſays, this Evidence is not material.

Sir *Robert Wroth.* I never ſpake the Words.

Attorney. Let Mr. *Serjeant Philips* teſtify, whether he heard them.

Lord Cecil. I will give my Word for Sir *Robert Wroth.*

Sir *Robert Wroth.* I will ſpeak as truly as you, Mr. *Attorney*, for, by God, I never ſpake it.

Lord Chief Juſtice. Wherefore ſhould this Book be burnt?

Ralegh. I burned it not.

Serj. Philips. You preſented your Friend with it, when he was diſcontented. If it had been before the Queen's Death, it had been a leſs matter; but you gave it him preſently when he came from the King, which was the time of his Diſcontentment.

Ralegh. Here is a Book ſuppoſed to be Treaſonable; I never read it, commended it, or deliver'd it, nor urged it.

Attorney. This is cunning.

Ralegh. Every thing that doth make for me is cunning, and every thing that maketh againſt me is probable.

Attorney. Lord *Cobham* ſaith, that *Kemiſh* came to him with a Letter torn, and did wiſh him not to be diſmay'd, for one Witneſs could not hurt him.

Ralegh. This poor Man hath been cloſe Priſoner theſe eighteen Weeks; he was offered the Rack to make him confeſs. I never ſent any ſuch Meſſage by him; I only writ to him, to tell him what I had done with Mr. *Attorney*; having of his, at that time, a great Pearl, and a Diamond.

Lord H. Howard. No Circumſtance moveth me more, than this, *Kemiſh* was never on the Rack; the King gave Charge, that no Rigour ſhould be uſed.

Commiſſioners. We proteſt before God, there was no ſuch Matter intended, to our Knowledges.

Ralegh. Was not the Keeper of the Rack ſent for, and he threatned with it?

Sir William Wade. When Mr. *Sollicitor* and my ſelf examined *Kemiſh*, we told him he deſerved the Rack, but did not threaten him with it.

Commiſſioners. It was more than we knew.

Cobham's *Examination read.*

" He ſaid, *Kemiſh* brought him a Letter from " *Ralegh*, and that Part which was concerning the " Lords of the Council, was rent out; that he was " examined, and cleared him of all; and that the " Lord *H. Howard* ſaid, becauſe he was diſcon- " tent, he was fit to be in the Action. And fur- " ther, that *Kemiſh* ſaid to him from *Ralegh*, that " he ſhould be of good Comfort, for one Witneſs " could not condemn a Man for Treaſon.

Lord Cecil. *Cobham* was asked whether and when he heard from you; he ſaid, *every Day.*

Ralegh. *Kemiſh* added more, I never bad him ſpeak theſe Words.

Nota. *Mr.* Attorney *here offered to interrupt him.*

Lord Cecil. It is his laſt Diſcourſe. Give him leave Mr. *Attorney.*

Ralegh. I am accuſed concerning *Arabella*, concerning Money out of *Spain.* My Lord Chief Juſtice ſaith, a Man may be condemned with one Witneſs, yea without any Witneſs. *Cobham* is guilty of many things, *Conſcientia mille Teſtes.* He hath accuſed himſelf, what can he hope for but Mercy? My Lords, vouchſafe me this Grace. Let him be brought, being alive, and in the Houſe; let him avouch any of theſe things, I will confeſs the whole Indictment, and renounce the King's Mercy.

Lord Cecil. Here hath been a touch of the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, a near Kinſwoman of the King's. Let us not ſcandal the Innocent by Confuſion of Speech: She is as innocent of all theſe Things as I, or any Man here; only ſhe received a Letter from *Cobham*, to prepare her; which ſhe laugh'd at, and immediately ſent it to the King. So far was ſhe from Diſcontentment, that ſhe laugh'd him to ſcorn. But you ſee how far the Count of *Aremberg* did conſent.

The Lord Admiral (Nottingham) *being by in a Standing, with the Lady* Arabella, *ſpake to the Court.*

The Lady doth here proteſt upon her Salvation, that ſhe never dealt in any of theſe things, and ſo ſhe willed me to tell the Court.

Lord Cecil. The Lord *Cobham* wrote to my Lady *Arabella*, to know if he might come to ſpeak with her, and gave her to underſtand, that there were ſome about the King, that laboured to diſgrace her; ſhe doubted it was but a Trick. But *Brook* ſaith, his Brother moved him to procure *Arabella* to write Letters to the King of *Spain*: But he ſaith, he never did.

Ralegh. The Lord *Cobham* hath accuſed me, you ſee in what manner he hath forſworn it. Were it not for his Accuſation, all this were nothing. Let him be asked, if I knew of the Letter which

Lawren-

Lawrency brought to him from *Aremberg*. Let me ſpeak for my Life, it can be no hurt for him to be brought; he dares not accuſe me. If you grant me not this Favour, I am ſtrangely uſed. *Campian* was not denied to have his Accuſers Face to Face.

Lord Chief Juſtice. Since he muſt needs have Juſtice, the acquitting of his old Friend may move him to ſpeak otherwiſe than the Truth.

Ralegh. If I had been the Infuſer of all theſe Treaſons into him. You Gentlemen of the Jury, mark this: He ſaid, I have been the Cauſe of all his Miſeries, and the Deſtruction of his Houſe; and that all Evil hath happened unto him, by my wicked Counſel; if this be true, whom hath he Cauſe to accuſe, and be revenged on, but on me? And I know him to be as revengeful, as any Man on Earth.

Attorney. He is a Party, and may not come, the Law is againſt it.

Ralegh. It is a Toy to tell me of Law, I deſy ſuch Law, I ſtand on the Fact.

Lord Cecil. I am afraid my often ſpeaking (who am inferior to my Lords here preſent) will make the World think, I delight to hear myſelf talk. My Affection to you, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, was not extinguiſhed, but ſlaked, in regard of your Deſerts. You know the Law of the Realm (to the which your Mind doth not conteſt) that my Lord *Cobham* cannot be brought.

Ralegh. He may be, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. But dare you challenge it?

Ralegh. No.

Lord Cecil. You ſay, that my Lord *Cobham*, your main Accuſer, muſt come to accuſe you. You ſay, he hath retracted: I ſay many Particulars are not retracted. What the Validity of all this is, is merely left to the Jury. Let me ask you this: If my Lord *Cobham* will ſay, you were the only Inſtigator of him to proceed in the Treaſons, dare you put yourſelf on this?

Ralegh. If he will ſpeak it before God and the King, that ever I knew of *Arabella*'s Matter, or the Money out of *Spain*, or of the Surpriſing Treaſon; I put myſelf on it, God's Will and the King's be done with me.

Lord H. Howard How if he ſpeak things equivalent to what you have ſaid?

Ralegh. Yes, in a main Point.

Lord Cecil. If he ſay, you have been the Inſtigator of him to deal with the *Spaniſh* King, had not the Council cauſe to draw you hither?

Ralegh. I put myſelf on it.

Lord Cecil. Then, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, call upon God, and prepare yourſelf; for I do verily believe, my Lords will prove this. Excepting your Faults (I call them no worſe) by God, I am your Friend. The Heat and Paſſion in you, and the Attorney's Zeal in the King's Service, makes me ſpeak this.

Ralegh. Whoſoever is the Workman, it is reaſon he ſhould give Account of his Work to the Work-maſter. But let it be proved, that he acquainted me with any of his Conferences with *Aremberg*: He would ſurely have given me ſome Account.

Lord Cecil. That follows not. If I ſet you on Work, and you give me no Account, am I therefore innocent?

Attorney. For the Lady *Arabella* I ſaid, ſhe was never acquainted with the Matter. Now that *Ralegh* had Conference in all theſe Treaſons, it is manifeſt; the Jury hath heard the Matter. There is one *Dyer*, a Pilot, that being in *Lisbon*, met with a *Portugal* Gentleman, who asked him if the King of *England* was crowned yet? To whom he anſwered, *I think not yet, but he ſhall be ſhortly.* Nay, ſaith the *Portugal* Gentleman, that ſhall he never be, for his Throat will be cut by *Don Ralegh* and *Don Cobham*, before he be crowned.

Dyer was called and ſworn, and delivered this Evidence.

Dyer. I came to a Merchant's Houſe in *Lisbon*, to ſee a Boy that I had there; there came in a Gentleman into the Houſe, and enquiring what Countryman I was, I ſaid an *Engliſhman*: Whereupon he asked me, if the King was crowned? And I anſwered, that I hoped he ſhould be ſo ſhortly. Nay, ſaith he, he ſhall never be crowned, for *Don Ralegh* and *Don Cobham* will cut his Throat ere that Day come.

Ralegh. What infer you upon this?

Attorney. That your Treaſon hath Wings.

Ralegh. If *Cobham* did practiſe with *Aremberg*, how could it not but be known in *Spain*? Why did they name the Duke of *Buckingham* with *Jack Straw*'s Treaſon, and the Duke of *York* with *Jack Cade*, but that it was to countenance his Treaſon?

Conſider, you Gentlemen of the Jury, there is no Cauſe ſo doubtful, which the King's Council cannot make good againſt the Law. Conſider my Diſability, and their Ability: They prove nothing againſt me, only they bring the Accuſation of my Lord *Cobham*, which he hath lamented and repented as heartily, as if it had been for a horrible Murther. For he knew, that all this Sorrow which ſhould come to me, is by his means. Preſumptions muſt proceed from precedent or ſubſequent Facts. I have ſpent 40000 Crowns againſt the *Spaniard*. I had not purchaſed forty Pounds a Year. If I had died in *Guiana*, I had not left 300 Marks a Year to my Wife and Son. I that have always condemned the *Spaniſh* Faction, methinks it is a ſtrange Thing, that now I ſhould affect it. Remember what St. *Auſtin* ſays, *Sic judicate tanquam ab alio mox judicandi; unus judex, unum tribunal.* If you would be contented, on Preſumptions, to be delivered up to be ſlaughtered, to have your Wives and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread; if you would be contented to be ſo judged, judge ſo of me.

Serj. Philips. I hope to make this ſo clear, as that the Wit of Man ſhall have no Colour to anſwer it. The Matter is Treaſon in the higheſt Degree, the End to deprive the King of his Crown. The particular Treaſons are theſe: *Firſt*, To raiſe up Rebellion; and, to effect that, to procure Money; to raiſe up Tumults in *Scotland*, by divulging a treaſonable Book againſt the King's Right to the Crown; the Purpoſe, to take the Life of his Majeſty and his Iſſue. My Lord *Cobham* confeſſeth Sir *Walter Ralegh* to be guilty of all theſe Treaſons. The Queſtion is, Whether he be guilty as joining with him, or inſtigating of him? The Courſe to prove this, was by my Lord *Cobham*'s Accuſation. If that be true, he is guilty; if not, he is clear. So, whether *Cobham* ſay true, or *Ralegh?* That is the Queſtion. *Ralegh* hath no Anſwer, but the Shadow of as much Wit, as the Wit of Man can deviſe. He uſeth his bare Denial; the Denial of a Defendant muſt not move the Jury. In the *Star-chamber*, or in the *Chancery*, for matter of Title, if the Defendant be called in Queſtion, his Denial on his Oath is no Evidence to the Court to clear him, he doth it in *propria Cauſa*. Therefore much leſs in Matters of Treaſon. *Cobham*'s Teſtification againſt him before then, and ſince, hath been largely diſcourſed.

Ralegh.

Ralegh. If Truth be conſtant, and Conſtancy be in Truth, Why hath he forſworn that, that he hath ſaid? You have not proved any one Thing by direct Proofs, but all by Circumſtances.

Attorney. Have you done? The King muſt have the laſt.

Ralegh. Nay, Mr. *Attorney*, he which ſpeaketh for his Life, muſt ſpeak laſt. Falſe Repetitions and Miſtakings muſt not mar my Cauſe. You ſhould ſpeak *ſecundum allegata & probata.* I appeal to God and the King, in this Point, Whether *Cobham*'s Accuſation be ſufficient to condemn me.

Attorney. The King's Safety, and your Clearing, cannot agree. I proteſt, before God, I never knew a clearer Treaſon.

Ralegh. I never had Intelligence with *Cobham* ſince I came to the *Tower.*

Attorney. Go too, I will lay thee upon thy Back, for the confidenteſt Traytor that ever came at a Bar. Why ſhould you take 8000 Crowns for a Peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not ſo impatient, good Mr. *Attorney*, give him leave to ſpeak.

Attorney. If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage Traytors, and diſcourage us. I am the King's ſworn Servant, and muſt ſpeak; if he be guilty, he is a Traytor; if not, deliver him.

Nota. *Here Mr.* Attorney *ſat down and would ſpeak no more, until the Commiſſioners urged and intreated him: After much ado he went on, and made a long Repetition of all the Evidence, for the Direction of the Jury; and at the repeating of ſome things,* Sir Walter Ralegh *interrupted him, and ſaid,* He did him Wrong.

Attorney. Thou art the moſt vile and execrable Traytor that ever lived.

Ralegh. You ſpeak indiſcreetly, barbarouſly and uncivilly.

Attorney. I want Words ſufficient to expreſs thy viperous Treaſons.

Ralegh. I think you want Words indeed, for you have ſpoken one Thing half a dozen times.

Attorney. Thou art an odious Fellow, thy Name is hateful to all the Realm of *England* for thy Pride.

Ralegh. It will go near to prove a meaſuring Caſt between you and me, Mr. *Attorney.*

Attorney. Well, I will now make it appear to the World, that there never lived a viler Viper upon the Face of the Earth than thou; *and therewithal drew a Letter out of his Pocket, ſaying further,* My Lords, you ſhall ſee, this is an Agent, that hath writ a Treatiſe againſt the *Spaniard*, and hath ever ſo deteſted him; this is he, that hath ſpent ſo much Money againſt him in Service; and yet you ſhall all ſee, whether his Heart be not wholly *Spaniſh.* The Lord *Cobham*, who, of his own Nature was a good and honourable Gentleman, till overtaken by this Wretch, now finding his Conſcience heavily burthened with ſome Courſes, which the Subtilty of this Traytor had drawn him into, my Lords, he could not be at reſt with himſelf, nor quiet in his Thoughts, until he was eaſed of that heavy Weight; out of which Paſſion of his Mind, and Diſcharge of his Duty to his Prince, and his Conſcience to God, taking it upon his Salvation, that he wrote nothing but the Truth, with his own Hands he wrote this Letter. Now, Sir, you ſhall ſee whether you had Intelligence with *Cobham*, within four Days before he came to the *Tower.* If he be wholly *Spaniſh*, that deſired a Penſion of 1500 Pounds a Year from *Spain*, that *Spain* by him might have Intelligence, then *Ralegh* is a Traytor. He hath taken an Apple, and pinned a Letter unto it, and threw it into my Lord *Cobham*'s Window; the Contents whereof were this; *It is doubtful whether we ſhall be proceeded with or no, perhaps you ſhall not be tried.* This was to get a Retractation. Oh! it was *Adam*'s Apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further he wrote thus, *Do not as my Lord of* Eſſex *did; take heed of a Preacher; for by his Perſuaſion he confeſſed, and made himſelf guilty.* I doubt not, but this Day, God ſhall have as great a Conqueſt by this Traytor, and the Son of God ſhall be as much glorified, as when it was ſaid, *Viciſti Galilæe*; you know my meaning. What tho' *Cobham* retracted, yet he could not reſt nor ſleep, until he had confirmed it again. If this be not enough to prove him a Traytor, the King my Maſter ſhall not live three Years to an end.

Nota. *Here Mr.* Attorney *produced the Lord* Cobham's *Letter (writ to the Commiſſioners the Night before* Ralegh's *Trial,* viz. Nov. 16.) *and as he read it, inſerted ſome Speeches.*

I have thought it fit, to ſet down this to my Lords, wherein I profeſs on my Soul, to write nothing but the Truth. I am come now near to the Period of my Time, therefore I confeſs the Truth before God, and his Angels. Ralegh, *four Days before I came to the* Tower, *cauſed an Apple* (Eve's Apple) *to be thrown in at my Chamber-window; the Effect of it was to intreat me to right the Wrong that I had done him, in ſaying, That I ſhould have come home by* Jerſey; *which under my Hand to him, I have retracted. His firſt Letter I anſwered not, which was thrown in the ſame manner, wherein he prayed me to write him a Letter, which I did. He ſent me Word, that the Judges were at Mr.* Attorney's *Houſe, and that there was good Hope the Proceedings againſt us ſhould be ſtaid; he ſent me another Time a little Tobacco. At* Aremberg's *coming,* Ralegh *dealt with me, to procure him a Penſion of* 1500 *Pounds a Year, for which he promiſed that no Action ſhould be againſt* Spain, *but he would give Knowledge before-hand. He told me the* States *had Audience with the King.* (Ah, is not this a *Spaniſh* Heart in an *Engliſh* Body?) *He hath been the original Cauſe of my Ruin; for I had no dealing with* Aremberg, *but by his Inſtigation. He hath been alſo the Cauſe of my Diſcontentment; he adviſed me, not to be overtaken with Preachers, as* Eſſex *was, and that the King would better allow of a conſtant Denial, than to accuſe any.*

Attorney. O damnable Atheiſt! he hath learned ſome Text of Scripture, to ſerve his own Purpoſe, but falſly alledged. He counſels him, not to be counſelled by Preachers, as *Eſſex* was: He died the Child of God, God honoured him at his Death; Thou waſt by when he died, *Et Lupus & turpes inſtant morientibus Urſæ.* He died indeed for his Offence. The King himſelf ſpake theſe Words; *He that ſhall ſay* Eſſex *died not for Treaſon, is puniſhable.*

Ralegh. You have heard a ſtrange Tale of a ſtrange Man; now he thinks he hath Matter enough to deſtroy me; but the King, and all of you ſhall witneſs by our Deaths, which of us was the Ruin of the other. I bid a poor Fellow throw in the Letter at his Window, written to this Purpoſe, *You know you have undone me, now write three Lines to juſtify me.* In this I will die, that he hath done me Wrong: Why did not he acquaint me with his Treaſons, if I acquainted him with my Diſpoſitions?

Attorney.

Attorney. But what ſay you now of the Letter, and the Penſion of 1500 *l. per Annum*?

Ralegh. I ſay, that *Cobham* is a baſe diſhonourable poor Soul.

Attorney. Is he baſe? I return it into thy Throat, on his behalf: But for thee, he had been a good Subject.

Lord Chief Juſtice. I perceive thou art not ſo clear a Man, as you have proteſted all this while; for you ſhould have diſcovered theſe Matters to the King.

Nota. *Here* Ralegh *pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which the Lord* Cobham *had written to him (but a few Days before he wrote that above to the Lords) and deſired my Lord* Cecil *to read it, becauſe he only knew his Hand; the Effect of it was as followeth.*

Cobham's Letter of Juſtification to *Ralegh.*

" Seeing my ſelf ſo near my End, for the Diſ-
" charge of my own Conſcience, and freeing my
" ſelf from your Blood, which elſe will cry Ven-
" geance againſt me: I proteſt upon my Salvation,
" I never practiſed with *Spain* by your Procure-
" ment; God ſo comfort me in this my Afflic-
" tion, as you are a true Subject for any thing that
" I know. I will ſay, as *Daniel*, *Purus ſum à*
" *ſanguine hujus.* So God have Mercy on my
" Soul, as I know no Treaſon by you.

Ralegh. Now I wonder how many Souls this Man hath! He damns one in this Letter, and another in that.

Here was much ado; *Mr.* Attorney *alledged, that his laſt Letter was politickly and cunningly urged from the Lord* Cobham, *and that the firſt was ſimply the Truth; and that leſt it ſhould ſeem doubtful, that the firſt Letter was drawn from my Lord* Cobham *by Promiſe of Mercy, or Hope of Favour, the* Lord Chief Juſtice *willed, that the Jury might herein be ſatisfied. Whereupon the Earl of* Devonſhire *delivered, that the ſame was merely voluntary, and not extracted from the Lord* Cobham, upon any Hopes or Promiſe of Pardon.

Nota. *This was the laſt Evidence; whereupon a Marſhal was ſworn, to keep the Jury private. The Jury departed, and ſtaid not a quarter of an Hour, but returned, and gave their Verdict* Guilty.

Serj. Hele demanded Judgment againſt the Priſoner.

Clerk of the Crown. Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Thou haſt been indicted, arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, for all theſe ſeveral Treaſons; and for Trial thereof, haſt put thy ſelf upon thy Country; which Country are theſe, who have found thee Guilty. What canſt thou ſay for thyſelf, why Judgment and Execution of Death, ſhould not paſs againſt thee?

Ralegh. My Lords, The Jury have found me Guilty. They muſt do as they are directed. I can ſay nothing, why Judgment ſhould not proceed. You ſee whereof *Cobham* hath accuſed me. You remember his Proteſtations, that I was never Guilty. I deſire the King ſhould know of the Wrongs done unto me, ſince I came hither.

Lord Chief Juſtice. You have had no Wrong, Sir *Walter.*

Ralegh. Yes, of Mr. *Attorney.* I deſire, my Lords, to remember three things to the King. 1. I was accuſed to be a Practiſer for *Spain*: I never knew, that my Lord *Cobham* meant to go thither; I will ask no Mercy at the King's Hands, if he will affirm it. 2. I never knew of the Practice with *Arabella.* 3. I never knew of my Lord *Cobham*'s Practice with *Aremberg*, nor of the ſurpriſing Treaſon.

Lord Chief Juſtice. In my Conſcience I am perſuaded, that *Cobham* hath accuſed you truly. You cannot deny, but that you were dealt with, to have a Penſion to be a Spy for *Spain*; therefore you are not ſo true to the King, as you have proteſted yourſelf to be.

Ralegh. I ſubmit my ſelf to the King's Mercy; I know his Mercy is greater than my Offence. I recommend my Wife, and Son, of tender Years, unbrought up, to his Compaſſion.

Lord Chief Juſtice. I had thought I ſhould never have ſeen this Day, to have ſtood in this Place, to give Sentence of Death againſt you; becauſe I thought it impoſſible, that one of ſo great Parts ſhould have fallen ſo grievouſly. God hath beſtowed on you many Benefits. You had been a Man fit, and able, to have ſerved the King in good Place. You had brought yourſelf into a good State of Living: If you had entered into a good Conſideration of your Eſtate, and not ſuffered your own Wit to have entrapped yourſelf, you might have lived in good Comfort. It is beſt for Man not to ſeek to climb too high, leſt he fall; nor yet to creep too low, leſt he be trodden on. It was the Poſie of the wiſeſt and greateſt Counſellor of his Time, in *England*, *In medio ſpatio mediocria firma locantur.* You might have lived well with 3000 *l.* a Year, for ſo I have heard your Revenues to be. I know nothing might move you to be diſcontented; but, if you had been down, you know Fortune's Wheel, when it is turned about, riſeth again. I never heard, that the King took away any thing from you, but the Captainſhip of the Guard, which he did with good Reaſons, to have one of his own Knowledge, whom he might truſt in that Place. You have been taken for a wiſe Man, and ſo have ſhewed Wit enough this Day. Again, for Monopolies for Wine, *&c.* If the King had ſaid, *It is a Matter that offends my People, ſhould I burthen them for your particular good?* I think, you could not well take it hardly, that his Subjects were eaſed, tho' by your private Hindrance. Two Vices have lodged chiefly in you; one is an eager Ambition; the other corrupt Covetouſneſs. Ambition, in deſiring to be advanced to equal Grace and Favour, as you have been before-time; that Grace you had then, you got not in a Day or Year. For your Covetouſneſs, I am ſorry to hear that a Gentleman of your Wealth ſhould become a baſe Spy for the Enemy, which is the vileſt of all other; wherein, on my Conſcience, *Cobham* hath ſaid true: By it you would have increaſed your Living 1500 *l.* a Year. This Covetouſneſs is like a Canker, that eats the Iron-place where it lives. Your Caſe being thus, let it not grieve you, if I ſpeak a little out of Zeal, and Love, to your Good. You have been taxed by the World, with the Defence of moſt heatheniſh, and blaſphemous Opinions, which I liſt not to repeat, becauſe Chriſtian Ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the Authors and Maintainers of them be ſuffered to live in any Chriſtian Common-wealth. You know what Men ſaid of *Harpool.* You ſhall do well before you go out of the World, to give Satisfaction therein, and not to die with theſe Imputations on you. Let not any Devil perſuade you to think, there is no Eternity in Heaven; if you think thus, you ſhall find Eternity in Hell-fire. In the firſt Accuſation of my Lord *Cobham*, I obſerved his manner of ſpeaking: I proteſt before the

Living God, I am perſuaded he ſpoke nothing but the Truth. You wrote, that he ſhould not in any caſe confeſs any thing to a Preacher, telling him an Example of my Lord of *Eſſex*, that noble Earl that is gone; who, if he had not been carried away with others, had lived in Honour to this Day among us. He confeſſed his Offences, and obtained Mercy of the Lord; for I am verily perſuaded in my Heart, he died a worthy Servant of God. Your Conceit of not confeſſing any thing, is very inhuman and wicked. In this World is the Time of confeſſing, that we may be abſolved at the Day of Judgment. You have ſhewed a fearful Sign of denying God, in adviſing a Man not to confeſs. It now comes in my mind, why you may not have your Accuſer Face to Face; for ſuch a one is eaſily brought to retract, when he ſeeth there is no Hope of his own Life. It is dangerous that any Traytors ſhould have any Acceſs one to another, or Conference; when they ſee themſelves muſt die, they will think it beſt to ſee their Fellow live, that he may commit the like Treaſon again, and ſo in ſome ſort ſeek Revenge.

Now it reſteth to pronounce the Judgment, which I wiſh you had not been this Day to have received of me: For, if the Fear of God in you had been anſwerable to your other great Parts, you might have lived to have been a ſingular good Subject. I never ſaw the like Trial, and I hope, I ſhall never ſee the like again.

The JUDGMENT.

But ſince you have been found Guilty of theſe horrible Treaſons, the Judgment of the Court is, that you ſhall be had from hence to the Place whence you came, there to remain until the Day of Execution; and from thence you ſhall be drawn upon a Hurdle through the open Streets, to the Place of Execution, there to be hanged and cut down alive, and your Body ſhall be opened, your Heart and Bowels plucked out, and your Privy-Members cut off and thrown into the Fire, before your Eyes; then your Head to be ſtrucken off from your Body, which ſhall be divided into four Quarters, to be diſpoſed of at the King's Pleaſure: And God have Mercy upon your Soul.

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BENEDICTUS Theologus
R. BENJAMIN, fil. Jonæ Tudelenſis
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Sanctus BERNARDUS, ſeu *Bernhardus*, abbas Clarevallenſis
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BEROSUS, Babylonius, Beli ſacerdos
Pero Anton. BEUTERO
Theodorus BEZA, Vezelius
Tho. BILSON, biſhop of *Wincheſter*
Joh. BOCATIUS, vel *Boccaccio*, vel *Bochas*, de Certaldo
Avititius ſeu Anitius Manl. Torq. Severinus } BOETHIUS
Sanctus BONAVENTURA
BORRÆUS, p. 249. forſan Martin. *Borrhaus*, alias Cellarius dictus
Thomas BOZIUS, Eugubinus
Henr. de BRACTON, J. C^tus
Bernhardus BREDENBACHIUS, ſeu de *Bredenbach*
Bonaventura BROCARDUS, ſeu *Brochardus*, ſive *Burchardus*, monachus de Monte-Sion
Hugh BROUGHTON
Guil. BUCANUS, theologus Calviniſta
Abr. BUCHOLCERUS
Guil. BUDÆUS, Pariſienſis
Henr. BUNTINGUS, Hannoveranus
Paulus BURGENSIS, de S. Maria
Archangelus de BURGO-NOVO, ſive *Burgonovenſis*
Joh. BUTEO, Delphinas, mathematicus

C

CÆCILIUS, Calactianus Siculus
Lud. CÆLIUS, Rhodiginus
C. Julius CÆSAR, primus imp. Rom. mon.
Thomas de Vio CAJETANUS, cardinalis
CALLIMACHUS, Cyrenæus
CALLISTHENES, Sybarita
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Iſaacus CASAUBONUS
Joh. CASSAM
Joh. CASSIANUS eremita, ſeu Joh. Monachus cognomento *Caſſianus*
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CLAUDIUS Julius, ſive Iolaus
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Pandulphus COLLENUTIUS, ſeu *Collinutius*, Piſamenſis
Chriſtoph. COLUMBUS
Natalis COMES, ſeu *Comitum*, Venetus
Pet. COMESTOR, Trecenſis
Laur. CORVINUS, Novoforenſis
Joſephus à COSTA, Methymnenſis
CRANZEUS. v. *Krantzius*
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DIONYSIUS, Areopagita
DIONYSIUS Halicarnaſſeus, hiſtoricus
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DRACO, Corcyræus
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MENANDER, Epheſius
MENANDER, rhetor
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METRODORUS, Chius
Matthias a MICHOU, canonicus Cracovienſis
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O

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VICTOR, epiſc. Uticenſis
Claud. Marius VICTORINUS, ſeu *Victor*, orator Maſſilienſis
Nicol. VIGNIER, ſeu *Vignierius*, Barrenſis
Joh. Bapt. VILLALPANDUS
Arn. Catalanus, ſeu Cathelanus VILLANOVANUS, ſive de *Villâ-novâ*, Gallus, medicus
VINCENTIUS Burgundus, præſul Belluacenſis
Mercurius de Publ. VIPERA, Beneventanus
VIRGILIUS Maro
Jac. de VITRIACO epiſc. Acconenſis
Joh. Lud. VIVES, Valentinus Hiſpanus
Domitius ULPIANUS, J. C^tus
VOLATERRANUS. v. *Maffæus*

W

Wolfg. WEISSENBURGIUS, J. C^tus
Joh. WIERUS, cognomine *Piſcinarius*
Andr. WILLET, D. D. preb. of *Ely*
Joh. WOLFIUS, ſeu *Wolphius*, Tabernæmontanus

X

XANTHUS, Sardianus, hiſtoricus
XENAGORAS, hiſtoricus
XENOPHANES, Colophonius
XENOPHON, Athenienſis
Wilh. XYLANDER, Auguſtanus

Z

ZACHARIAS, propheta
Hieron. ZANCHIUS, Alzanenſis Italus
ZENO, Eleates, philoſophus
ZENO, Sidonius, philoſophus
S. ZENO, epiſc. Veronenſis & martyr
Jac. ZIEGLERUS, Lindavus
Joh. ZONARAS, monachus
ZOROASTRES, Bactrianorum rex.

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THE

PREFACE.

HOW unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my ſelf, to undertake a work of this mixture; mine own reaſon, though exceeding weak, hath ſufficiently reſolved me. For had it been begotten then with my firſt dawn of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it ſelf to my younger years; and before any wound received, either from fortune or time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkneſs of age and death would have covered over both it and me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the creation, I have proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my diſcourſe, within this our renowned iſland of *Great Britain*. I confeſs that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are run out in other travels; to have ſet together (as I could) the unjointed and ſcattered frame of our *Engliſh* affairs, than of the univerſal: in whom had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempeſtuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt, and ſoul-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured: with the deſire to ſatisfy thoſe friends, which I have tried by the fire of adverſity; the former enforcing, the latter perſwading; have cauſed me to make my thoughts legible, and my ſelf the ſubject of every opinion, wiſe or weak.

To the world I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (fortune changing) ſped much better in any age. For, proſperity and adverſity have evermore tied and untied vulgar affections. And as we ſee it in experience, That dogs do always bark at thoſe they know not; and that it is in their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo is it with the inconſiderate multitude. Who, wanting that virtue which we call honeſty in all men, and that eſpecial gift of God which we call charity in chriſtian men; condemn, without hearing; and wound, without offence given; led thereunto by uncertain report only; [a] which his majeſty truly acknowledgeth for the author of all lyes. [b] *Blame no man (ſaith* Siracides*) before thou have inquired the matter: underſtand firſt, and then reform righteouſly. Rumor, res ſine teſte, ſine judice, maligna, fallax; rumour is without witneſs, without judge, malicious and deceivable.* This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gave S. *Auguſtine* argument to affirm, That he feared the praiſe of good men, and deteſted that of the evil. [c] And herein no man hath given a better rule, than this of *Seneca*; *Conſcicntiæ ſatisfacimus: nihil in famam laboremus; ſequatur*

[a] Dæmonolog. l. 3. c. 1. [b] Eccl. c. 11. v. 7. [c] Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis deteſtor. Sen. de ira. l. 3. c. 22.

vel mala, dum bene merearis. Let us ſatisfy our own conſciences, and not trouble our ſelves with fame: be it never ſo ill, it is to be deſpiſed ſo we deſerve well.

For my ſelf, if I have in any thing ſerved my country, and priſed it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair ſun-ſhine day to a ſea-man after ſhipwreck; and the contrary, no other harm than an outragious tempeſt after the port attained. I know that I loſt the love of many, for my fidelity towards her, whom I muſt ſtill honour in the duſt; though further than the defence of her excellent perſon I never perſecuted any man. Of thoſe that did it, and by what device they did it: he that is the ſupreme judge of all the world, hath taken the account; ſo as for this kind of ſuffering, I muſt ſay with *Seneca*, *Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.*

As for other men; if there be any that have made themſelves fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neither envy at ſuch their purchaſed glory, nor much lament mine own miſhap in that kind; but content my ſelf to ſay with *Virgil*, *Sic vos non vobis*, in many particulars.

To labour other ſatisfaction, were an effect of phrenzy, not of hope: ſeeing it is not truth, but opinion, that can travel the world without a paſs-port. For were it otherwiſe; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external figures of men; there were then ſome poſſibility, to perſwade by the mouth of one advocate, even equity alone.

But ſuch is the multiplying and extenſive virtue of dead earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath caſt upon ſlime and duſt: as that among thoſe that were, of whom we read and hear, and among thoſe that are, whom we ſee and converſe with; every one hath received a ſeveral picture of face, and every one a diverſe picture of mind: every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein nature ſo much triumpheth, as in diſſimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found ſo great diverſity of opinions; ſo ſtrong a contrariety of inclinations; ſo many natural and unnatural; wiſe, fooliſh; manly, and childiſh affections and paſſions in mortal men. For it is not the viſible faſhion and ſhape of plants, and of reaſonable creatures, that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the formal and internal.

And though it hath pleaſed God, to reſerve the art of reading men's thoughts to himſelf: yet, as the fruit tells the name of the tree; ſo do the outward works of men (ſo far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to gueſs at the reſt. Nay, it were not hard to expreſs the one by the other, very near the life; did not craft in many, fear in the moſt, and the world's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compaſs it hath, to qualify and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be alſo true, *Nemo poteſt diu perſonam ferre fictam: cito in naturam ſuam reſidunt, quibus veritas non ſubeſt. No Man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour: the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long diſſemble their own natures.* Neither can any man (ſaith *Plutarch*) ſo change himſelf, but that his heart may be ſometimes ſeen at his tongue's end.

In this great diſcord and diſſimilitude of reaſonable creatures, if we direct our ſelves to the multitude; *Omnis honeſtæ rei malus judex eſt vulgus, The common people are evil judges of honeſt things*, and *whoſe wiſdom* (ſaith *Eccleſiaſtes*) *is to be deſpiſed*; if to the better ſort; every underſtanding hath a peculiar judgment, by which it both cenſureth other men, and valueth it ſelf. And therefore unto me it will not ſeem ſtrange, though I find theſe my worthleſs papers torn with rats: ſeeing the ſlothful cenſurers of all ages, have not ſpared to tax the reverend fathers of the church, with ambition; the

ſevereſt

ſevereſt men to themſelves, with hypocriſy; the greateſt lovers of juſtice, with popularity; and thoſe of the trueſt valour and fortitude, with vain-glory. [a] But of theſe natures, which lie in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, ſeeing [b] *Solomon* complained long ſince: and that the very age of the world renders it every day after other more malicious; I muſt leave the profeſſors to their eaſy ways of reprehenſion, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the firſt part of this preface, following the common and approved cuſtom of thoſe who have left the memories of time paſt to after-ages; to give, as near as I can, the ſame right to hiſtory which they have done. Yet ſeeing therein I ſhould but borrow other men's words; I will not trouble the reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all human knowledge, that it hath given us life in our underſtanding, ſince the world it ſelf had life and beginning, even to this day: yea it hath triumphed over time, which, beſides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vaſt and devouring ſpace of ſo many thouſands of years, and given ſo fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now, as if we had lived then, that great world, *Magni Dei ſapiens opus, the wiſe work (*ſaith *Hermes) of a great God*, as it was then, when but new to it ſelf. By it I ſay it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled: how kings and kingdoms have flouriſhed and fallen; and for what virtue and piety God made proſperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the leaſt debt which we owe unto hiſtory, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead anceſtors; and, out of the depth and darkneſs of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of hiſtory a policy no leſs wiſe than eternal; by the compariſon and application of other men's fore-paſſed miſeries, with our own like errors and ill deſervings.

But it is neither of examples the moſt lively inſtruction, nor the words of the wiſeſt men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet ſo wrought in our blind and ſtupified minds; as to make us remember, that the infinite eye and wiſdom of God doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make us remember, That the juſtice of God doth require none other accuſer, than our own conſciences: which neither the falſe beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacify the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the leaſt kind, cover from his knowledge. And ſo much did that heathen wiſdom confeſs, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (ſaith *Euripides*) having in his life committed wickedneſs, think he can hide it from the everlaſting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat God's judgments in particular, upon thoſe of all degrees, which have played with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the ſea of examples hath no bottom. The marks, ſet on private men, are with their bodies caſt into the earth; and their fortunes, written only in the memories of thoſe that lived with them: ſo as they who ſucceed, and have not ſeen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults. God's judgments upon the greater and greateſt, have been left to poſterity; firſt, by thoſe happy hands which the Holy Ghoſt hath guided; and ſecondly, by their

[a] Eccl. cap. 11. [b] Nihil facilius, quam reprehendere alium

virtue,

virtue, who have gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to point far off, and to ſpeak of the converſion of angels into devils for ambition: or of the greateſt and moſt glorious kings, who have gnawn the graſs of the earth with beaſts, for pride and ingratitude towards God: or of that wiſe working of *Pharaoh*, when he ſlew the infants of *Iſrael*, ere they had recovered their cradles: or of the policy of *Jezebel*, in covering the murder of *Naboth* by a trial of the *Elders*, according to the law; with many thouſands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleſs proof, that far-off examples would not be left to the ſame far-off reſpects, as heretofore? For who hath not obſerved, what labour, practice, peril, bloodſhed, and cruelty, the kings and princes of the world have undergone, exerciſed, taken on them, and committed; to make themſelves and their iſſues maſters of the world? And yet hath *Babylon*, *Perſia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Macedon*, *Carthage*, *Rome*, and the reſt, no fruit, flower, graſs, nor leaf, ſpringing upon the face of the earth, of thoſe ſeeds: No; their very roots and ruins do hardly remain. *Omnia quæ manu hominum facta ſunt, vel manu hominum everruntur, vel ſtando & durando deficiunt*; *All that the hand of man can make, is either overturn'd by the hand of man, or at length by ſtanding and continuing conſumed.* The reaſons of thoſe ruins, are diverſly given by thoſe that ground their opinions on ſecond cauſes. All kingdoms and ſtates have fallen (ſay the politicians) by outward and foreign force, or by inward negligence and diſſenſion, or by a third cauſe ariſing from both. Others obſerve, That the greateſt have ſunk down under their own weight; of which *Livy* hath a touch: *Eo crevit, ut magnitudino laboret ſua:* Others, That the divine providence (which *Cratippus* objected to *Pompey*) hath ſet down the date and period of every eſtate, before their firſt foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my ſelf a day over to reſolve.

For ſeeing the firſt books of the following ſtory, have undertaken the diſcourſe of the firſt kings and kingdoms: and that it is impoſſible for the ſhort life of a preface, to travel after and overtake far-off antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the preſent, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own kings, and their neighbour princes: who having beheld, both in divine and human letters, the ſucceſs of infidelity, injuſtice, and cruelty; have (notwithſtanding) planted after the ſame pattern.

True it is, that the judgments of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more ſtrange) the affection of any one man ſtirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched moſt, with that which moſt nearly ſeemeth to touch his own private; or otherwiſe beſt ſuteth with his apprehenſion. but the judgments of God are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long proceſs of time, and won to give his bleſſing in one age, to that which he hath curſed in another. Wherefore thoſe that are wiſe, or whoſe wiſdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to diſcern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among thoſe examples that are found in ages removed far from the preſent, as in thoſe of latter times. And that it may no leſs appear by evident proof, than by aſſeveration, That ill doing hath always been attended with ill ſucceſs; I will here, by way of preface, run over ſome examples, which the work enſuing hath not reached.

Among our kings of the *Norman* race, we have no ſooner paſſed over the violence of the *Norman* conqueſt, than we encounter with a ſingular and moſt remarkable example of God's juſtice, upon the children of *Henry*

the

the first. For that king, when both by force, craft, and cruelty, he had dispossess'd, over-reach'd, and lastly made blind and destroyed his elder brother *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, to make his own sons lords of this land: God cast them all, male and female, nephews and nieces (*Maud* excepted) into the bottom of the sea, with above a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were noble, and of the king dearly beloved.

To pass over the rest, till we come to *Edward* the second; it is certain, that after the murder of that king, the issue of blood then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did again break out; and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our princes of the *Masculine* race (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young years of *Edward* the third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious: yet in that he afterwards caused his own uncle the earl of *Kent* to die, for no other offence than the desire of his brother's redemption, whom the earl as then supposed to be living (the king making that to be treason in his uncle, which was indeed treason in himself, had his uncle's intelligence been true;) this, I say, made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have it otherwise; though he caused *Mortimer* to die for the same.

The cruelty, the secret and unsearchable judgment of God revenged, on the grand-child of *Edward* the third: and so it fell out, even to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried under the ruins of those buildings, of which the mortar had been tempered with innocent blood. For *Richard* the second, who saw, both his *Treasurers*, his *Chancellor*, and his *Steward*, with divers others of his counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet he always took himself for over-wise to be taught by examples. The earls of *Huntington* and *Kent*, *Montague* and *Spencer*, who thought themselves as great politicians in those days, as others have done in these: hoping to please the king, and to secure themselves, by the murder of *Gloceſter*; died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and far more shamefully than did that duke. And as for the king himself (who in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his greatness, cannot be excused, as the disavowing himself by breach of faith, charters, pardons, and patents) he was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his cousin-german and vassal, *Henry* of *Lancaster*, afterwards *Henry* the fourth.

This king, whose title was weak, and his obtaining the crown traiterous: who brake faith with the lords at his landing, protesting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance; brake faith with *Richard* himself; and brake faith with all the kingdom in parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed king should live. After that he had enjoyed this realm some few years, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his subjects, and never free from conspiracies and rebellions: he saw (if souls immortal see and discern any things after the bodies death) his grand-child *Henry* the sixth, and his son the prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the crown (for which he had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race; and by the issues of his enemies worn and enjoyed: enemies, whom by his own practice he supposed that he had left no less powerless, than the succession of the kingdom questionless; by entailing the same upon his own issues by parliament. And out of doubt, hu-

man reaſon could have judged no otherwiſe, but that theſe cautious proviſions of the father, ſeconded by the valour and ſignal victories of his ſon *Henry* the fifth, had buried the hopes of every competitor, under the deſpair of all reconqueſt and recovery. I ſay, that human reaſon might ſo have judged: were not this paſſage of *Caſaubon* alſo true; *Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus ſufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus eſſe fundatæ; a day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things, that ſeemed to have been founded and rooted in adamant.*

Now for *Henry* the ſixth, upon whom the great ſtorm of his grandfather's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon *Richard* the grandchild of *Edward*: although he was generally eſteemed for a gentle and innocent prince; yet as he refuſed the daughter of *Armaignac*, of the houſe of *Navarre*, the greateſt of the princes of *France*, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in *France*) and married the daughter of *Anjou* (by which he loſt all that he had in *France*) ſo in condeſcending to the unworthy death of his uncle of *Gloceſter*, the main and ſtrong pillar of the houſe of *Lancaſter*; he drew on himſelf and this kingdom the greateſt joint-loſs and diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtained ſince the *Norman* conqueſt. Of whom it may truly be ſaid, which a counſellor of his own ſpake of *Henry* the third of *France*, *Qu'il eſtoit un fort gentil prince; mais ſon reigne eſt advenu en une fort mauvais temps: That he was a very gentle prince; but his reign happened in a very unfortunate ſeaſon.*

It is true, that *Buckingham* and *Suffolk* were the practiſers and contrivers of the duke's death: *Buckingham* and *Suffolk*, becauſe the duke gave inſtructions to their authority, which otherwiſe under the queen had been abſolute; the queen, in reſpect of her perſonal wound, *ſpretæque injuria formæ*, becauſe *Gloceſter* diſſwaded her marriage. But the fruit was anſwerable to the ſeed; the ſucceſs to the counſel. For after the cutting down of *Gloucaſter*, *York* grew up ſo faſt, as he dared to diſpute his right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel, *Suffolk* and *Buckingham*, with the greateſt number of their adherents, were diſſolved. And although for his breach of oath by ſacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike down *York*: yet his ſon the earl of *March*, following the plain path which his father had trodden out, deſpoiled *Henry* the father, and *Edward* the ſon, both of their lives and kingdoms. And what was the end now of that politick *lady* the *queen*, other than this, That ſhe lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: That ſhe lived to look on, while her husband the king, and her only ſon the prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the crown was ſet on his head that did it. She lived to ſee her ſelf deſpoiled of her eſtate, and of her moveables: and laſtly, her father, by rendring up to the crown of *France*, the *earldom* of *Provence* and other places, for the payment of fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom, to become a ſtark beggar. And this was the end of that ſubtilty, which [a] *Siracides* calleth *fine*, but *unrighteous*: for other fruit hath it never yielded ſince the world was.

And now came it to *Edward* the fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of *Lancaſter* were rooted up; one only earl of *Richmond* excepted: whom alſo he had once bought of the duke of *Britain*, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of *Edward* ſuch a plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelf ſtability. For this *Edward* the king (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the ſlaughter, which *Gloceſter*, *Dorſet*, *Haſtings*, and others,

[a] Sirac. c. 19.

made

made of *Edward* the prince in his own preſence: of which tragical actors, there was not one that eſcaped the judgment of God in the ſame kind. And he, which (beſides the execution of his brother of *Clarence*, for none other offence than he himſelf had formed in his own imagination) inſtructed *Gloceſter* to kill *Henry* the ſixth, his predeceſſor; taught him alſo by the ſame art to kill his own ſons and ſucceſſors *Edward* and *Richard*. *For thoſe kings, which have ſold the blood of others at a low rate; have but made the market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame price.*

To *Edward* the fourth ſucceeded *Richard* the third, the greateſt maſter in miſchief of all that fore-went him: who although, for the neceſſity of his tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own perſon, than all the reſt; yet he ſo well fitted every affection that play'd with him, as if each of them had but acted his own intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly upon the affections of *Haſtings* and *Buckingham*, enemies to the queen and to all her kindred; as he eaſily allured them to condeſcend, that *Rivers* and *Grey*, the king's maternal uncle and half-brother, ſhould (for the firſt) be ſevered from him: ſecondly, he wrought their conſent to have them impriſoned: and laſtly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their heads ſevered from their bodies. And having now brought thoſe his chief inſtruments to exerciſe that common precept, which the devil hath written on every poſt; namely, [a] To depreſs thoſe whom they had grieved, and to deſtroy thoſe whom they had depreſs'd; he urged that argument ſo far and ſo forcibly, as nothing but the death of the young king himſelf, and of his brother, could faſhion the concluſion. For he cauſed it to be hammered into *Buckingham*'s head, That whenſoever the king, or his brother, ſhould have able years to exerciſe their power; they would take a moſt ſevere revenge of that cureleſs wrong, offered to their uncle and brother, *Rivers* and *Grey*.

But this was not his manner of reaſoning with *Haſtings*, whoſe fidelity to his maſter's ſons was without ſuſpect: and yet the devil, who never diſſwades by impoſſibility, taught him to try him. And ſo he did. But when he found by *Catesby*, who ſounded him, that he was not fordable; he firſt reſolved to kill him ſitting in council: wherein having failed with his ſword; he ſet the hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And becauſe nothing elſe could move his appetite, he cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, before he eat his dinner. A greater judgment of God, than this upon *Haſtings*, I have never obſerved in any ſtory. For the ſelf-ſame day that the earl *Rivers*, *Grey*, and others, were (without trial of law, or offence given) by *Haſtings*'s advice executed at *Pomfret*: I ſay, *Haſtings* himſelf in the ſame day, and (as I take it) in the ſame hour, in the ſame lawleſs manner had his head ſtricken off in the *Tower* of *London*. But *Buckingham* lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perſwaded the *Londoners* to elect *Richard* for their king. And having received the earldom of *Hereford* for reward, beſides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the king's only ſon; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his truſtieſt ſervant; he had his head ſevered from his body at *Salisbury*, without the trouble of any of his peers. And what ſucceſs had *Richard* himſelf after all theſe miſchiefs and murders, policies and counterpolicies to chriſtian Religion: and after ſuch time, as with a moſt mercileſs hand he had preſſed

[a] Scelera ſceleribus tuenda. Sen. de Clem.

out

out the breath of his nephews and natural lords; other than the proſperity of ſo ſhort a life, as it took end, ere himſelf could well look over and diſcern it? The great outcry of innocent blood, obtaining at God's hands the effuſion of his; who became a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruel king, *Henry* the ſeventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate inſtrument of God's juſtice. A politick prince he was, if ever there were any; and who by the engine of his wiſdom, beat down and overturned as many ſtrong oppoſitions, both before and after he wore the crown, as ever king of *England* did: I ſay by his wiſdom, becauſe as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, ſo he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than ſo much as cannot be denied it in all human actions. He had well obſerved the proceedings of *Loys* the eleventh, whom he followed in all that was royal or royal-like, but he was far more juſt, and begun not their proceſſes, whom he hated or feared by the execution, as *Loys* did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his ſervants, and therein exceeding wiſe; for whatſoever himſelf gave, he himſelf received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well that the affections of men (purchaſed by nothing ſo readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great kings, than great ſubjects. On the contrary, in whatſoever he grieved his ſubjects, he wiſely put it off on thoſe, that he found fit miniſters for ſuch actions. Howſoever, the taking off of *Stanley*'s head, who ſet the crown on his, and the death of the young earl of *Warwick*, ſon to *George* duke of *Clarence*, ſhews, as the ſucceſs alſo did, that he held ſomewhat of the errors of his anceſtors, for his poſſeſſion in the firſt line ended in his grand-children, as that of *Edward* the third and *Henry* the fourth had done.

Now for king *Henry* the eighth: if all the pictures and patterns of a mercileſs prince were loſt in the world, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the ſtory of this king. For how many ſervants did he advance in haſte (but for what virtue no man could ſuſpect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more deſert gave he abundant flowers, from whence to gather honey, and in the end of harveſt burnt them in the hive? How many wives did he cut off, and caſt off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many princes of the blood (whereof ſome of them for age could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common chronicles have kept the account) did he execute? Yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to have given his account to God for the abundance of blood already ſpilt: he impriſoned the duke of *Norfolk* the father, and executed the earl of *Surrey* the ſon; the one, whoſe deſervings he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the king's ſervice; the other, never having committed any thing worthy of his leaſt diſpleaſure: the one exceeding valiant and adviſed; the other, no leſs valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But beſides the ſorrows which he heaped upon the fatherleſs, and widows at home; and beſides the vain enterpriſes abroad, wherein it is thought that he conſumed more treaſure, than all our victorious kings did in their ſeveral conqueſts: what cauſeleſs and cruel wars did he make upon his own nephew king *James* the fifth? What laws and wills did he deviſe, to eſtabliſh this kingdom in his own iſſues? Uſing his ſharpeſt weapons

pons to cut off, and cut down thoſe branches, which ſprang from the ſame root that himſelf did. And in the end (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious proviſions) it pleaſed God to take away all his own, without increaſe; though, for themſelves in their ſeveral kinds, all princes of eminent virtue. For theſe words of *Samuel* to *Agag*, king of the *Amalekites*, have been verified upon many others: *As thy ſword hath made other women childleſs: ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among other women.* And that blood which the ſame king *Henry* affirmed, that the cold air of *Scotland* had frozen up in the *north*, God hath diffuſed by the ſun-ſhine of his grace: from whence his majeſty now living, and long to live, is deſcended. Of whom I may ſay it truly, that if all the malice of the world were infuſed into one eye: yet could it not diſcern in his life, even to this day, any one of thoſe foul ſpots, by which the conſciences of all the fore-named princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent blood on the ſword of his juſtice, with which the moſt that forewent him, have ſtained both their hands and fame. And for this crown of *England*; it may truly be avowed, that he hath received it even from the hand of God, and hath ſtayed the time of putting it on, howſoever he were provoked to haſten it: that he never took revenge of any man that ſought to put him beſide it: that he refuſed the aſſiſtance of her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever princeſs did: that his majeſty entered not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the ordinary gate, which his own right ſet open; and into which, by a general love and obedience, he was received. And howſoever his majeſty's preceding title to this kingdom, was preferred by many princes (witneſs the treaty at *Cambray* in the year 1559;) yet he never pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned lady, his predeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the injury of not being declared heir, in all the time of her long reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulneſs to God for the uniting of the northern parts of *Britany* to the ſouth; to wit, of *Scotland* to *England*; which, though they were ſevered but by ſmall brooks and banks, yet by reaſon of the long continued war, and the cruelties exerciſed upon each other, in the affection of the nations, they were infinitely ſevered. This, I ſay, is not the leaſt of God's bleſſings which his majeſty hath brought with him unto this land: No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to their height, they will appear but as a mole-hill, compared with the mountain of this concord. And if all the hiſtorians ſince then, have acknowledged the uniting of the red roſe and the white, for the greateſt happineſs (Chriſtian religion excepted) that ever this kingdom received from God, certainly the peace between the two lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, beſides the ſparing of our *Britiſh* blood, heretofore and during the difference ſo often and abundantly ſhed, the ſtate of *England* is more aſſured, the kingdom more enabled to recover her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, polices and conqueſts. It is true that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But had the duke of *Parma*, in the year 1588, joined the army which he commanded, with that of *Spain*, and landed it on the ſouth-coaſt; and had his majeſty at the ſame time declared himſelf againſt us in the north: it is eaſy to divine what had become of the liberty of *England*; certainly we would then without murmur have bought this union at a far greater price than it hath ſince coſt us.

It is true, that there was never any commonweal or kingdom in the world, wherein no man had cauſe to lament. Kings live in the world, and not above it. They are not infinite to examine every man's cauſe, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the latter (though to his own prejudice) his majeſty hath had more compaſſion of other men's neceſſities, than of his own coffers. Of whom it may be ſaid, as of [a] *Salomon*, *Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem Cordis*: which if other men do not underſtand with *Pineda* to be meant by *liberality*, but by *latitude of knowledge*; yet may it be better ſpoken of his majeſty, than of any king that ever *England* had; who, as well in divine as human underſtanding, hath exceeded all that forewent him, by many degrees.

I could ſay much more of the king's majeſty, without flattery, did I not fear the imputation of preſumption, and withal ſuſpect, that it might befal theſe papers of mine (though the loſs were little) as it did the pictures of queen *Elizabeth*, made by unskilful and common painters; which, by her own commandment, were knock'd in pieces and caſt into the fire. For ill artiſts, in ſetting out the beauty of the external; and weak writers, in deſcribing the virtues of the internal, do often leave to poſterity, of well-formed faces a deformed memory; and of the moſt perfect and princely minds, a moſt defective repreſentation. It may ſuffice, and there needs no other diſcourſe, if the honeſt reader but compare the cruel and turbulent paſſages of our former kings, and of other their neighbour princes (of whom for that purpoſe I have inſerted this brief diſcourſe) with his majeſty's temperate, revengeleſs, and liberal diſpoſition: I ſay, that if the honeſt reader weigh them juſtly, and with an even hand; and withal, but beſtow every deformed child on his true parent, he ſhall find, that there is no man which hath ſo juſt cauſe to complain, as the king himſelf hath.

Now as we have told the ſucceſs of the trumperies and cruelties of our own kings, and other great perſonages; ſo we find, that God is every-where the ſame God. And as it pleaſed him to puniſh the uſurpation, and unnatural cruelty of *Henry* I, and of our *Edward* III, in their children for many generations; ſo dealt he with the ſons of *Loys Debonaire*, the ſon of *Charles* the great, or *Charlemagne*. For after ſuch time as *Debonaire* of *France* had torn out the eyes of *Bernard* his nephew, the ſon of *Pepin*, the eldeſt ſon of *Charlemagne*, and heir of the empire, and then cauſed him to die in priſon, as did our *Henry* to *Robert* his elder brother; there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poiſonings, impriſonments, and civil war, till the whole race of that famous emperor was extinguiſhed.

And though *Debonaire*, after he had rid himſelf of his nephew by a violent death; and of his baſtard brothers by a civil death (having incloſed them with ſure guard, all the days of their lives, within a monaſtery) held himſelf ſecure from all oppoſition: yet God raiſed up againſt him (which he ſuſpected not) his own ſons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him priſoner, and to depoſe him; his own ſons, with whom (to ſatisfy their ambition) he had ſhared his eſtate, and given them crowns to wear, kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldeſt ſon *Lothaire* (for he had four, three by his firſt wife, and one by his ſecond; to wit, *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, *Loys*, and *Charles*) made it the cauſe of his depoſition, that he had uſed violence towards his brothers and kinſmen; and that he had ſuffer'd his nephew (whom he might have deliver'd) to be ſlain, [b] *eo quod*, ſaith the text, *fratribus &*

[a] Pin. Comment. in Sal. 1 K. 4. [b] Step. Paſquiere Recher. l. 5. c. 1.

propinquis

propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe liberare poterat, interfici permiſerit: becauſe he uſed violence to his brothers and kinſmen, and ſuffered his nephew to be ſlain whom he might have delivered.

Yet did he that which few kings do; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For among many other things, which he performed in the general aſſembly of the ſtates, it follows, [a] *Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe confeſſus; & imitatus imperatoris Theodoſii exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem geſſerat.* After this he did openly confeſs himſelf to have erred; and following the example of the emperor *Theodoſius*, he underwent voluntary penance as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done againſt *Bernard*, his own nephew.

This he did, and it was praiſe-worthy. *But the blood that is unjuſtly ſpilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. Theſe medicines, miniſtred to the dead, have but dead rewards.*

This king, as I have ſaid, had four ſons. To *Lothaire* his eldeſt he gave the kingdom of *Italy*; as *Charlemagne*, his father, had done to *Pepin* the father of *Bernard*, who was to ſucceed him in the empire. To *Pepin* the ſecond ſon he gave the kingdom of *Aquitaine:* to *Loys*, the kingdom of *Bavier*; and to *Charles*, whom he had by a ſecond wife, called *Judith*, the remainder of the kingdom of *France*. But this ſecond wife, being a mother-in-law to the reſt, perſwaded *Debonaire* to caſt his ſon *Pepin* out of *Aquitaine*; thereby to greaten *Charles:* which, after the death of his ſon *Pepin*, he proſecuted to effect, againſt his grand-child bearing the ſame name. In the mean while, being invaded by his ſon *Loys* of *Bavier*, he dies for grief.

Debonaire dead: *Loys* of *Bavier*, and *Charles*, afterwards call'd the *Bald*, and their nephew *Pepin* of *Aquitaine*, join in league againſt the emperor *Lothaire*, their eldeſt brother. They fight near to *Auxerre* the moſt bloody battel that ever was ſtrucken in *France:* in which, the marvellous loſs of nobility, and men of war, gave courage to the *Saracens* to invade *Italy*; to the *Humes*, to fall upon *Almaine*; and the *Danes*, to enter upon *Normandy*. *Charles* the *Bald* by treaſon ſeizeth upon his nephew *Pepin*; kills him in a cloyſter; *Carloman* rebels againſt his father *Charles* the *Bald*; the father burns out the eyes of his ſon *Carloman*; *Bavier* invades the emperor *Lothaire*, his brother; *Lothaire* quits the empire; he is aſſailed and wounded to the heart by his own conſcience, for his rebellion againſt his father and for his other cruelties, and dies in a monaſtery. *Charles* the *Bald*, the uncle, oppreſſeth his nephews, the ſons of *Lothaire*, he uſurpeth the empire, to the prejudice of *Loys* of *Bavier*, his elder brother; *Bavier*'s armies and his ſon *Carloman* are beaten; he dies of grief; and the uſurper *Charles* is poiſoned by *Zedekias* a *Jew*, his phyſician; his ſon *Loys le Beque* dies of the ſame drink. *Beque* had *Charles the Simple*, and two baſtards, *Loys* and *Carloman*; they rebel againſt their brother, but the eldeſt breaks his neck, the younger is ſlain by a wild boar; the ſon of *Bavier* had the ſame ill deſtiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a window in ſporting with his companions. *Charles the Groſs* becomes lord of all that the ſons of *Debonaire* held in *Germany*, wherewith not contented, he invades *Charles the Simple*; but being forſaken of his nobility, of his wife, and of his underſtanding, he dies a diſtracted beggar. *Charles the Simple* is held in wardſhip by *Eudes*, major of the palace; then by *Robert*, the brother of *Eudes*; and, laſtly, being taken by the earl of *Vermandois*, he is forced to die in the priſon of *Peron: Loys*, the ſon of *Charles the Simple*, breaks his neck in chaſing a wolf; and of the two ſons

[a] Paſq. ibidem.

of

of this *Loys*, the one dies of poiſon, the other in the priſon of *Orleans*; after whom *Hugh Capet*, of another race, and a ſtranger to the *French*, makes himſelf king.

Theſe miſerable ends had the iſſues of *Debonaire*, who, after he had once apparelled injuſtice with authority, his ſons and ſucceſſors took up the faſhion; and wore that garment ſo long without other proviſions, as when the ſame was torn from their ſhoulders, every man deſpiſed them as miſerable and naked beggars. The wretched ſucceſs they had (ſaith a learned *French-man*) ſhews, *que en ceſte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu ou de la juſtice:* That in the death of that prince, to wit, of *Bernard*, the ſon of *Pepin*, the true heir of *Charlemagne*, men had more medling than either God or juſtice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certain that *Francis* I, one of the worthieſt kings (except for that fact) that ever the *French-men* had, did never enjoy himſelf, after he had commended the deſtruction of the proteſtants of *Mirandol* and *Cabrieres*, to the parliament of *Provence*; which poor people were thereupon burnt, and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true, that the ſaid king *Francis* repented himſelf of the fact, and gave charge to *Henry*, his ſon, to do juſtice upon the murderers; threatning his ſon with God's judgments, if he neglected it. But this unſeaſonable care of his, God was not pleaſed to accept for payment. For, after *Henry* himſelf was ſlain in ſport by *Montgomery*, we all may remember what became of his four ſons, *Francis*, *Charles*, *Henry*, and *Hercules*. Of which, although three of them became kings, and were married to beautiful and virtuous ladies; yet were they, one after another, caſt out of the world, without ſtock or ſeed. And notwithſtanding their ſubtilty and breach of faith, with all their maſſacres upon thoſe of the religion, and great effuſion of blood, the crown was ſet upon his head, whom they all laboured to diſſolve; the proteſtants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more ſtrong cities than ever they had.

Let us now ſee, if God be not the ſame God in *Spain*, as in *England* and *France*. Towards whom we will look no farther back than to *Don Pedro* of *Caſtile*: in reſpect of which prince, all the tyrants of *Sicily*, our *Richard* III, and the great *Evan Vaſilowick* of *Muſcovy*, were but petty ones: this *Caſtilian*, of all chriſtian and heathen kings, having been the moſt mercileſs. For beſides thoſe of his own blood and nobility, which he cauſed to be ſlain in his own court and chamber; as *Sancho Ruis*, the great maſter of *Calatrava*, *Ruis Gonſales*, *Alphonſo Tello*, and *Don John* of *Arragon*, whom he cut in pieces, and caſt into the ſtreets, denying him Chriſtian burial: I ſay, beſides theſe, and the ſlaughter of *Gomes Manriques*, *Diego Peres*, *Alphonſo Gomes*, and the great commander of *Caſtile*; he made away the two infants of *Arragon*, his couſin-germans, his brother *Don Frederick*, *Don John de la Cerde*, *Albuquerques*, *Nugnes de Guzman*, *Cornel*, *Cabrera*, *Tenorio*, *Mendes de Toledo*, *Guttiere* his great treaſurer, and all his kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he ſpare his two youngeſt brothers, innocent princes: whom, after he had kept in cloſe priſon from their cradles, till one of them had lived ſixteen years, and the other fourteen, he murdered them there. Nay, he ſpared not his mother, nor his wife, the lady *Blanch* of *Bourbon*. Laſtly, as he cauſed the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and the dean, to be killed, of purpoſe to enjoy their treaſures; ſo did he put to death [a] *Mahomet Aben Alhamar*, king of *Barbary*, with thirty-ſeven of his nobility, that came unto him for ſuccour, with a great ſum of money, to levy (by his

[a] *Hiſt. of* Spain.

favour)

favour) ſome companies of ſoldiers to return withal. Yea, he would needs aſſiſt the hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old king; inſomuch as pope *Urban* declared him an enemy both to God and man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his kingdom, and reeſtabliſhed by the valour of the *Engliſh* nation, led by the famous duke of *Lancaſter*: he was ſtabbed to death by his younger brother the earl of *Aſtramara*, who diſpoſſeſſed all his children of their inheritance; which, but for the father's injuſtice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any ſuch thing.

If we can parallel any man with this king, it muſt be duke *John* of *Burgoigne*; who, after his traiterous murder of the duke of *Orleans*, cauſed the conſtable of *Armagnac*, the chancellor of *France*, the biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Bayeux*, *Eureux*, *Senlis*, *Saintes*, and other religious and reverend church-men, the earl of *gran Pre*, *Hector* of *Chartres*, and (in effect) all the officers of juſtice, of the chamber of accompts, treaſury and requeſt (with ſixteen hundred others to accompany them) to be ſuddenly and violently ſlain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have maſtered *France*: he was ſoon after ſtrucken with an axe in the face, in the preſence of the [a] *Dauphin*; and, without any leiſure to repent his miſdeeds, preſently ſlain. Theſe were the lovers of other men's miſeries, and miſery found them out.

Now for the kings of *Spain*, which lived both with *Henry* VII, *Henry* VIII, queen *Mary*, and queen *Elizabeth*; *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* was the firſt; and the firſt that laid the foundation of the preſent *Auſtrian* greatneſs. For this king did not content himſelf to hold *Arragon* by the uſurpation of his anceſtor, and to faſten thereunto the kingdom of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, which *Iſabel* his wife held by ſtrong hand, and his aſſiſtance, from her own niece, the daughter of the laſt *Henry*; but moſt cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right: he alſo caſt his own niece out of the kingdom of *Navarre*; and, contrary to faith, and the promiſe that he made to reſtore it, fortified the beſt places, and ſo waſted the reſt, as there was no means left for any army to invade it. This king, I ſay, that betrayed alſo *Ferdinand* and *Frederick*, kings of *Naples*, princes of his own blood, and by double alliance tied unto him, ſold them unto the *French*; and with the ſame army, ſent for their ſuccour under *Gonſalvo*, caſt them out; and ſhared their kingdom with the *French*, whom afterwards he moſt ſhamefully betrayed.

This wiſe and politick king, who ſold heaven and his own honour, to make his ſon, the prince of *Spain*, the greateſt monarch of the world, ſaw him die in the flower of his years; and his wife, great with child with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldeſt daughter, married unto *Don Alphonſo*, prince of *Portugal*, beheld her firſt husband break his neck in her preſence; and, being with child by her ſecond, died with it. A juſt judgment of God upon the race of *John*, father to *Alphonſo*, now wholly extinguiſhed, who had not only left many diſconſolate mothers in *Portugal*, by the ſlaughter of their children; but had formerly ſlain, with his own hand, the ſon and only comfort of his aunt, the lady *Beatrix*, dutcheſs of *Viſeo*. The ſecond daughter of *Ferdinand*, married, to the archduke *Philip*, turned fool, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, beſtowed on king *Henry* VIII, he ſaw caſt off by the king, the mother of many troubles in *England*; and the mother of a daughter, that, in her unhappy zeal, ſhed a world of innocent blood; loſt *Calais* to the *French*; and died heart-broken without increaſe.

[a] French Invent. in Anno 1418.

To conclude, all thoſe kingdoms of *Ferdinand* have maſters of a new name; and, by a ſtrange family, are governed and poſſeſs'd.

Charles V, ſon to the archduke *Philip*, in whoſe vain enterpriſes upon the *French*, upon the *Almaines*, and other princes and ſtates, ſo many multitudes of Chriſtian ſoldiers, and renowned captains, were conſumed, who gave the while a moſt perilous entrance to the *Turks*, and ſuffered *Rhodes*, the key of chriſtendom, to be taken, was, in concluſion, chaſed out of *France*; and, in a ſort, out of *Germany*; and left to the *French*, *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, places belonging to the empire; ſtole away from *Inſpruck*, and ſcaled the *Alps* by torch-light, purſued by duke *Maurice*; having hoped to ſwallow up all thoſe dominions, wherein he concocted nothing ſave his own diſgraces. And having, after the ſlaughter of ſo many millions of men, no one foot of ground in either, [a] he crept into a cloyſter, and made himſelf a penſioner of an hundred thouſand duckets by the year to his ſon *Philip*, from whom he very ſlowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.

His ſon again, king *Philip* II, not ſatisfied to hold *Holland* and *Zealand* (wreſted by his anceſtors from *Jaqueline*, their lawful princeſs) and to poſſeſs in peace many other provinces of the *Netherlands*, perſwaded by that miſchievous cardinal of *Granvil*, and other *Romiſh* tyrants; not only forgot the moſt remarkable ſervices done to his father the emperor, by the nobility of thoſe countries; not only forgot the preſent made him upon his entry of forty millions of florins, called the [b] *Noval aid*; nor only forgot that he had twice moſt ſolemnly ſworn to the general ſtates, to maintain and preſerve their ancient rights, privileges, and cuſtoms, which they had enjoyed under their thirty-five earls before him, conditional princes of thoſe provinces; but beginning firſt to conſtrain them, and enthral them by the *Spaniſh* inquiſition, and then to impoveriſh them by many new deviſed and intolerable impoſitions: he, laſtly, by ſtrong hand and main force, attempted to make himſelf not only an abſolute monarch over them, like unto the kings and ſoveraigns of *England* and *France*; but, *Turk*-like, to tread under his feet all their national and fundamental laws, privileges, and ancient rights. To effect which, after he had eaſily obtained from the pope a diſpenſation of his former oaths (which diſpenſation was the true cauſe of the war and blood-ſhed ſince then;) and, after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own nobility under the government of his baſe ſiſter *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, and the cardinal *Granvil*, he employed that moſt mercileſs *Spaniard Don Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toledo*, duke of *Alva*, followed with a powerful army of ſtrange nations, by whom he firſt ſlaughter'd that renowned captain the earl of *Egmont*, prince of *Gavare*; and *Philip Montmorency*, earl of *Horn*, made away *Montague*, and the marquis of *Bergues*; and cut off in thoſe ſix years (that *Alva* governed) of gentlemen and others, eighteen thouſand and ſix hundred, by the hands of the hangman, beſides all his other barbarous murders and maſſacres. By whoſe miniſtry, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wiſhed ends, having it in his hope to work that by ſubtilty, which he had failed to perform by force: he ſent for governor his baſtard brother *Don John* of *Auſtria*, a prince of great hope, and very gracious to thoſe people. But he, uſing the ſame papal advantage that his predeceſſors had done, made no ſcruple to take oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve the treaty made with the general ſtates; and to diſcharge the *Low Countries* of all *Spaniards*, and other ſtrangers, therein garriſoned. Towards whoſe pay

[a] Nether. Hiſt. l. 7. p. 313. [b] *Hiſtory of the* Netherlands.

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and paſsport, the *Netherlands* ſtrained themſelves to make payment of ſix hundred thouſand pounds. Which monies received, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the citadels of *Antwerp* and *Namure*, not doubting (being unſuſpected by the ſtates) to have poſſeſſed himſelf of all the maſtering places of thoſe provinces; for whatſoever he overtly pretended, he held in ſecret a contrary council with the ſecretary *Eſcovedo*, *Rhodus*, *Barlemont*, and others, miniſters of the *Spaniſh* tyranny, formerly practiſed, and now again intended. But let us now ſee the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the duke's cruelties. Firſt for himſelf, after he had murdered ſo many of the nobility, executed (as aforeſaid) eighteen thouſand ſix hundred in ſix years; and moſt cruelly ſlain man, woman and child, in *Mecklin*, *Zutphen*, *Naerden*, and other places; and after he had conſumed thirty-ſix millions of treaſure in ſix years, notwithſtanding his *Spaniſh* vaunt, that he would ſuffocate the *Hollanders* in their own butter-barrels and milk-tubs, he departed the country no otherwiſe accompanied, than with the curſe and deteſtation of the whole nation, leaving his maſter's affairs in a ten-fold worſe eſtate, than he found them at his firſt arrival. For *Don John*, whoſe haughty conceit of himſelf, overcame the greateſt difficulties; though his judgment were over-weak to manage the leaſt; what wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the king his brother's jealouſy and diſtruſt, together with the untimely death that ſeized him, even in the flower of his youth. And for *Eſcovedo*'s ſharp-witted ſecretary, who, in his own imagination, had conquered for his maſter both *England* and the *Netherlands*; being ſent into *Spain* upon ſome new project, he was at the firſt arrival, and before any acceſs to the king, by certain ruffians, appointed by *Anthony Peres*, (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Laſtly, if we conſider the king of *Spain*'s carriage, his council, and ſucceſs in this buſineſs; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred millions, and the lives of above four hundred thouſand Chriſtians, for the loſs of all thoſe countries; which, for beauty, gave place to none; and, for revenue, did equal his *Weſt-Indies*; for the loſs of a nation, which moſt willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty years wars, are, in deſpite of all his forces, become a free eſtate, and far more rich and powerful than they were, when he firſt began to impoveriſh and oppreſs them.

Oh, by what plots, by what forſwearings, betrayings, oppreſſions, impriſonments, tortures, poiſonings, and under what reaſons of ſtate and politic ſubtilty, have theſe fore-named kings, both ſtrangers, and of our own nation, pulled the vengeance of God upon themſelves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent miniſters! and in the end have brought thoſe things to paſs for their enemies, and ſeen an effect ſo directly contrary to all their own counſels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themſelves; and the other never have ſucceeded, if no ſuch oppoſition had ever been made. God hath ſaid it and performed it ever: *Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum*, I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe.

But what of all this? And to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead: ſeeing the world is the ſame that it hath been; and the children of the preſent time will ſtill obey their parents? It is in the preſent time, that all the wits of the world are exerciſed. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawful; and either we hope to hold them for ever, or at leaſt we hope, there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledge, in all things that concern our ſelves;

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or perſwade our ſelves, that God hath given us letters patent, to purſue all our irreligious affections with a *non obſtante*: ſo we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what ſhall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joined to the earth; we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The heavens are high, far off, and unſearchable; we have ſenſe and feeling of corporal things, and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are alſo earthly: and it is leſs to be wondered at, that the words of worthleſs men cannot cleanſe them; ſeeing their doctrine and inſtruction, whoſe underſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For as the prophet *Iſaiah* cried out long agone, *Lord, who hath believed our reports?* And out of doubt, as *Iſaiah* complained then for himſelf and others; ſo are they leſs believed every day after other. For although religion, and the truth thereof, be in every man's mouth, yea, in the diſcourſe of every woman, who, for the greateſt number, are but [a] *Idols of vanity*; what is it other than an univerſal diſſimulation? We profeſs that we know God, but by works we deny him. For beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life; for the devils know them better than men. *Beatitudo non eſt divinorum cognitio, ſed vita divina.* And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the paſſionate diſpute, the perſonal hatred, and the perpetual war, maſſacres, and murders, for religion among *Chriſtians*; the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the world, as it hath well-near driven the practice thereof out of the world. Who would not ſoon reſolve, that took knowledge but of the religious diſputations among men, and not of their lives which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchaſe of heaven; and that the world it ſelf were but uſed as it ought, and as an inn or place, wherein to repoſe our ſelves in paſſing on towards our celeſtial habitation? When, on the contrary, beſides the diſcourſe and outward profeſſion, the ſoul hath nothing but hypocriſy. We are all (in effect) become comedians in religion; and while we act in geſture and voice, divine virtues, in all the courſe of our lives we renounce our perſons, and the parts we play. For charity, juſtice, and truth, have but their being *in terms*, like the philoſophers *Materia prima.*

Neither is it that wiſdom, which *Salomon* defineth to be the *School-miſtreſs of the knowledge of God*, that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we give it our good word; but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſervice of the world, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchaſe and obtain honour, with the many reſpects which attend it.

Theſe indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our conſciences to the higheſt) we all ſhoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future: and yet when we have gathered the greateſt abundance, we our ſelves enjoy no more thereof, than ſo much as belongs to one man. For the reſt; He that had the greateſt wiſdom, and the greateſt ability that ever man had, hath told us that this is the uſe: [b] *When goods increaſe (ſaith* Salomon) *they alſo increaſe that eat them; and what good cometh to the owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes?* As for thoſe that devour the reſt, and follow us in fair weather; they again forſake us in the firſt tempeſt of misfortune, and ſteer away before the ſea and wind; leaving us to the malice of our deſtinies. Of theſe, among a thouſand examples, I will take but one out of maſter *Dannet*, and uſe his

[a] Paul *to* Titus. *ch.* i. *ver.* 10. [b] Eccleſ. v. 10.

own words: *Whilſt the emperor* Charles *the fifth, after the reſignation of his eſtates, ſtayed at* Vluſhing *for wind, to carry him his laſt journey into* Spain; *he conferred on a time with* Seldius, *his brother* Ferdinand's *ambaſſadour, till the deep of the night. And when* Seldius *ſhould depart, the emperor calling for ſome of his ſervants, and no body anſwering him (for thoſe that attended upon him, were ſome gone to their lodgings, and all the reſt aſleep) the emperor took up the candle himſelf, and went before* Seldius *to light him down the ſtairs; and ſo did, notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance that* Seldius *could make. And when he was come to the ſtairs foot, he ſaid thus unto him:* Seldius, *remember this of* Charles *the emperor, when he ſhall be dead and gone, That him, whom thou haſt known in thy time invironed with ſo many mighty armies, and guards of ſoldiers, thou haſt alſo ſeen alone, abandoned, and forſaken, yea even of his own domeſtick ſervants,* &c. *I acknowledge this change of fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of God; which I will by no means go about to withſtand.*

But you will ſay that there are ſome things elſe, and of greater regard than the former. The firſt, is the reverend reſpect that is held of great men, and the honour done unto them by all ſorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their juſtice and piety, accompany the outward worſhip given to their places and power; without which what is the applauſe of the multitude, but as the outcry of an herd of *animals*, who, without the knowledge of any true cauſe, pleaſe themſelves with the noiſe they make? For ſeeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to diſtinguiſh virtue and fortune: the moſt impious (if proſperous) have ever been applauded; the moſt virtuous (if unproſperous) have ever been deſpiſed. For as fortune's man rides the horſe, ſo fortune her ſelf rides the man. Who, when he is deſcended and on foot: the man taken from his beaſt, and fortune from the man; a baſe groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt ſpurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The ſecond, is the greatning of our poſterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of thoſe which conceive that their ſouls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be ſaid of them, which *Lactantius* ſpake of certain heathen philoſophers, [a] *quod ſapientes ſunt in re ſtulta.* For when our ſpirits immortal ſhall be once ſeparate from our mortal bodies, and diſpoſed by God: there remaineth in them no other joy of their poſterity which ſucceed, than there doth of pride in that ſtone, which ſleepeth in the wall of a king's palace; nor any other ſorrow for their poverty, than there doth of ſhame in that, which beareth up a beggar's cottage. [b] *Neſciunt mortui, etiam ſancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii; quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interſunt. The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children; for the ſouls of thoſe departed, are not converſant with their affairs that remain.* And if we doubt of Saint *Auguſtine*, we cannot of *Job*; who tells us, [c] *That we know not if our ſons ſhall be honourable: neither ſhall we underſtand concerning them, whether they ſhall be of low degree.* Which *Eccleſiaſtes* alſo confirmeth: [d] *Man walketh in a ſhadow, and diſquieteth himſelf in vain: he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who ſhall gather them. The living* (ſaith he) *know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all. For who can ſhew unto man, what ſhall be after him under the ſun?* He therefore accounteth it among the reſt of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the world, not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wiſe man ſhould enjoy the fruits thereof: *which made me* (ſaith he) *endeavour even to abhor mine*

[a] Lact. de falſa ſap. 3. c. 29. [b] S. Aug. de cura pro mort. [c] Job 1. 14, 11. [d] Eccleſ. 9. 5. and 1. 2.

own labour. And what can other men hope, whoſe bleſſed or ſorrowful eſtates after death God hath reſerved? man's knowledge lying but in his hope; ſeeing the prophet *Eſay* confeſſeth of the elect, [a] That *Abraham is ignorant of us, and Iſrael knows us not.* But hereof we are aſſured, that the long and dark night of death: of whoſe following day we ſhall never behold the dawn (till his return that hath triumphed over it) ſhall cover us over, till the world be no more. After which, and when we ſhall again receive organs glorified and incorruptible, the ſeats of angelical affections: in ſo great admiration ſhall the ſouls of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſs joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection, towards friends, kindred or children. Of whom whether we ſhall retain any particular knowledge, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them: no man can aſſure us; and the wiſeſt men doubt. But on the contrary; if a divine life retain any of thoſe faculties, which the ſoul exerciſed in a mortal body; we ſhall not at that time ſo divide the joys of heaven, as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the world. No; be their eſtates greater than ever the world gave, we ſhall (by the difference known unto us) even deteſt their conſideration. And whatſoever comfort ſhall remain of all forepaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the charity, which we exerciſed living: and in that piety, juſtice, and firm faith, for which it pleaſed the infinite mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing, and neglect them, as unneceſſary and vain? Certainly no. For that infinite wiſdom of God, which hath diſtinguiſhed his angels by degrees: which hath given greater and leſs light and beauty to heavenly bodies: which hath made differences between beaſts and birds: created the eagle and the fly, the cedar and the ſhrub: and among ſtones, given the faireſt tincture to the ruby, and the quickeſt light to the diamond; hath alſo ordained kings, dukes or leaders of the people, magiſtrates, judges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to poſterity, for a mark and enſign of the virtue and underſtanding of their anceſtors: ſo, ſeeing [b] *Siracides* preferreth death before beggary: and that titles, without proportionable eſtates, fall under the miſerable ſuccour of other men's pity; I account it fooliſhneſs to condemn ſuch a care: provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raiſe not our own buildings out of other men's ruins. For as [c] *Plato* doth firſt prefer the perfection of bodily health; ſecondly, the form and beauty; and thirdly, *Divitias nulla fraude quæſitas:* ſo *Jeremy* cries, [d] *Woe unto them that erect their houſes by unrighteouſneſs, and their chambers without equity:* and *Eſay* the ſame, [e] *Woe to thoſe that ſpoil, and were not ſpoiled.* And it was out of the true wiſdom of *Solomon*, that he commandeth us, [f] *not to drink the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for blood; and not to ſwallow them up alive, whoſe riches we covet: for ſuch are the ways* (ſaith he) *of every one that is greedy of gain.*

And if we could afford our ſelves but ſo much leiſure as to conſider; That he, which hath moſt in the world, hath, in reſpect of the world, nothing in it: and that he, which hath the longeſt time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, ſetting it either by that which is paſt when we were not, or by that time which is to come in which we ſhall abide for ever: I ſay, if both, to wit our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not out of any excellency of underſtanding, that we ſo much priſe the one, which hath

[a] Iſai. 63. 16. [b] Sirac. c. 40. v. 28. [c] Plat. de leg. 1, 2, 6. & in Gorgea. [d] Jer. 22. 13.
[e] Iſai. 33. [f] Prov. 1. 18, 12. Prov. 23. 1. 3. 8. 9. 25. 9. 8.

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(in effect) no being: and ſo much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coveting thoſe mortal things of the world, as if our ſouls were therein immortal, and neglecting thoſe things which are immortal, as if our ſelves after the world were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wiſdom, as he pleaſeth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the revenger eſteem all negligent, that have not trodden down their oppoſites; the politician, all groſs, that cannot merchandize their faith: yet when we once come in ſight of the port of death, to which all winds drive us; and when by letting fall that fatal anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end: Then it is, I ſay, that our own cogitations (thoſe ſad and ſevere cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our health and felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermoſt for all the pleaſing paſſages of our lives paſt. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our ſelves can no longer exerciſe cruelty towards others: and it is only then, that we are ſtrucken through the ſoul with this terrible ſentence, [a] *That God will not be mock'd.* For if, according to St. *Peter*, *The righteous ſcarcely be ſaved: and that God ſpared not his angels:* where ſhall thoſe appear, who, having ſerved their appetites all their lives, preſume to think, that the ſevere commandments of the All-powerful God were given but in ſport; and that the ſhort breath, which we draw when death preſſeth us, if we can but faſhion it to the ſound of *Mercy* (without any kind of ſatisfaction or amends) is ſufficient? *O quam multi*, ſaith a reverend father, *cum hac ſpe ad æternos labores & bella deſcendunt:* I confeſs that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it ſaid, that we ended well: for we all deſire (as *Balaam* did) *to die the death of the righteous.* But what ſhall we call a diſeſteeming, an oppoſing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if thoſe men do not oppoſe him, diſeſteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveneſs at leiſure, with the remainder and laſt drawing of a malicious breath? For what do they otherwiſe, that die this kind of well-dying, but ſay unto God as followeth? We beſeech thee, O God, that all the falſehoods, forſwearings, and treacheries of our lives paſt, may be pleaſing unto thee; that thou wilt for our ſakes (that had no leiſure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impoſſible) and forget to be a juſt God; that thou wilt love injuries and oppreſſions, call ambition wiſdom, and charity fooliſhneſs. For I ſhall prejudice my ſon (which I am reſolved not to do) if I make reſtitution; and confeſs my ſelf to have been unjuſt (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppreſſed. Certainly, theſe wiſe worldlings have either found out a new God; or have made one: and in all likelihood ſuch a leaden one, as *Lewis* the eleventh wore in his cap; which, when he had cauſed any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kiſs it: beſeeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it ſhould be the laſt; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a *Cardinal* and a falſified ſacrament, he cauſed the earl of *Armagnac* to be ſtabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be uſed towards a leaden, but not towards the ever-living God. But of this compoſition are all the devout lovers of the world, that they fear all that is dureleſs and ridiculous: they fear the plots and practices of their oppoſites, and their very whiſperings: they fear the opinions of men which beat but upon ſhadows: they flatter and forſake the proſperous and unproſperous, be they friends or kings: yea they dive under water, like ducks, at every pebble-ſtone, that's but thrown

[a] Gal. 6. 7. 1 Pet. 4.

towards

towards them by a powerful hand: and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and giant-like valour, againſt the terrible judgments of the All-powerful God: yea, they ſhew themſelves gods againſt God, and ſlaves towards men; towards men whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten.

Now for the reſt: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppreſſed, whom we account wretched: we ſhall find the happineſs of the one, and the miſerable eſtate of the other, ſo tied by God to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubject to interchange (witneſs the ſudden downfall of the greateſt princes, and the ſpeedy upriſing of the meaneſt perſons) as the one hath nothing ſo certain, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo uncertain, whereof to bewail it ſelf. For there is no man ſo aſſured of his honour, of his riches, health or life; but that he may be deprived of either or all, the very next hour or day to come. *Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt; What the evening will bring with it, is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell* (ſaith Saint *James*) *what ſhall be to morrow.* [a] *To day he is ſet up, and to morrow he ſhall not be found? for he is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth.* And although the air which compaſſeth adverſity, be very obſcure: yet therein we better diſcern God, than in that ſhining light which enviroeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearneſs thereof, there is no vanity which eſcapeth our ſight. And let adverſity ſeem what it will; to happy men, ridiculous, who make themſelves merry at other men's misfortunes; and to thoſe under the *croſs*, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For be it that we have lived many years, *and* (according to *Solomon*) *in them all we have rejoyced*; or be it that we have meaſured the ſame length of days, and therein have evermore ſorrowed: yet looking back from our preſent being, we find both the one and the other, to wit, the joy and the woe, ſailed out of ſight; and death, which doth purſue us and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it. *Quicquid ætatis retro eſt, mors tenet: Whatſoever of our age is paſt, death holds it.* So as whoſoever he be, to whom fortune hath been a ſervant, and the time a friend: let him but take the account of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleaſures paſt) and truly examine what it hath reſerved, either of beauty and youth, or foregone delights; what it hath ſaved, that it might laſt, of his deareſt affections, or of whatever elſe the amorous ſpring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he ſhall find, that all the art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of theſe diſſolutions, than heavy, ſecret, and ſad ſighs. He ſhall find nothing remaining, but thoſe ſorrows, which grow up after our faſt-ſpringing youth; overtake it, when it is at a ſtand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither: in ſo much as looking back from the very inſtant time, and from our now being; the poor, diſeaſed, and captive creature, hath as little ſenſe of all his former miſeries and pains; as he, that is moſt bleſs'd in common opinion, hath of his fore-paſt pleaſures and delights. For whatſoever is caſt behind us, is juſt nothing: and what is to come, deceitful hope hath it. *Omnia quæ ventura ſunt, in incerto jacent.* Only thoſe few black ſwans I muſt except, who having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear; and embrace both, as neceſſary guides to endleſs glory.

[a] Jam. 4. 14.

For

For my ſelf, this is my conſolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the ſorrows of this life, are but of two ſorts: whereof the one hath reſpect to God; the other, to the world. In the firſt, we complain to God againſt our ſelves, for our offences againſt him; and confeſs, *Et tu juſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos*; *And thou, O Lord, art juſt in all that hath befallen us.* In the ſecond, we complain to our ſelves againſt God, as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, anſwering our appetites; or for taking them again from us, having had them: forgetting that humble and juſt acknowledgment of *Job*, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken.* To the firſt of which St. *Paul* hath promiſed bleſſedneſs; to the ſecond, death. And out of doubt he is either a fool or ungrateful to God, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean ſoever his eſtate be, that the ſame is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how ſharp ſoever his afflictions be, that the ſame are yet far leſs, than thoſe which are due unto him. And if an heathen wiſe man call the adverſities of the world, but *trituta vivendi*, *the tributes of living*: a wiſe Chriſtian man ought to know them, and bear them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them manlike, and reſolvedly; and not as thoſe whining ſoldiers do, *qui gementes ſequuntur Impeperatorem.*

For ſeeing God, who is the author of all our tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their diſtribution, been partial to the moſt mighty princes of the world; That gave unto *Darius* the part of the greateſt emperor, and the part of the moſt miſerable beggar, a beggar begging water of an enemy, to quench the great drought of death; That appointed *Bajazet* to play the *Grand Signior* of the *Turks* in the morning, and in the ſame day the *footſtool* of *Tamerlane* (both which parts *Valerian* had alſo played, being taken by *Sapores*) that made *Belliſarius* play the moſt victorious captain, and laſtly the part of a blind beggar; of which examples many thouſands may be produced: why ſhould other men, who are but as the leaſt worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to reſolve, That the change of fortune on the great *Theatre*, is but as the change of garments on the leſs. For when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin; the players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weakneſs, prize the paſſages of this world otherwiſe (for ſaith *Petrarch*, *Magni ingenii eſt revocare mentem a ſenſibus*) it is by reaſon of that unhappy fantaſy of ours, which forgeth in the brains of man all the miſeries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is ſubject: therein it is, that misfortune and adverſity work all that they work. For ſeeing death, in the end of the play, takes from all, whatſoever fortune or force takes from any one: it were a fooliſh madneſs in the ſhipwreck of worldly things, where all ſinks but the ſorrow, to ſave it. That were, as *Seneca* ſaith, *Fortunæ ſuccumbere, quod triſtius eſt omni fato*; *To fall under fortune, of all other the moſt miſerable deſtiny.*

But it is now time to ſound a retreat; and to deſire to be excuſed of this long purſuit: and withal, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the picture of time paſt (which we call *Hiſtory*) in ſo large a table, may alſo be accepted in place of a better reaſon.

The examples of divine providence, every-where found (the firſt divine hiſtories being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples) have perſwaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit,

creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implieth the other: creation, inferring providence (for what father forsaketh the child that he hath begotten? and providence presupposing creation) yet many of those that have seemed to excel in worldly wisdom, have gone about to disjoin this coherence; the *Epicure* denying both creation and providence, but graning that the world had a beginning; the *Aristotelian* granting providence, but denying both the creation and the beginning.

Now although this doctrine of faith, touching the creation in time (for *by faith we understand, that the world was made by the word of God*) be too weighty a work for *Aristotle*'s rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the defences and fortresses of all his *verbal* doctrine: yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the world's beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary, even in the judgment of natural reason, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no less strange, that those men, which are desirous of knowledge (seeing *Aristotle* hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than *terms* in the rest) have so retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subjected themselves to the law of those philosophical principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the search of causes, they have condemned either for phantastical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of heathen philosophers, are undoubted grounds and principles indeed, because so called? Or that *ipsi dixerunt*, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong against it self, as the same reason can hardly assail it, much less batter it down: the same in every question of nature, and finite power, may be approved for a fundamental law of human knowledge. For saith [a] *Charron*, in his book of wisdom, *Tout proposition humaine a autant d'authorite que l'autre, si la raison n'on fait la difference; Every human proposition hath equal authority, if reason make not the difference*, the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the upright and impartial judgment of man give a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And to this purpose it was well said of [b] *Lactantius*, *Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their own wisdom, who without any judgment approve the invention of those that forewent them; and suffer themselves, after the manner of beasts, to be led by them.* By the advantage of which sloth and dulness, ignorance is now become so powerful a tyrant: as it hath set true philosophy, physick, and divinity, in a pillory; and written over the first, *Contra negantem principia*; over the second, *Virtus specifica*; and over the third, *Ecclesia Romana.*

But for my self, I shall never be perswaded, that God hath shut up all light of learning within the lantern of *Aristotle*'s brains: or that it was ever said unto him, as unto *Esdras*, *Accendam in corde tuo lucernam intellectus*: that God hath given invention but to the heathen; and that they only have invaded nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof; the same nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these, and these be the causes of these and these effects, time hath taught us; and not reason: and so hath experience, without art. The cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the philosopher, that sour runnet doth coagulate her milk into a curd. But if we ask a reason of this cause, why the sourness

[a] Charron de Sageſſe. [b] Lact. de Orig. Erroris. l. 2. c. 8.

doth

doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar philoſophy, to ſatisfy this and many other like vulgar queſtions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cannot give a true reaſon for the graſs under his feet, why it ſhould be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet diſcover the way and reaſon of nature's working, in thoſe which are far leſs noble creatures than himſelf; who is far more noble than the heavens themſelves: *Man* (*ſaith* [a] Salomon) *that can hardly diſcern the things that are upon the earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us*; that hath ſo ſhort a time in the world, as he no ſooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his underſtanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the eſſence of his own ſoul, and which the wiſeſt of the naturaliſts (if *Ariſtotle* be he) could never ſo much as define, but by the action and effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any elſe, doth know, but God that created it (*for though I were perfect, yet I know not my ſoul*, ſaith *Job.*) Man, I ſay, that is but an idiot in the next cauſe of his own life, and in the cauſe of all the actions of his life, will (notwithſtanding) examine the art of God in creating the world; of God, *who* (ſaith [b] *Job*) *is ſo excellent as we know him not*; and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before mankind had a beginning of being. He will diſable God's power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the moths of the air for a cauſe; caſt the work on neceſſity or chance; beſtow the honour thereof on nature; make two powers, the one to be the author of the *matter*, the other of the *form*; and laſtly, for want of a workman, have it eternal: which latter opinion *Ariſtotle*, to make himſelf the author of a new doctrine, brought into the world: and his ſectators have maintained it; *parati ac conjurati, quos ſequantur, Philoſophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri.* For *Hermes*, who lived at once with, or ſoon after, *Moſes*, *Zoroaſter*, *Muſæus*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Animenes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Meliſſus*, *Pherecydes*, *Thales*, *Cleanthes*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and many others (whoſe opinions are exquiſitely gathered by *Steuchius Eugubinus*) found in the neceſſity of invincible reaſon, *one eternal and infinite Being*, to be the parent of the univerſal. *Horum omnium ſententia quamvis ſit incerta, eodem tamen ſpectat, ut Providentiam unam eſſe conſentiant: ſive enim Natura, ſive Æther, ſive Ratio, ſive mens, ſive fatalis neceſſitas, ſive divina Lex; idem eſſe quod a nobis dicitur Deus. All theſe mens opinions* (*ſaith* [c] Lactantius) *though uncertain, come to this, That they agree upon one Providence; whether the ſame be Nature, or Light, or Reaſon, or underſtanding, or deſtiny, or divine Ordinance; that it is the ſame which we call God.* Certainly, as all the rivers in the world, though they have divers riſings, and divers runnings; though they ſometimes hide themſelves for a while under ground, and ſeem to be loſt in ſea-like lakes; do at laſt find, and fall into the great *ocean*: ſo after all the ſearches that human capacity hath; and after all philoſophical contemplation and curioſity; in the neceſſity of this infinite power, all the reaſon of man ends and diſſolves it ſelf.

As for others; and firſt touching thoſe, which conceive the *matter* of the world to have been *eternal*, and that God did not create the world *ex nihilo*, but *ex materia præexiſtente*: the ſuppoſition is ſo weak, as is hardly worth the anſwering. For (ſaith [d] *Euſebias*) *Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere. They ſeem unto me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to fortune.* Inſomuch as if God had not found this

[a] Salomon. 1. 9. [b] Job 26. [c] Lact. 5. [d] Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 8.

firſt

firſt matter by chance, he had neither been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the univerſal. For were the *matter* or *chaos*, eternal: it then follows, That either this ſuppoſed *matter* did fit it ſelf to God; or God, accommodate himſelf to the *matter*. For the firſt; it is impoſſible, that things without ſenſe could proportion themſelves to the workman's will. For the ſecond; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an artificer he applied himſelf, according to the proportion of *matter* which he lighted upon.

But let it be ſuppoſed, That this *matter* had been made by any power, not omnipotent and infinitely wiſe: I would gladly learn how it came to paſs, that the ſame was proportionable to his intention, that was omnipotent and infinitely wiſe; and no more, nor no leſs, than ſerved to receive the form of the univerſal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was ſufficient; then muſt it be granted, That God created *out of nothing* ſo much of new *matter*, as ſerved to finiſh the work of the world: or had there been more of this *matter*, than ſufficed; then did God diſſolve and annihilate whatſoever remained and was ſuperfluous. And thus muſt every reaſonable ſoul confeſs, That it is the ſame work of God alone, to create any thing *out of nothing*; and by the ſame art and power, and by none other, can thoſe things, or any part of that eternal *matter*, be again changed into nothing; by which thoſe things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to ſay that this *matter* was the cauſe of it ſelf; this, of all other, were the greateſt idiotiſm. For, if it were the cauſe of it ſelf at any time; then there was alſo a time when it ſelf was not: at which time of not being, it is eaſy enough to conceive, that it would neither produce it ſelf, nor any thing elſe. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impoſſible, *Nihil autem ſeipſum præcedit, neque ſeipſum componit corpus*; *There is nothing that doth precede it ſelf, neither do bodies compound themſelves.*

For the reſt; Thoſe that feign this *matter* to be eternal, muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that infinite cannot be ſeparate from eternity. And then had *infinite matter* left no place for *infinite form*, but that the *firſt matter was finite*, the *form* which it received proves it. For concluſion of this part; whoſoever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light and eternal life: let eternal death be his reward. For it is a madneſs of that kind, as wanteth terms to expreſs it. For what reaſon of man (whom the curſe of preſumption hath not ſtupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of ſhadow, *quia comprehenſio eſt intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant*) hath any thing wanting in it ſelf, either for *matter* or *form*; yea for as many worlds (if ſuch had been God's will) as the ſea hath ſands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation, than the workman's will. Yea reaſon it ſelf finds it more eaſy for infinite power, to deliver from it ſelf a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and duſt, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are *Dionyſius*'s words, *Deus in una exiſtentia omnia præhabet*: and again, *Eſſe omnium eſt ipſa divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides*; to wit, *cauſaliter*, or in better terms, *non tanquam forma, ſed tanquam cauſa univerſalis*. Neither hath the world univerſal cloſed up all of God: *For the moſt parts of his works* (ſaith [a] *Siracides*) *are hid*. Neither can the depth of his wiſdom be opened, by the glorious work of the world:

[a] Cap. 16. v. 21.

which

which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, that we ſeldom entitle God, the *all-ſhewing*, or the *all-willing*, but the *all-mighty*; that is, infinitely able.

But now for thoſe, who from that ground, *That out of nothing, nothing is made*, infer the world's eternity; and yet not ſo ſalvage therein, as thoſe are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: it is true, if the word [*nothing*] be taken in the affirmative; and the *making*, impoſed upon natural agents and finite power; that out of nothing, nothing is made. But ſeeing their great Doctor *Ariſtotle* himſelf confeſſeth, *Quod omnes antiqui decreverunt quaſi quoddam rerum principium, ipſumque infinitum*; *That all the ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the ſame to be infinite*: and a little after, more largely and plainly, [a] *Principium ejus eſt nullum, ſed ipſum omnium cernitur eſſe principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere.* It is ſtrange that this philoſopher, with his followers, ſhould rather make choice out of falſhood, to conclude falſly; than out of truth, to reſolve truly. For if we compare the world univerſal, and all the unmeaſurable orbs of heaven, and thoſe marvellous bodies of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, with *ipſum infinitum*: it may truly be ſaid of them all, which himſelf affirmeth of his imaginary *Materia prima*, That they are neither *quid*, *quale*, nor *quantum*; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (*qui deſtruit omnem proportionem*) is no wonder in God's power. And therefore *Anaximander*, *Meliſſus*, and *Empedocles*, call the world univerſal; but *particulam univerſitatis & infinitatis*; *A parcel of that which is the univerſality and the infinity it ſelf*; and *Plato*, but a *ſhadow of God*. But the other, *to prove* the world's eternity, urgeth this *maxim*; That, *A ſufficient and effectual cauſe being granted, an anſwerable effect thereof is alſo granted*: inferring, that God being for ever a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the world, the effect of the cauſe ſhould alſo have been for ever; to wit, the world univerſal. But what a ſtrange mockery is this in ſo great a maſter, to confeſs a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the world (to wit, an almighty God) in his antecedent: and the ſame God to be a God reſtrained in his concluſion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when; For this were impiouſly to reſolve of God, as of natural neceſſity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor underſtanding; which cannot but work matter being preſent; as fire, to burn things combuſtible.

Again, he thus diſputeth, That every agent which can work, and doth not work; if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it ſelf, or by ſomewhat elſe; and ſo it paſſeth from power to act. But God (ſaith he) is immoveable, and is neither moved by himſelf, nor by any other; but being always the ſame, doth always work: whence he concludeth, if the world were cauſed by God, that he was for ever the cauſe thereof, and therefore eternal. The anſwer to this is very eaſy; for that God's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather conſtancy in him. For the ſame action of his will, which made the world for ever, did alſo withhold the effect to the time ordained. To this anſwer, in it ſelf ſufficient, others add further, that the pattern or image of the world may be ſaid to be eternal; which the *Platonicks* call, *ſpiritualem mundum*; and do in this ſort

[a] Steuc. Eug. l. 3. c. 9. ex Ariſt. Phyſ. 3. 20.

diſtinguiſh the *idea*, and *creation in time*. [a] *Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali eſt architecto; fuit ſemper cum illo, eritque ſemper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod ſecundum opus eſt Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit ſemper; retinet alteram, quia ſit ſemper futurus.* That *repreſentative, or the intentional world* (ſay they) *the ſamplar of this viſible world, the firſt work of God, was equally ancient with the architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever ſhall be. This material world, the ſecond work or creature of God, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from everlaſting; and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for ever to come.* The firſt point, That it was not for ever, all Chriſtians confeſs: the other they underſtand no otherwiſe, than that after the conſummation of this world, there ſhall be *a new heaven and a new earth, without any new creation of matter.* But of theſe things we need not here ſtand to argue; though ſuch opinions be not unworthy the propounding; in this conſideration, of an eternal and unchangeable cauſe, producing a changeable and temporal effect. Touching which point *Proclus* the *Platoniſt* diſputeth, That the compounded eſſence of the world (and becauſe compounded, therefore diſſipable) is continued, and knit to the divine Being, by an individual and inſeparable power, flowing from divine unity; and that the world's natural appetite of God ſheweth, that the ſame proceedeth from a goodneſs and underſtanding divine; and that this virtue, by which the world is continued and knit together, muſt be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlaſtingly continue and preſerve the ſame. Which infinite virtue, the finite world (ſaith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporal nature it hath, ſucceſſively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material world is not altogether: but the aboliſhed parts are departed by ſmall degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the ſame ſmall degrees ſucceed; as the ſhadow of a tree in a river, ſeemeth to have continued the ſame a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the world had any beginning, withal deny that ever it ſhall have any end; and to this purpoſe affirm, that it was never heard, never read, never ſeen, no, not by any reaſon perceived, that the heavens have ever ſuffered corruption; or that they appear any way the elder by continuance; or in any ſort otherwiſe than they were; which, had they been ſubject to final corruption, ſome change would have been diſcerned in ſo long a time: to this it is anſwered, that the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newneſs, and that they have not continued ſo long; than that they would continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive anſwer by conjectures, it then ſeemeth, that ſome alteration may be found. For either [b] *Ariſtotle, Pliny, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas*, and others, were groſly miſtaken; or elſe thoſe parts of the world lying within the burnt *Zone*, were not in elder times habitable, by reaſon of the ſun's heat; neither were the ſeas under the equinoctial, navigable. But we know by experience, that thoſe regions, ſo ſituate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the ſea, over which we navigate, paſſable enough. We read alſo many hiſtories of deluges, and how that in the time of *Phaeton*, divers places in the world were burnt up by the ſun's violent heat.

[a] Mar. Ficin. de immort. animæ. l. 18. c. 1. [b] Ariſt. Met. 2. Plin. l. 2. c. 8. Strab. l. 3. Beda de ratione tem. 11. c. 32. Thom. 1. p. q. 102. art. 2.

But

But in a word, this obſervation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, that ſtone walls, of matter mouldering and friable, have ſtood two or three thouſand years; and that many things have been digged up out of the earth, of that depth, as ſuppoſed to have been buried by the general flood, without any alteration of ſubſtance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in mines and rocks, under-ground, was created together with the earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldeſt times have not invaded and corrupted; what great alteration ſhould we look for in celeſtial and quinteſſential bodies? And yet we have reaſon to think, that the ſun, by whoſe help all creatures are generate, doth not in theſe latter ages aſſiſt nature, as heretofore. We have neither giants, ſuch as the eldeſt world had; nor mighty men, ſuch as the elder world had; but all things in general are reputed of leſs virtue, which from the heavens receive virtue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger diſcourſe, we might eaſily fetch ſtore of proof; as that this world ſhall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I ſee no good anſwer that can be made to this objection: if the world were eternal, why not all things in the world eternal? If there were no *Firſt*, no *Cauſe*, no *Father*, no *Creator*, no *incomprehenſible Wiſdom*, but that every *nature* had been alike eternal; and man more rational than every other *nature*: why had not the eternal reaſon of man, provided for his eternal being in the world? For if all were equal; why not equal conditions to all? why ſhould heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of men rot and die.

Again, who was it that appointed the earth to keep the center, and gave order that it ſhould hang in the air; that the ſun ſhould travel between the tropicks, and never exceed thoſe bounds, nor fail to perform that progreſs once in every year; the moon to live by borrowed light; the fix'd ſtars (according to common opinion) to be faſtened like nails in a cart-wheel, and the planets to wander at their pleaſure? Or, if none of theſe had power over other; was it out of charity and love, that the ſun, by his perpetual travel within thoſe two circles, hath viſited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the earth, and the creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the ſun have of his own accord kept this courſe in all eternity, he may juſtly be called eternal charity, and everlaſting love. The ſame may be ſaid of all the ſtars, who, being all of them moſt large and clear fountains of virtue and operation, may alſo be called eternal virtues; the earth may be called eternal patience; the moon an eternal borrower and beggar; and man, of all other, the moſt miſerable, eternally mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old play of the gods? Yea, in more gods by millions, than ever *Heſiodus* dream'd of. But, inſtead of this mad folly, we ſee it well enough with our feeble and mortal eyes: and the eyes of our reaſon diſcern it better; that the ſun, moon, ſtars, and the earth, are limited, bounded, and conſtrained: themſelves they have not conſtrained, nor could. *Omne determinatum cauſam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit*; *Every thing bounded hath ſome efficient cauſe, by which it is bounded.*

Now for *nature*; As by the ambiguity of this name, the ſchool of *Ariſtotle* hath both commended many errors unto us, and ſought alſo thereby to obſcure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, ſhining in the creation, and in the governing of the world: ſo if the beſt definition

tion be taken out of the ſecond of *Ariſtotle's phyſicks*, or *primo de Cœlo*, or out of the fifth of his *metaphyſicks*; I ſay, that the beſt is but nominal, and ſerving only to difference the beginning of natural motion from artificial: which yet the *academics* open better, when they call it *A ſeminary ſtrength, infuſed into matter by the ſoul of the world*, who give the firſt place to *Providence*, the ſecond to *fate*, and but the third to *nature*. *Providentia* (by which they underſtand God) *dux & caput; fatum, medium ex Providentia prodiens; natura poſtremum.* But be it what he will, or be it any of theſe (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or underſtanding (both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanſwerable of [a] *Lactantius*: *Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam; He only can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.*

But the will and ſcience of nature, are in theſe words truly expreſſed by [b] *Ficinus*: *Poteſt ubique natura, vel per diverſa media, vel ex diverſis materiis, diverſa facere: ſublata vero mediorum materiarumque diverſitate, vel unicum vel ſimillimum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari; It is the power of nature by diverſity of means, or out of diverſity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverſity of means, and the diverſity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being preſent.* Now if *nature* made choice of diverſity of matter, to work all theſe variable works of heaven and earth, it had then both underſtanding and will; it had counſel to begin; reaſon to diſpoſe; virtue and knowledge to finiſh; and power to govern; without which, all things had been but one and the ſame; all of the matter of heaven; or all of the matter of earth. And if we grant *nature* this will, and this underſtanding, this counſel, reaſon, and power: [c] *Cur natura potius, quam Deus nominetur? Why ſhould we then call ſuch a cauſe rather nature, than God?* God, of whom all men have notion, and give the firſt and higheſt place to divine power: [d] *Omnes homines rationem deorum habent, omneſque ſummum locum divino cuidam numini aſſignant.* And this I ſay in ſhort, that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledge and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power. *Vera philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vera ſunt, & ſemper eadem: True philoſophy, is an aſcending from the things which flow, and riſe, and fall, to the things that are for ever the ſame.*

For the reſt; I do alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety monſtrous, to confound God and nature: be it but in terms. For it is God, that only diſpoſeth of all things according to his own will; and maketh of one earth, *veſſels of honour and diſhonour.* It is nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that commandeth all; it is nature that is obedient to all; it is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth; it is nature, that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himſelf; nature, nothing in it ſelf. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things; it is nature, which is begotten by all things; in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it ſelf it exiſteth not. For ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it reaſon, which doth conduct every

[a] Lact. de ira Dei, l. 1. c. 10. [b] Ficin. in Plat. [c] Lact. de ira Dei, l. 1. c. 10. [d] Arist. l. 1. de cœlo, c. 3. T. 22.

river

river into the ſalt ſea? Shall we term it knowledge in fire, that makes it to conſume combuſtible matter? If it be affection, reaſon, and knowledge in theſe; by the ſame affection, reaſon, and knowledge it is, that nature worketh. And therefore ſeeing all things work as they do (call it by *form*, by *nature*, or by what you pleaſe:) yet becauſe they work by an impulſion, which they cannot reſiſt; or by a faculty, infuſed by the ſupremeſt power, we are neither to wonder at, nor to worſhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder, and to him is the worſhip due, who hath created ſuch a nature in things, and ſuch a faculty, as, neither knowing it ſelf, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the virtue and power which it hath, doth yet work all things to their laſt and uttermoſt perfection. And therefore every reaſonable man, taking to himſelf for a ground that which is granted by all antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the world had; to wit, that there is a power infinite and eternal (which alſo neceſſity doth prove unto us, without the help of faith; and reaſon, without the force of authority;) all things do as eaſily follow which have been delivered by divine letters, as the waters of a running river do ſucceſſively purſue each other from the firſt fountains.

This much I ſay it is, that reaſon it ſelf hath taught us; and this is the beginning of knowledge. [a] *Sapientia præcedit, religio ſequitur; quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere:* Sapience goes before, religion follows; becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This ſapience *Plato* calleth, *abſoluti boni ſcientiam*; The ſcience of the abſolute good: and another, *Scientiam rerum primarum, ſempiternarum, perpetuarum.* For faith (ſaith [b] *Iſidore*) is not extorted by violence; but by reaſon and examples perſwaded; *fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; ſed ratione & exemplis ſuadetur.* I confeſs it, that to enquire further, as of the eſſence of God, of his power, of his art, and by what mean he created the world; or of his ſecret judgment, and the cauſes; is not an effect of reaſon: *Sed cum ratione inſaniunt*; but they grow mad with reaſon, that enquire after it. For as it is no ſhame nor diſhonour (ſaith a *French* author) *de faire arreſt au but qu'on n'a ſceu ſurpaſſer*; For a man to reſt himſelf there, where he finds it impoſſible to paſs on further: ſo whatſoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reaſon, it acknowledgeth it to be ſo; as [c] underſtanding it ſelf not to be infinite, but according to the name and nature it hath, to be a teacher, that beſt knows the end of his own art. For ſeeing both reaſon and neceſſity teach us (reaſon, which is *pars divini ſpiritus in corpus humanum merſi*) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us; and ſeeing the ſame reaſon and neceſſity make us know that the ſame infinite power is every-where in the world; and yet how every-where, it cannot inform us, our belief hereof is not weakned, but greatly ſtrengthned by our ignorance; becauſe it is the ſame reaſon that tells us, that ſuch a nature cannot be ſaid to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

I have been already over-long, to make any large diſcourſe either of the parts of the following ſtory, or in mine own excuſe; eſpecially in the excuſe of this or that paſſage, ſeeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the groſſeſt, the unſuitable diviſion of the books, I could not know how to excuſe, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the firſt part finiſhed. All men know that there is no

[a] Lact. l. 4. c. 4. de verâ Sapientiâ. [b] Iſaac de defin. [c] Quod eſt infinitum, & non ſecundum naturam terminatum, non continetur à ſcientiâ. Ariſt. Poſter.

great art in the dividing evenly of thoſe things, which are ſubject to number and meaſure. For the reſt, it ſuits well enough with a great many books of this age, which ſpeak too much, and yet ſay little; *Ipſi nobis furto ſubducimur*, We are ſtolen away from our ſelves, ſetting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good writer make complaint, yet ſhall it not lay hold on me, becauſe I believe as he doth; that who ſo thinks himſelf the wiſeſt man, is but a poor and miſerable ignorant. Thoſe that are the beſt men of war againſt all the vanities and fooleries of the world, do always keep the ſtrongeſt guards againſt themſelves, to defend themſelves from themſelves, from ſelf-love, ſelf-eſtimation, and ſelf-opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the work, I have only taken counſel from the argument. For of the *Aſſyrians*, which, after the downfal of *Babel*, take up the firſt part, and were the firſt great kings of the world, there came little to the view of poſterity: ſome few enterpriſes, greater in fame than faith, of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* excepted.

It was the ſtory of the *Hebrews*, of all before the *Olympiads*, that overcame the conſuming diſeaſe of time; and preſerved it ſelf, from the very cradle and beginning to this day: and yet not ſo entire, but that the large diſcourſes thereof (to which in many ſcriptures we are referred) are no-where found. The fragments of other ſtories, with the actions of thoſe kings and princes which ſhot up here and there in the ſame time, I am driven to relate by way of digreſſion: of which we may ſay with *Virgil*,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto.

They appear here and there floating in the great gulf of time.

To the ſame firſt ages do belong the report of many inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though moſt of the authors names have periſhed in ſo long a navigation. For thoſe ages had their laws; they had diverſity of government; they had kingly rule; nobility, policy in war; navigation; and all, or the moſt of needful trades. To ſpeak therefore of theſe (ſeeing in a general hiſtory we ſhould have left a great deal of nakedneſs by their omiſſion) it cannot properly be called a digreſſion. True it is, that I have alſo made many others; which, if they ſhall be laid to my charge, I muſt caſt the fault into the great heap of human error. For, ſeeing we digreſs in all the ways of our lives, yea, ſeeing the life of man is nothing elſe but digreſſion; I may the better be excuſed, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the laws of hiſtory, and of the kinds.

The ſame hath been taught by many; but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned gentleman Sir *Francis Bacon*. Chriſtian laws are alſo taught us by the prophets and apoſtles, and every day preach'd unto us. But we ſtill make large digreſſions; yea, the teachers themſelves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the reſt; after ſuch time as the *Perſians* had wreſted the empire from the *Chaldeans*, and had raiſed a great monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elſewhere to be found, it was agreeable to the order of ſtory to attend this empire; whilſt it ſo flouriſhed, that the affairs of the nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like obſervance was to be uſed towards the fortunes of *Greece*, when they again began to get ground upon the *Perſians*, as alſo towards the affairs of *Rome*, when the *Romans* grew more mighty than the *Greeks*.

As

As for the *Medes*, the *Macedonians*, the *Sicilians*, the *Carthaginians*, and other nations, who reſiſted the beginnings of the former empires, and afterwards became but parts of their compoſition and enlargement: it ſeemed beſt to remember what was known of them from their ſeveral beginnings, in ſuch times and places, as they in their flouriſhing eſtates oppoſed thoſe monarchies; which, in the end, ſwallowed them up. And herein I have followed the beſt geographers, who ſeldom give names to thoſe ſmall brooks, whereof many, joined together, make great rivers; till ſuch time as they become united, and run in a main ſtream to the ocean ſea. If the phraſe be weak, and the ſtile not every way like it ſelf; the firſt ſhews their legitimation and true parent; the ſecond will excuſe it ſelf upon the variety of matter. For *Virgil*, who wrote his *Eclogues*, *gracili avena*, uſed ſtronger pipes when he ſounded the wars of *Æneas*. It may alſo be laid to my charge, that I uſe divers *Hebrew* words in my firſt book, and elſewhere; in which language others may think, and I my ſelf acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant; but it is true, that ſome of them I find in *Montanus*; others in *Latin* character in *S. Senenſis*, and of the reſt I have borrowed the interpretation of ſome of my learned friends. But ſay I had been beholden to neither, yet were it not to be wonder'd at, having had eleven years leiſure to attain the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue: howſoever, I know that it will be ſaid by many, that I might have been more pleaſing to the reader, if I had written the ſtory of mine own times; having been permitted to draw water as near the well-head as another. To this I anſwer, that whoſoever, in writing a modern hiſtory, ſhall follow truth too near the heels, it may happily ſtrike out his teeth. There is no miſtreſs or guide, that hath led her followers and ſervants into greater miſeries. He that goes after her too far off, loſeth her ſight, and loſeth himſelf; and he that walks after her at a middle diſtance, I know not whether I ſhould call that kind of courſe temper or baſeneſs. It is true, that I never travelled after mens opinions, when I might have made the beſt uſe of them; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate thoſe, that, either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardice, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his ſhoulders) flatter the world, between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that ſtate I am) to write of the eldeſt times; wherein alſo, why may it not be ſaid, that, in ſpeaking of the paſs'd, I point at the preſent, and tax the vices of thoſe that are yet living, in their perſons that are long ſince dead; and have it laid to my charge. But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that, finding themſelves ſpotted like the tigers of old time, ſhall find fault with me for painting them over a-new, they ſhall therein accuſe themſelves juſtly, and me falſly.

For I proteſt before the majeſty of God, that I malice no man under the ſun. Impoſſible I know it is to pleaſe all, ſeeing few or none are ſo pleaſed with themſelves, or ſo aſſured of themſelves, by reaſon of their ſubjection to their private paſſions; but that they ſeem divers perſons in one and the ſame day. *Seneca* hath ſaid it, and ſo do I: *Unus mihi pro populo erat:* and to the ſame effect *Epicurus*, *Hoc ego non multis, ſed tibi*; or (as it hath ſince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the reſolution of an ancient philoſopher, *Satis eſt unus, ſatis eſt nullus.* For it was for the ſervice of that ineſtimable prince *Henry*, the ſucceſſive hope, and one of the greateſt of the chriſtian world, that I undertook this work. It pleaſed him to peruſe ſome part thereof, and to pardon what was amiſs. It is now left to the world without a maſter; from which all that is preſented, hath received both blows

and

and thanks. *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus eſt omnis judicii, in quo lis ſecundum plures datur.* But theſe diſcourſes are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably, ſo againſt thoſe, *qui gloriantur in malitia*, my preſent adverſity hath diſarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not far to fall; and for riſing again, as in the natural privation, there is no receſſion to habit; ſo it is ſeldom ſeen in the privation politic. I do therefore forbear to ſtile my readers *gentle*, *courteous*, and *friendly*, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promiſe a ſecond and third volume (which I alſo intend) if the firſt receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough, and too much, and it is certain, let us claw the reader with never ſo many courteous phraſes, yet ſhall we evermore be thought fools, that write fooliſhly. For concluſion; all the hope I have lies in this, that I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous readers of my love towards them, and well-deſerving of them, than ever I ſhall do again. For had it been otherwiſe, I ſhould hardly have had this leiſure to have made my ſelf a fool in print.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING of the

Beginning and First Ages of the ſame, from the CREATION *unto* ABRAHAM.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preſervation of the WORLD.

SECT. I.

That the INVISIBLE GOD *is ſeen in his Creatures.*

GOD, whom the wiſeſt men acknowledge to be a Power uneffable, and Virtue infinite; a Light by abundant clarity inviſible; an Underſtanding which itſelf can only comprehend, an Eſſence eternal and ſpiritual, of abſolute pureneſs and ſimplicity; was, and is pleaſed to make himſelf known by the work of the world: In the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he embraceth, filleth, and ſuſtaineth) we behold the Image of that Glory which cannot be meaſured, and withal, that one, and yet univerſal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious lights of heaven, we perceive a Shadow of his Divine Countenance; in his merciful proviſion for all that live, his manifold Goodneſs; and laſtly, in creating and making exiſtent the world univerſal, by the abſolute art of his own word, his Power and Almightineſs; which Power, Light, Virtue, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, being all but attributes of one ſimple Eſſence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part diſcern *per ſpeculum creaturarum*, that is, in the diſpoſition, order, and variety of celeſtial and terreſtrial bodies: terreſtrial, in their ſtrange and manifold diverſities; celeſtial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermix'd, nor confounded. By theſe potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent Cauſe, and by theſe motions, their almighty Mover.

In theſe more than wonderful works, God (ſaith [a] *Hugo*) ſpeaketh unto man: And it is true, that theſe be thoſe diſcourſes of God, whoſe effects, all that live, witneſs in themſelves; the ſenſible, in their ſenſible natures; the reaſonable, in their reaſonable ſouls: For, according to [b] St. *Gregory*,

[a] Hugo ſuper Eccleſ. Homil. 8. [b] Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 5. Unus verò ingenitus, & non apparens, & immaniſeſtus, omnia autem manifeſtans, per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia ſolùm generatorum eſt; nihil apparitio quàm generatio.

Omnis

Omnis homo ex ipsa quòd rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet: Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he, which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Job*) which is, according to the fathers, *Dominationem illius conspicere in creaturis*, To discern him in his providence by his creature. That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of [a] St. *John* and [a] St. *Paul*, *Ye have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye seen his shape.* And again, *Whom never man saw, nor can see.*

And this I am sure agrees with the nature of God's simplicity, of which St. *Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were [b] *Origen*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, *Gregory* the great, *Evaristus*, *Alcuinus*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of authority. But by his own word, and by this visible world, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his creatures, whose hieroglyphical characters are the unnumbred stars, the sun and moon; written on these large volumes of the firmament; written also on the earth and the seas, by the letters of all those living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned [c] *Cusanus*, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quàm Deus explicatus*; The world universal is nothing else but God expres'd. As the invisible things of God (saith [d] St. *Paul*) are seen by the creation of the world, being considered in his creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding than his own will, no other matter than his own power, no other workman than his own word, no other consideration than his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged will moved, by his high wisdom disposed, and by his almighty power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex fide, & ex effectibus* (that is) both persuaded by his word, and by the effects of the world's creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognoscique potest, sed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ sunt, quæque fiunt & gubernantur, observatione & collatione; vel ex ipsius Dei verbo:* For he, of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be known by any knowledge of cause or beginning (saith [e] *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or else by the word of God himself.

SECT. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the world to have been created by God.

THIS work and creation of the world, did most of the ancient and learned philosophers acknowledge, though by divers terms, and in a different manner expres'd; I mean all those who are intitled by St. *Augustine*, *summi philosophi*, philosophers of highest judgment and understanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *principium universorum*, the original of the universal; to whom he giveth also the attributes of *Mens*, *Natura*, *Vita*, *Necessitas*, *Finis*, & *Renovatio*. And wherein he suits with St. *Paul* casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by God's almighty word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus.* *Zoroaster* (whom *Heraditus* followed in opinion) took the word *Fire* to express God by (as in [g] *Deuteronomy* and in [g] St. *Paul* it is used) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt, All things* (saith he) *are caused or produced out of one fire.*

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the will of the most high God: whose remarkable words are thus converted; [h] *Cum abscondisset omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia:* Of which I conceive this sense: *When great Jupiter had hidden all things in himself, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence,* or brought forth, *into grateful light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most high, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus.* *Plato* calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the universal; [i] *Totius rerum naturæ, causa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous to remember the opinions of philosophers in matters of divinity (it being true, that the scripture hath not want of any foreign testimony) yet as the *fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so St. *Paul* himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not, as in the epistle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretans*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the seventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus*, *&c.* For, truth (saith St. *Ambrose*) by whomsoever uttered, is of the Holy Ghost; *Veritas, à quocunque dicatur, à Spiritu Sancto est:* And lastly, let those kind of men learn this rule; *Quæ sacris serviunt, prophana non sunt*; Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of holy things.

SECT. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, *Genes.* I. 1.

THIS visible world, of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all; in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrews* seek some hidden mystery, and which in the *Jews Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent; but only to creation then. For before that beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor form to inform, nor any being, but the eternal. Nature was not, nor the next parent or time begotten, time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of matter already in being; then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of

[a] John 5. 3. 1 Tim. 6. 16. [b] Origen l. 2. περὶ ἀρχῶν c. 22. Cyril. & Chrys. in Joh. hom. 14. Greg. Naz. l. 2. Theolog. Hier. in Esaiam Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 12 & 13. Greg. Mag. l. 18. Mor. Evar. ep. 1. Decret. Alcuin. l. 2. de Trin. c. 16. D. Areop. c. 4. Cœl. Hierar. Thom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi. Deus qui natura invisibilis est, ut à visibilibus posset sciri, opus facit quod Opificem sui visibiliter manifestaret, ut per certum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur. Amb. in epist. ad Rom. c. 1. [c] Cusan. de gen. dialog. [d] Rom. 1. 20. [e] A. Mont. Nat. Hist. fol. 7. [f] Herm. in Pœmandro, & in sermone sacro. [g] Deut. 4. 24. Heb. 12. 19. [h] Orph. de sum. Jove. [i] Vid. c. 6.

matter

matter proceeded from a greater power, than that of God. And by what name ſhall we then call ſuch an one (ſaith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency; for it is an act of more excellency to make, than to diſpoſe of things made? Whereupon it may be concluded, that matter could not be before this beginning; except we feign a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite; the impoſſibility whereof ſcorneth defence. [a] *Nam impoſſibile eſt plura eſſe infinita: quoniam alterum eſſet in altero finitum*; There cannot be more infinites than one: for one of them would limit the other.

SECT. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven *and* Earth, Geneſ. ii. 1.

THE univerſal matter of the world (which *Moſes* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven* and *Earth*) is by divers diverſly underſtood; for there are that conceive, that by thoſe words was meant the firſt matter, as the Peripateticks underſtand it; to which St. *Auguſtine* and *Iſidore* ſeem to adhere, *Feciſti mundum* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *de materia informi*; *quam feciſti de nulla re, pene nullam rem:* that is, Thou haſt made the world of a matter without form; which matter thou madeſt of nothing, and being made, it was little other than nothing.

But this potential and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exiſt without form. *Peter Lombard*, the *Schoolmen*, *Beda*, *Lyranus*, *Comeſtor*, *Toſtatus*, and others affirm, that it pleaſed God firſt of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the ſucceeding inſtant (ſaith [b] *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This Empyrean Heaven *Steuchius Eugubinus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated:* an error, for which he is ſharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the ſubſequent, when he made it to be a place, and the ſeat of Angels, and juſt Souls, than in the former affirmation; for of the firſt, That God liveth in eternal light, it is written, [c] *My ſoul, praiſe thou the Lord, that covereth himſelf with light:* and in the Revelation, [d] *And the city hath no need of the ſun, neither of the moon to ſhine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein alſo [e] *John Mercer* upon *Geneſis* differeth not in opinion from *Eugubinus:* for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the inviſible or ſuperceleſtial; ſo in his judgment, becauſe it was in all eternity the glorious ſeat of God himſelf, it was not neceſſary to be created; *Quem mundum ſuper-cœleſtem meo judicio creari* (ſaith *Mercer*) *non erat neceſſe.*

But as *Moſes* forbare to ſpeak of Angels, and of things inviſible and incorporate, for the weakneſs of their capacities, whom he then cared to inform of thoſe things which were moſt manifeſt (to wit) That God did not only by a ſtrong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promiſe made to their fore-fathers; but alſo that he created, and was the ſole cauſe of this aſpectable, and perceivable univerſal; ſo on the other ſide I dare not think, that any ſuperceleſtial heaven, or whatſoever elſe (not himſelf) was increate and eternal; and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wiſdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the ſeat of infinite power, no more than infinite power itſelf can be limited: for his place is in himſelf, whom no magnitude elſe can contain: *How great is the houſe of God* (ſaith [f] *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his poſſeſſion! it is great, and hath no end; it is high, and unmeaſurable.*

But leaving multiplicity of opinions, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words [g] *Heaven* and *Earth*, was meant the ſolid matter and ſubſtance, as well of all the heavens, and orbs ſupernal, as of the globe of the earth and waters, which covered it over (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia, chaos, poſſibilitas, ſive poſſe fieri.* Which matter (ſaith [h] *Calvin*) was ſo called, *Quod totius mundi ſemen fuerit*; Becauſe it was the ſeed of the univerſal: an opinion of ancient philoſophers long before.

SECT. V.

That the ſubſtance of the waters, as mix'd in the body of the earth, is by Moſes *underſtood in the word earth: and that the earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is deſcribed as the chaos of the ancient heathen.*

MOSES firſt nameth heaven and earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word earth; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his ſpirit began to diſtinguiſh the confuſed maſs, and (as *Baſil* ſaith) *Præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem*; To prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulneſs.

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures expreſs'd: and by the name of *Earth* and *Waters*, all was meant, whatſoever is under the moon, and ſubject to alteration. Corrupt ſeeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not ſubject, though ſubject to periſhing. *They ſhall periſh* (ſaith [i] *David*) *and the heavens ſhall vaniſh away like ſmoak*, ſaith [k] *Eſay*. Neither were the waters the matter of earth; for it is written, [l] *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear:* which proveth, that the dry land was mix'd and covered with the waters, and not yet diſtinguiſhed; but no way, that the waters were the matter or ſeed of the earth, much leſs of the univerſal. *Initio tu, Domine, terram fundaſti*; Thou, O Lord, in the beginning haſt founded the earth: and again, [m] *The earth was covered with the deep* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, ſaith *David*. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, that water by condenſation may become earth, the ſame reaſon teacheth us alſo, that earth rarified may become water: water, air: air, fire: and ſo on the contrary. [n] *Deus ignis ſubſtantiam per aerem in aquam convertit*; God turneth the ſubſtance of fire by air into water. For the heavens and the earth remained in the ſame ſtate in which they were created, as touching their ſubſtance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in reſpect of beauty and ornament. [o] *Cœlum vero & terra in ſtatu creationis remanſerunt quantum ad ſubſtantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis poſtmodum ſuperaddita eſt.* And the word which the *Hebrews* call *Maim*, is not to be underſtood according to the *Latin* tranſlation ſimply, and as ſpecifical water; but the ſame more properly ſignifieth liquor. For (according to [p] *Montanus*) *Eſt autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit*; For *Maim* (ſaith he) is a double liquor (that is, of divers natures) and this name or word the *Latins*, wanting a voice to expreſs it, call it in the plural, *aquas*, waters.

[a] Cuſan. de mente, lib. 3. [b] Beda Hex. Strabo ſuper Gen. Eug. Coſ. & de nat. in corp. [c] Pſ. 104. 12. [d] Claritas divina non eſt lux facta, ſed ſapientia Dei, non creata, ſed nata, Apoc. 21. 23. [e] Mercer. in Gen. 7. 7. [f] Bar. 3. 24, 25. [g] Cuſan. in Compend. fol. 224. Operis. [h] Cal. in Gen. [i] Pſ. 102. 26. [k] Eſay 51. [l] Gen. 1. 9. [m] Pſ. 104. 6. [n] Zeno. [o] Gul. Par. 600. [p] A. Mont. de nat.

This maſs, or indigeſted matter, or chaos, created in the beginning, was without form, that is, without the proper form, which it afterwards acquired, when the ſpirit of God had ſeparated the earth, and digeſted it from the waters. [a] *And the earth was void*, that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the ſpirit of God had moved upon the waters*, and wrought this indigeſted matter into that form, which it now retaineth; then did *the earth bud forth the herb, which ſeedeth ſeed, and the fruitful tree according to his kind, and God ſaw that it was good*; which attribute was not given to the earth, while it was confus'd; nor to the heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God ſaw that it was good*, that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta ſunt opera*; The works of the perfect God are perfect.

From this lump of imperfect matter had the ancient poets their invention of *Demogorgon*; *Heſiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that chaos: of which [b] *Ovid*;

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) cœlum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,
Quem dixêre chaos, rudis indigeſtaque moles.

Before the ſea and land was made, and heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the world one only face of nature did abide:
Which chaos hight, a huge rude heap.

SECT. VI.

How it is to be underſtood, that the ſpirit of God moved upon the waters; and that this is not to be ſearched curiouſly.

AFter the creation of heaven and earth, then void and without form, the ſpirit of God moved upon the waters. The *ſeventy interpreters* uſe the word *ſuperferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat* or *fovebat*, (ſaith *Hierome*) out of [c] *Baſil*; and *Baſil* out of a *Syrian* doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, ſed viri cujuſdam Syri ſententiam recenſebo* (ſaith *Baſil*): which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a ſpecial likeneſs. [d] *Verbum tranſlatum eſt ab avibus pullitiei ſuæ incubantibus, quamvis ſpirituali, & plane inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a ſpiritual and unexpreſſible manner.

Some of the *Hebrews* convert it to this effect, *ſpiritus Dei volitabat*; The ſpirit of God did flutter: the *Chaldean* paraphraſt in this ſenſe, *Ventus a conſpectu Dei ſufflabat*: or, as others underſtand the *Chaldean*, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat*: The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon; according to the [e] 147th *Pſalm*, *He cauſed his wind to blow, and the waters increaſe: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* [f] *Arias Montanus* in theſe words, *Et ſpiritus Elohim Meracheſet, id eſt, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans ſuper facies gemini liquoris*; The ſpirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cheriſhing, quickning and ſtirring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the laſt paſſive and material, to wit, *Cauſa*, which is the divine goodneſs: [g] *Jehi*, which is, *fiat, ſive erit*, let it be, or, it ſhall be. *Quæ vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*: Which voice (ſaith he) was the firſt that was uttered by the word of God. The third, *ſpiritus elohim*, the ſpirit of God, *id eſt, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac præſens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*; that is, a certain divine power, or ſtrength, every where active and extending, and ſtretching through all, filling and finiſhing all things. The fourth he calleth *Maim, id eſt, Materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; Matter apt to become every thing. For my ſelf, I am reſolved (*Cum Deus ſit ſuperrationale omni ratione*; Seeing God is in all reaſon above reaſon) that although the effects which follow his wonderful ways of working, may in a meaſure be perceived by man's underſtanding, yet the manner and firſt operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or ſpirit, compaſſed with a mortal body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei ſunt non percipit*: For my thoughts (ſaith the Lord in [h] *Eſay*) are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways. And as the world hath not known God himſelf; ſo are his ways (according to St. *Paul*) *paſt finding out. O righteous father, the world hath not known thee*, ſaith Chriſt. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality, and operation, were by incubation or how elſe, the manner is only known to God. [i] *Quomodo in omnibus ſit rebus, vel per eſſentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noſter non capit*; For how God (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking of his ubiquity) is in all things, either by eſſence, preſence, or power, our underſtanding cannot comprehend. [k] *Nihil inter Deum hominemque diſtaret, ſi conſilia, & diſpoſitiones illius Majeſtatis æternæ, cogitatio aſſequeretur humana*; There would be no difference between God and man, if man's underſtanding could conceive the counſels and diſpoſing of that eternal majeſty; and therefore to be over-curious in ſearching how the all-powerful word of God wrought in the creation of the world, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit diſtinguiſhing, gave form to the matter of the univerſal, is a labour and ſearch like unto his, who, not contented with a known and ſafe ford, will preſume to paſs over the greateſt river in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for ſo doth the one loſe his life, and the other his underſtanding. We behold the ſun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumſpectly: we warm ourſelves ſafely, while we ſtand near the fire; but if we ſeek to out-face the one, or enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to eſchew curioſity; this is true, that the *Engliſh* word (*moved*) is moſt proper and ſignificant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatſoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *Vis cauſæ efficientis*, The force of the efficient cauſe, St. *Auguſtine* ſometimes taketh for the Holy Ghoſt; ſometimes for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine ſpiritus*, Under the name of a ſpirit, which is ſometimes ſo taken: or for *Virtualis creatura*, for a created virtuality: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it alſo a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, A pure or thin intelligible ſpirit: *Anaxagoras*, *Mentem*: Toſtatus, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*, The will and mind of God; which *Mens*, *Plato in Timæo* maketh *Animam mundi*, The ſoul of the world: and in his ſixth book, *De Republica*, he calleth it, *The law of heaven*; in his epiſtles, *The Leader of things to come, and the preſence of things paſt.* But as *Cyprian* wrote of the incarnation of Chriſt our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox filet, & non mea tantum, ſed etiam Angelorum*; My mind faileth, my voice is ſilent, and not mine only,

[a] Gen. 1, 2, 12. [b] Ovid. Met. lib. 1. [c] Baſil. Hexam. [d] Junius. [e] Pſal. 147. 18. [f] Ar. Mont. ut ſup. Eugub. in Coſ. fol. 13. [g] Ar. Mont. de natura, pag. 149. [h] Eſa. 55. 8. [i] Aug. Tract. 20. in Johan. 17. 25. [k] Lact. in Præfat.

but

but even the voice of angels: ſo may all men elſe ſay in the underſtanding and utterance of the ways and works of the creation; for to him (ſaith [a] *Nazianzenus*) there is not one ſubſtance by which he is, and another by which he can, *Sed conſubſtantiale illi eſt, quicquid ejus eſt, & quicquid eſt*; Whatſoever attribute of him there is, and whatſoever he is, it is the very ſame ſubſtance that himſelf is.

But the ſpirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, ſeparate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and diſtinguiſhed, and which now ſuſtaineth and giveth continuance to the univerſal. For the ſpirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the ſame is it *which maintaineth all things*, ſaith [b] *Solomon. If thou ſend forth thy ſpirit* (ſaith *David*) *they are created*: and *Gregory*, *Deus ſuo præſentiali eſſe, dat omnibus rebus eſſe, ita quod ſi ſe rebus ſubtraheret, ſicut de nihilo facta ſunt omnia, ſic in nihilum defluerent univerſa*: God giveth being to all things, by being preſent with all things, ſo as if he ſhould withdraw himſelf from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would again fall away and vaniſh into nothing. And this working of God's ſpirit in all things, [c] *Virgil* hath expreſs'd excellently:

Principio cœlum ac terras, campoſque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamque infuſa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.

The heaven, the earth, and all the liquid main,
The moon's bright globe, and ſtars Titanian,
A ſpirit within maintains: and their whole maſs,
A mind, which through each part infus'd doth paſs.
Faſhions, and works, and wholly doth tranſpierce
All this great body of the univerſe.

And this was the ſame ſpirit, which moved in the univerſal, and thereby both diſtinguiſhed and adorned it. [d] *His ſpirit hath garniſhed the heavens*, ſaith *Job*. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their ſpirituality, and natural motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarifaction, and ſubtilty of parts. By this ſpirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigeſted lump, and [e] chaos, diſpoſed to all forms alike) was begotten air: an element ſuperior, as lighter than the waters; thro' whoſe vaſt, open, ſubtile, diaphanick or tranſparent body, the light, afterwards created, might eaſily tranſpierce: light for the excellency thereof being the firſt creature which God called good, whoſe creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chryſoſtom* calleth a vital operation, *Aquis a Deo inſitam, ex qua aquæ non ſolum motionem, ſed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint*. He calleth it, *A vital operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not only motion, but alſo power to procreate or bring forth living creatures.*

SECT. VII.

Of the light created, as the material ſubſtance of the ſun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and uſe of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

THeſe waters were afterwards congregated, and called the ſea: and this light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the ſun, the organ and inſtrument of created light. For this firſt and diſperſed light did not (as I conceive) diſtinguiſh the night from the day, but with a reference to the ſun's creation, and the uniting of the diſperſed light therein. This is proved by theſe words, [f] *Let there be lights in the firmament, to ſeparate the day from the night*: which lights in the firmament of heaven, were alſo made for ſigns, and for ſeaſons, and for days, and for years, implying a motion inſtantly to follow, by which, days and years are diſtinguiſhed; after which ſucceeded time, or together with which, that time (which was the meaſure of motion) began. For that ſpace of the firſt three days which preceded the ſun's creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be meaſured, and the day named in the fifth verſe; was but ſuch a ſpace, as afterwards by the ſun's motion made a civil or natural day. And as waters were the matter of air, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the ſeas, and creatures therein; earth, the matter of beaſts, plants, minerals, and man's body: ſo may light (for expreſſion ſake) be called the chaos, or material ſubſtance of the ſun, and other lights of heaven: howbeit, neither the ſun, nor any thing ſenſible, is that light it ſelf, [g] *Quæ cauſa eſt lucidorum*, Which is the cauſe that things are lightſome (tho' it make it ſelf and all things elſe viſible:) but a body moſt illightned, which illuminateth the moon, by whom the neighbouring region (which the *Greeks* call *æther*, the place of the ſuppoſed element of fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our air. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium cœleſtium virtutum, & impreſſionum*; The conducter, and preſerver, or nouriſher of all celeſtial virtues and impreſſions, nothing deſcending of heavenly influences, but by the *medium*, or means of light. *Ariſtotle* calleth light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a diaphanous body, *Lumen eſt qualitas inhærens diaphano*: but this may be better avouched of the heat, which it tranſporteth, and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (ſay the *Platonicks*) [h] *Abeunte lumine reſidet in ſubjecto*; The light being departed, doth reſide in the ſubject, as warmth in the air, tho' the ſame be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academics* make incorporal, and ſo doth *Montanus*, *Cui nec duritia reſiſtit, nec ſpatium*; Which neither hardneſs reſiſteth, nor ſpace leaveth.

Ariſtotle findeth corporality in the beams of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, ſaith [i] *Picolomineus*, *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light itſelf, but improperly: for it paſſeth at an inſtant, from the heaven to the earth; nor is it reſiſted by any hardneſs, becauſe it pierceth thro' the ſolid body of glaſs, or other criſtalline matter; and whereas it is withſtood by unclean, and unpure earthy ſubſtances, leſs hard, and more eaſy to invade than the former, the ſame is, [k] *Quod obſtaculum natura terreum atque ſordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem*; Becauſe an obſtacle, by nature earthy and foul, doth not receive the pure clearneſs of light: alluding to that moſt divine light, which only ſhineth on thoſe minds, which are purged from all worldly droſs, and human uncleanneſs.

But of this created light there is no agreement in opinion; neither do I marvel at it, for it cannot be found either in the fathers, philoſophers, ſchool-men, or other ancient or latter writers, that any of them underſtood either it or themſelves therein: all men (to caſt off ignorance) have diſputed thereof, but there is no man that hath been taught

[a] Nazianz. lib. 2. Theol. [b] Wiſd. 1. 7. [c] Virg. Æneid. lib. 8. 724. [d] Job 26. 13. [e] Gen. 1. 5. [f] Gen. 1. 14.
[g] Lux dicitur, quæ ſe, & omnia viſibilia facit. Cuſan. in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5. [h] Ficin. lib. de Lumine, cap. 11.
[i] Picol. de finit. [k] Plotin.

thereby.

thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferior to any in wit) as he hath ſhewed little ſtrength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Lyranus*, and others: ſo is his own judgment herein, as weak as any man's; and moſt of the ſchoolmen were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more ſubtile in diſtinguiſhing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, than diſcoverers of any thing hidden, either in philoſophy or divinity: of whom it may be truly ſaid, *Nihil ſapientiæ odioſius acumine nimio*; Nothing is more odious to true wiſdom, than too acute ſharpneſs. Neither hath the length of time, and the ſearch of many learned men (which the ſame time hath brought forth and devoured) reſolved us, whether this light be ſubſtantial, corporal, or incorporal: corporal they ſay it cannot be, becauſe then it could neither pierce the air, nor thoſe hard, ſolid, and diaphanous bodies, which it doth; and yet every day we ſee the air illightned: Incorporal it cannot be, becauſe it ſometime affecteth the ſight of the eye with offence, and therefore by moſt of the fathers ſo eſteemed. Others ſay (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, becauſe no form ſo excellent as it ſelf to inform it: neither can it be any accident, which is not ſeparable without the deſtruction of the ſubject: for light being taken from the ſun, the ſun is no more the ſun in exiſtence. 2dly, If light were proceeding from matter and form, then either, or both, muſt be one of theſe, lucid or bright, dark or opake, diaphanous or tranſparent; but darkneſs cannot be parent of light, and things diaphanous (being neither light nor darkneſs, but capable of either) cannot be the cauſe of either, and therefore muſt the matter, or form, or both, be lucid and ſhining. [a] Lucid and ſhining obtain their ſo being of the light; and therefore if we derive this being of light from a former, then would the progreſs go on infinitely and againſt nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the ſun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it ſelf, and is therefore the ſun's form, and the form of all lucid and ſhining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

But in my underſtanding, *Lumen* (which may be engliſhed by the word *ſhine*) is an intentional ſpecies of that which may be engliſhed by light; and ſo, this ſhining, which proceedeth from the ſun, or other lights of heaven, or from any other light, is an image, or intentional ſpecies thereof; and an intentional ſpecies may be underſtood by the example of a red or green colour, occaſioned by the ſhining of the ſun through red or green glaſs: for then we perceive the ſame colour caſt upon any thing oppoſite; which redneſs or other colour we call the *intentional ſpecies* of the colour in that glaſs. And again, as this light, touching his ſimple nature, is no way yet underſtood, ſo it is diſputed, whether this light firſt created, be the ſame which the ſun inholdeth and caſteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the ſun's creation.

But by the moſt wiſe and unchanged order, which God obſerved in the works of the world, I gather, that the light, in the firſt day created, was the ſubſtance of the ſun: for [b] *Moſes* repeateth twice the main parts of the univerſal: firſt, as they were created in matter; 2dly, As they were adorned with form: firſt, naming the heavens, the earth, the waters, all confuſed; and afterward, the waters congregated, the earth made dry land; and the heavens diſtinguiſhed from both, and beautified. And therefore the earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry land; and the waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the ſea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their virtual forms: ſo the ſun, although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the ſubſtance thereof in the firſt day (under the name of light) created; and this light formerly diſperſed, was in the ſame fourth day united, and ſet in the firmament of heaven: for, to light created in the firſt day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to ſeparate day from night) were preciſely performed, after this light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wiſdom of God find cauſe why it ſhould move (by which motion, days and nights are diſtinguiſhed) till then: becauſe there was not yet any creature produced, to which, by moving, the ſun might give light, heat, and operation.

But after the earth (diſtinguiſhed from waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herb, *&c.* God cauſed the ſun to move, and (by interchange of time) to viſit every part of the inferior world; by his heat to ſtir up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the ſeeds of all natures: [c] For, as a king, which commandeth ſome goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the ſame to that uſe and end, to which it was ordained; ſo it pleaſed God (ſaith *Procopius*) to command the light to be; which by his all-powerful word he approved, and approving it, diſpoſed thereof to the uſe and comfort of his future creatures.

But in that it pleaſed God to ask of [d] *Job*, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under man's underſtanding; and therefore let it ſuffice, that by God's grace we enjoy the effects thereof. *For this light is of the treaſure of God* (ſaith [e] *Eſdras*) *and thoſe which inhabit the heavens, do only know the Eſſence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cœlo, nihil notum in terra:* Nothing unknown in heaven, nothing perfectly known on earth. [f] *Res veræ ſunt in mundo inviſibili; in mundo viſibili umbræ rerum:* Things themſelves are in the inviſible world; in the world viſible, but their ſhadows. Surely, if this light be not ſpiritual, yet it approacheth neareſt unto ſpirituality; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the moſt ſubtile and pure; for howſoever it is of all things ſeen, the moſt beautiful, and of the ſwifteſt motion, of all other the moſt neceſſary and beneficial. For it miniſtreth unto men, and other creatures, all celeſtial influences; it diſſipateth thoſe ſad thoughts and ſorrows, which the darkneſs both begetteth and maintaineth; it diſcovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an angelical ſwiftneſs, our eyes unto heaven, that by the ſight thereof, our minds being informed of his viſible marvels, may continually travel to ſurmount theſe perceived heavens, and to find out their omnipotent cauſe and Creator. [g] *Cognitio non quieſcit in rebus creatis*; Our knowledge doth not quiet it ſelf in things created. *Et ipſa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna ſint laudibus, cum ſuam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet*; It is the light (ſaith St. *Ambroſe*) that maketh the other parts of the world ſo worthy of praiſe, ſeeing that it ſelf communicateth its goodneſs and beauty unto all. Of which *Ovid* out of *Orpheus*:

[a] Lucida corpora ſunt plena ſua luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca ſunt plena ſuis tenebris alieno lumine. Tranſparentia ſeu Diaphana carent ſuis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. ſubt. ex. 71. [b] Gen. 1. 9. [c] Quemadmodum rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1. [d] Job 38. 24, 9. [e] Eſd. l. 2. c. 6. 40. [f] Herm. [g] Ficin.

Ille

[a] *Ille ego ſum, qui longum metior annum,*
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.

The world diſcerns it ſelf, while I the world behold,
By me the longeſt years, and other times are told,
I the world's eye.

Laſtly, if we may behold in any creature, any one ſpark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of God's glorious brightneſs, the ſame in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipſa*, and the light, by *Hermes* named *lux ſancta*, and *Chriſt* our Saviour ſaid to be [b] *that light, which lightneth every man that cometh into the world.* Yet in reſpect of God's incomprehenſible ſublimity, and purity, this is alſo true, that God is neither a mind, nor a ſpirit of the nature of other ſpirits; nor a light, ſuch as can be diſcerned. *Deus profecto non mens eſt, at vero ut ſit mens cauſa eſt; nec ſpiritus, ſed cauſa qua ſpiritus extat; nec lumen, ſed cauſa qua lumen exiſtit.* God (ſaith *Hermes* in *Pœmandro)* certainly is not a mind, but the cauſe that the mind hath his being; nor ſpirit, but the cauſe by which every ſpirit is; nor light, but the cauſe by which the light exiſteth.

So then the *maſs* and *chaos* being firſt created, void, dark, and informed, was by the operative ſpirit of God, pierced and quickned, and the waters having now received ſpirit and motion, reſolved their thinner parts into air, which God illightned: the earth alſo by being contiguate, and mixt with waters (participating the ſame divine virtue) [c] brought forth the bud of the herb that ſeedeth ſeed, *&c.* and for a mean and organ, by which this operative virtue might be continued, God appointed the light to be united, and gave it alſo motion and heat, which heat cauſed a continuance of thoſe ſeveral *ſpecies*, which the earth (being made fruitful by the ſpirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times ſucceeding.

SECT. VIII.

Of the firmament, and of the waters above the firmament: and whether there be any cryſtalline heaven, or any primum mobile.

After that the ſpirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God ſaid, *Let there be a firmament in the midſt of the waters, and let it ſeparate the waters from the waters:* that is, thoſe waters which by rarifaction and evaporation were aſcended, and thoſe of the earth and ſea.

But theſe waters, ſeparate above this extenſion, which the *Latin* tranſlation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expanſum* (for ſo *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turn it) are not the cryſtalline heavens created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Baſilius Magnus* calleth a childiſh ſuppoſition, making in the ſame place many learned arguments againſt this fancy. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the air above us, where the ſame is more ſolid and condenſe, which God ſeparated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended diſtance and vaſt ſpace: the words *Raquia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*) and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for air, and more properly for the air and *æther*, than for the heavens, as the beſt *Hebricians* underſtand them, [c] *Quo ſuprema ac tenuia ab infirmis craſſis diducta, interſectaque diſtarent*; For that whereby the ſupreme and thin bodies were placed in diſtance, being ſevered and cut off from low and groſs matters: and the waters above the firmament, expreſs'd in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the air, or in the uppermoſt region of the ſame.

And that the word heaven is uſed for the air, the ſcriptures every where witneſs; as in the [e] bleſſings of *Joſeph*, and in the 104th *Pſalm*, [f] *By theſe ſprings ſhall the fowl of the heaven dwell; and upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimſtone and fire out of the heaven*; and in *Iſaac*'s bleſſing to *Jacob*, [g] *God give thee therefore of the dew of heaven:* and in [h] *Deuteronomy* the 11th, *But the land whither you go to poſſeſs it, is a land that drinketh water of the rain of heaven:* and in [i] *Job*, *Who hath ingendered the froſts of heaven?* and in St. [k] *Matthew*, *Behold the fowls of heaven, for they ſow not.* So as in all the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament throughout, is the word *heaven* very oft uſed for air, and taken alſo hyperbolically for any great height, as, [l] *Let us build us a tower, whoſe top may reach to heaven, &c.* And in this very place *Baſil* avoucheth, that this appellation of heaven for the firmament, is but by way of ſimilitude: his own words be theſe; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem proprie accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad ſimilitudinem*; And God called the firmament heaven: this appellation (ſaith *Baſil*) is properly applied to another (that is, to the ſtarry heaven) but to this (that is, to the firmament dividing the waters) it is impoſed by ſimilitude. And if there were no other proof, that by the firmament was meant the air, and not the heaven; the words of *Moſes* in the 8th verſe, conferred with the ſame word *firmament* in the 20th verſe, make it manifeſt: for in the 8th verſe it is written, that God called the firmament, which divided waters from waters, heaven; and in the 20th verſe he calleth the firmament of heaven, air; in theſe words, *And let the fowl fly upon earth in the open firmament of heaven.* And what uſe there ſhould be of this icey, or cryſtalline, or watery heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *primum mobile* would otherwiſe gather and increaſe: though in very truth, inſtead of this help, it would add an unmeaſurable greatneſs of circle, whereby the ſwiftneſs of that firſt moveable would exceed all poſſibility of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impoſſibilia*; But no man ought to be held to impoſſibilities; and faith it ſelf (which ſurmounteth the height of all human reaſon) hath for a forcible conductor the word of truth, which alſo may be called *Lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*; The light of all reaſon and underſtanding. Now that this ſuppoſed firſt moveable, turneth it ſelf ſo many hundred thouſand miles in an inſtant (ſeeing the ſcriptures teach it not) let thoſe that can believe mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of theſe many heavens, let the reader that deſireth ſatisfaction, ſearch *Orontius*; and of this watery heaven, *Baſilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol.* 40, 41, *&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, in his 2d book and 6th chapter. For my ſelf, I am perſuaded, that the waters called, The waters above the heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermoſt air.

SECT. IX.

A concluſion, repeating the ſum of the works in the creation, which are reduced to three heads: the creation of matter, the forming of it, the finiſhing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the firſt chapter of *Geneſis*, that this was the order of the moſt wiſe God in the beginning, and when there was

[a] Ovid. Met. l. 1. [b] Joh. 1. 9. & 14. 46. [c] Gen. 1. 11. [d] Mont. Nat. hiſt. fol. 152. [e] Gen. 49. 25. [f] Pſal. 104. 12. [g] Gen. 19. 24. 27. 28. [h] Deut. 11. 11. [i] Job 38. 29. [k] Matth. 6. 26. [l] Gen. 11. 4.

was no other nature, or being, but God's incomprehenſible eternity. Firſt, he created the matter of all things: and in the firſt three days he diſtinguiſhed, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levity to that which aſcended; to that which deſcended, the form of gravity: for he ſeparated light from darkneſs, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the laſt three days, God adorned, beautified, and repleniſhed the world: he ſet in the firmament of heaven, the ſun, moon, and ſtars; filled the earth with beaſts, the air with fowl, and the ſea with fiſh, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their ſpecies, and kinds; to creatures vegetative and growing, their ſeeds in themſelves; for [a] *he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preſerved.*

SECT. X.

That nature is no principium per ſe; *nor form, the giver of being: and of our ignorance how ſecond cauſes ſhould have any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working-power, which we call nature, the beginning of motion and reſt, according to *Ariſtotle*; the ſame is nothing elſe, but the ſtrength and faculty, which God hath infuſed into every creature, having no other ſelf-ability, than a clock, after it is wound up by a man's hand, hath. Thoſe therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any firſt or ſole power, have therein no other underſtanding, than ſuch a one hath, who looking into the ſtern of a ſhip, and finding it guided by the helm and rudder, doth aſcribe ſome abſolute virtue to the piece of wood, without all conſideration of the hand that guides, or of the judgment, which alſo directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all elſe, that by the virtue of the firſt act, all agents work whatſoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* For as the mind of man ſeeth by the organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choice by the will: and therefore we attribute ſight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, *&c.* and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all theſe his inſtruments and organs; ſo God worketh by angels, by the ſun, by the ſtars, by nature or infuſed properties, and by men as by ſeveral organs, ſeveral effects; all ſecond cauſes whatſoever, being but inſtruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and diſperſe what they have received from the head and fountain of the univerſal. For as it is God's infinite power, and every-where-preſence (compaſſing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the ſun power to draw up vapours, to vapours to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: ſo all ſecond and inſtrumental cauſes together with nature it ſelf, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether ſilent, virtueleſs, and dead: of all which excellently [b] *Orpheus*; *Per te vireſcunt omnia*; All things by thee ſpring forth in youthful green. I enforce not theſe things, thereby to annihilate thoſe variable virtues which God hath given to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, *&c.* for all his works in their virtues praiſe him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the heathen philoſophers, and thoſe that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I ſay, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or expreſs it, ever enrich his own underſtanding with any certain truth, or ever edify others (not fooliſh by ſelf-flattery) therein. For (ſaith *Lactantius*, ſpeaking of the wiſdom of the philoſophers) *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic ſtudio ſubjaceret, aliquando eſſet inventa; cum vero tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquiſitione contritis, non ſit comprehenſa, apparet nullam ibi eſſe ſapientiam*; If in this ſtudy (ſaith he) were means to find out the truth, it had ere this been found out: but ſeeing it is not yet comprehended, after that ſo much time, and ſo many wits have been worn out in the enquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wiſdom there to be had. [c] *Nam ſi de una re præciſa ſcientia haberetur, omnium rerum ſcientia neceſſario haberetur*; If the preciſe knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it ſhould neceſſarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the philoſophers were ignorant in nature, and the ways of her working; ſo were they more curious, than knowing, in their firſt matter and phyſical form. For if their firſt matter had any being, it were not then the firſt matter: for, as it is the firſt matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth ſubſiſt. And ſeeing it is neither a ſubſtance perfect, nor a ſubſtance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other ſubſitance ſhould thence take concreſcence, it hath not been taught, neither are theſe forms (ſaith a learned author) any thing, *ſi ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil eſt.* Again, how this firſt matter ſhould be *ſubjectum formarum*, and paſſive, which is underſtood to precede the form, it is hard to conceive: for to make form, which is the cauſe, to be ſubſequent to the thing cauſed (to wit, to the firſt matter) is contrary to all reaſon, divine and human: only it may be ſaid, that originally there is no other difference between heat and fire, of which the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other, but in a kind of rational conſideration. Leaving therefore theſe riddles to their lovers, who by certain ſcholaſtical diſtinctions wreſt and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Ariſtotle* hath laboured to prove a falſe eternity of the world, I think it far ſafer to affirm with St. *Auguſtine*, That all ſpecies and kinds are from God, from whom, whatſoever is natural proceedeth, of what kind or eſtimation ſoever; from whence are the ſeeds of all forms, and the forms of all ſeeds and their motions; *A quo eſt omnis ſpecies, a quo eſt quicquid naturaliter eſt, cujuſcunque generis eſt, cujuſcunque æſtimationis eſt; a quo ſunt ſemina formarum, formæ ſeminum, motus ſeminum atque formarum.* And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confeſs. *For all forms* (ſaith he) *are, in primo motore*; which is alſo the opinion of [d] *Ariſtotle* in the 12th of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* upon *Dionyſius.*

SECT. XI.

Of fate; and that the ſtars have great influence: and that their operations may diverſly be prevented or furthered.

AND, as of nature, ſuch is the diſpute and contention concerning fate or deſtiny, of which the opinions of thoſe learned men that have written thereof, may be ſafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and faſtened an inevitable neceſſity, and made it more general, and univerſally powerful than it is, by giving it dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which *Ovid*, and *Juvenal:*

[a] Wiſd. Sol. 1. 14. [b] Natura enim remota povidentia & poteſtate divina, prorſus nihil eſt. Lact. de falſa Sapientia, l. 3. c. 28. [c] Cypr. de mente, l. 3. [d] 12. Metaph.

[a] *Ratio*

[a] *Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.*
Servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphos.
'Gainſt fate no counſel can prevail.
Kingdoms to ſlaves by deſtiny,
To captives triumphs given be.

An error of the *Chaldeans*, and after them of the *Stoicks*, the *Phariſees*, *Priſcillianiſts*, the *Bardiſaniſts*, and others, as [b] *Baſil*, *Auguſtine*, and *Thomas* have obſerved: but that fate is an obedience of ſecond cauſes to the firſt, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the *Platoniſt*. [c] *Plotinus* out of the aſtronomers calleth it a diſpoſition from the acts of celeſtial orbs, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the ſame being alſo true enough, in reſpect of all thoſe things which a rational mind doth not order nor direct. *Ptolemy*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chryſippus*, *Empedocles*, and the *Stoicks*, ſome of them more largely, others more ſtrictly, aſcribe to [d] fate a binding and inevitable neceſſity; and that it is the ſame which is ſpoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoque noſtrum fatus eſt Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the ſtars are inſtruments of far greater uſe, than to give an obſcure light, and for men to gaze on after ſun-ſet: it being manifeſt, that the diverſity of ſeaſons, the winters, and ſummers, more hot and cold, are not ſo uncertained by the ſun and moon alone, who always keep one and the ſame courſe; but that the ſtars have alſo their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given virtues to ſprings and fountains, to cold earth, to plants and ſtones, minerals, and to the excremental parts of the baſeſt living creatures, why ſhould we rob the beautiful ſtars of their working powers? for ſeeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not think, that in the treaſury of his wiſdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every ſtar) a peculiar virtue and operation; as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the earth, hath the like. For as theſe were not created to beautify the earth alone, and to cover and ſhadow her duſty face, but otherwiſe for the uſe of man and beaſt, to feed them and cure them; ſo were not thoſe uncountable glorious bodies ſet in the firmament, to no other end, than to adorn it; but for inſtruments and organs of his divine providence, ſo far as it hath pleaſed his juſt will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of [e] *Geneſis*, *Let there be light in the firmament*, &c. affirmeth, that the ſtars are not cauſes (meaning perchance binding cauſes;) but are as open books, wherein are contained and ſet down all things whatſoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of human wiſdom: which latter part I believe well, and this ſaying of *Syracides* withal: [f] *That there are hid yet greater things than theſe be, and we have ſeen but a few of his works.* And though, for the capacity of men, we know ſomewhat, yet in the true and uttermoſt virtues of herbs and plants, which our ſelves ſow and ſet, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celeſtial bodies. For *hardly* (ſaith [g] *Solomon) can we diſcern the things that are upon the earth, and with great labour find we out thoſe things that are before us: who can then inveſtigate the things that are in heaven?* [h] *Multum eſt de rebus cœleſtibus aliquid cognoſcere:* It is much to know a little of heavenly things. But in this queſtion of fate, the middle courſe is to be followed, that as with the heathen we do not bind God to his creatures, in this ſuppoſed neceſſity of deſtiny; ſo on the contrary, we do not rob thoſe beautiful creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of theſe ſecond cauſes deſpoiled God of his prerogative, or had God himſelf conſtrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celeſtial inforcements, then ſure the impious excuſe of ſome were juſtifiable; of whom St. [i] *Auguſtine*, *Impia perverſitate in malis factis rectiſſime reprehendendis ingerunt accuſandum potius auctorem ſyderum, quam commiſſorem ſcelerum*; Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they again with wicked perverſeneſs urge, that rather the author and creator of the ſtars, than the doer of the evil, is to be accuſed.

But that the ſtars and other celeſtial bodies incline the will by mediation of the ſenſitive appetite, which is alſo ſtirred by the conſtitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cœleſtia* (ſaith *Damaſcene*) *conſtituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & diſpoſitiones*; The heavenly bodies (ſaith he) make in us habits, complexions, and diſpoſitions; for the body (though [k] *Galen* inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the mind, eſpecially bodies ſtrong in humour, and weak in virtues; for thoſe of cholerick complexions are ſubject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported, where the mind hath not reaſon to remember, that paſſions ought to be her vaſſals, not her maſters. And that they wholly direct the reaſonleſs mind, I am reſolved: for all thoſe which were created mortal, as birds, beaſts, and the like, are left to their natural appetites; over all which, celeſtial bodies (as inſtruments and executioners of God's providence) have abſolute dominion. What we ſhould judge of men, who little differ from beaſts, I cannot tell; for as he that contendeth againſt thoſe inforcements, may eaſily maſter or reſiſt them; ſo whoſoever ſhall neglect the remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himſelf altogether under the power of his ſenſual appetite; [l] *Vincetur fatum ſi reſiſtas, vincit ſi contempſeris*; Fate will be overcome, if thou reſiſt it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.

But that either the ſtars or the ſun have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is abſurd to think, other than as aforeſaid, as the ſame by the body's temper may be affected. *Lumen ſolis ad generationem ſenſibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipſam movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit:* The light of the ſun (ſaith St. [m] *Auguſtine)* helpeth the generation of ſenſible bodies, moveth them to life, and nouriſheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet ſtill as a miniſter, not as a maſter: *Bonus quidem eſt ſol, in miniſterio, non imperio*; The ſun is good to ſerve, not to ſway (ſaith St. [n] *Ambroſe.*) And St. *Auguſtine*, *Deus regit inferiora corpora per ſuperiora*; God ruleth the bodies below by thoſe above: but he avoucheth not, that ſuperiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporal.

But howſoever we are by the ſtars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in nature and art, that encounter the ſame, and weaken their operation; and *Ariſtotle* himſelf confeſſeth, that the heavens do not always work their effects in inferiour bodies, no more than the ſigns of rain and wind do always come to paſs. And it is divers times ſeen, that paternal virtue and vice hath his counter-working to theſe inclinations. [o] *Eſt in juvencis patrum virtus*; In the young off-ſpring the fathers virtue is; and ſo on the contrary, *patrum vitia:* and here-

[a] Juven. ſat. 7. 201. [b] Baſil. Eſſa. 4. Aug. de hereſ. 70. c. 35. Tho. cont. Gent. 3. c. 83. [c] Ficin. in 12. de leg. [d] Cic. de fat. [e] Gen. 1. 15. [f] Eccl. 42. c. 32. [g] Wiſd. 9. 16. [h] Ariſtotle. [i] Aug. 20. ſuper Gen. ad lit. [k] Gal. l. mor. an. ſeq. temp. [l] Quint. [m] Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 5. [n] Hex. l. 4. de term. 3. [o] Hor. l. 4. Od. 30.

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in alſo there is often found an interchange; the ſons of virtuous men, by an ill conſtellation, become inclinable to vice; and of vicious men to virtue.

Egregia eſt ſoboles ſcelerato nata parente:
A worthy ſon is born of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after God's reſerved power) that ſo much ſetteth this art of influence out of ſquare and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the world ſo wickedly inclined, but that a religious inſtruction and bringing up, may faſhion anew and reform them; nor any ſo well diſpoſed, whom (the reins being let looſe) the continual fellowſhip and familiarity, and the examples of diſſolute men, may not corrupt and deform. Veſſels will ever retain a ſavour of their firſt liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanſe the mind once corrupted, or to extinguiſh the ſweet ſavour of virtue firſt received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and eaſily ſeaſoned; but where a favourable conſtellation (allowing that the ſtars incline the will) and a virtuous education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found ſo exceeding virtuous or vicious, heaven and earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: for as the ſeeds of virtue may, by the art and husbandry of chriſtian counſel, produce better and more beautiful fruit, than the ſtrength of ſelf-nature and kind could have yielded them; ſo the plants, apt to grow wild, and to change themſelves into weeds, by being ſet in a ſoil ſuitable, and like themſelves, are made more unſavoury and filled with poiſon. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus aſtrorum, quemadmodum agricola terræ naturam*; A wiſe man aſſiſteth the work of the ſtars, as the husbandman helpeth the nature of the ſoil. And *Ptolemy* himſelf confeſſeth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina ſapientis medici dominabuntur aſtris*; A wiſe man, and the ominous art of a wiſe phyſician, ſhall prevail againſt the ſtars. Laſtly, we ought all to know that God created the ſtars, as he did the reſt of the univerſal; whoſe influences may be called his reſerved and unwritten laws. But let us conſider how they bind: even as the laws of men do; for although the kings and princes of the world have by their laws decreed, that a thief and a murderer ſhall ſuffer death; and though their ordinances are daily by judges and magiſtrates (the ſtars of kings) executed accordingly; yet theſe laws do not deprive kings of their natural or religious compaſſion, or bind them without prerogative, to ſuch a ſevere execution, as that there ſhould be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conſcience: the law in his own nature, being no other than a deaf tyrant. But ſeeing that it is otherwiſe, and that princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do ſometimes for cauſes to themſelves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both againſt others and themſelves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himſelf, which his ſubſtitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodneſs, and charity it ſelf. Otherwiſe that example of prayer by our Saviour taught; [a] *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil*, had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own creatures truly) hath aſſured us, that there is no inclination or temptation ſo forcible, which our humble prayers and deſires may not make fruſtrate and break aſunder: for were it (as the *Stoicks* conceive) that fate or deſtiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himſelf ſhould in a kind have ſhut up himſelf therein; *How miſerable then were the condition of men* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *left altogether without hope.*

And if this ſtrength of the ſtars were ſo transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he *Pagan* or *Chriſtian* that ſo believeth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginary Gods of the other, would thereby be deſpoiled of all worſhip, reverence, or reſpect.

And certainly, God which hath promiſed us the reward of well-doing, which Chriſt himſelf claimed at the hands of the Father ([b] *I have finiſhed the work which thou gaveſt me to do*;) and the ſame God, who hath threatened unto us the ſorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be ſo unjuſt, as to bind us inevitably to the deſtinies or influences of the ſtars, or ſubject our ſouls to any impoſed neceſſity. But it was well ſaid of *Plotinus*, that the ſtars were ſignificant, but not efficient, giving them yet ſomething leſs than their due: and therefore as I do not conſent with them, who would make thoſe glorious creatures of God virtueleſs: ſo I think that we derogate from his eternal and abſolute power and providence, to aſcribe to them the ſame dominion over our immortal ſouls, which they have over all bodily ſubſtances, and periſhable natures: for the ſouls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it ſelf, whereof the ſun's clarity, and that of the ſtars, is by *Plato* called but a ſhadow, [c] *Lumen eſt umbra Dei, & Deus eſt lumen luminis*; Light is the ſhadow of God's brightneſs, who is the light of light: But to end this queſtion, becauſe this deſtiny, together with providence, preſcience, and predeſtination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not obſerved it, though all learned men have.

SECT. XII.

Of PRESCIENCE.

PReſcience, or foreknowledge (which the *Greeks* call *Prognoſis*, the *Latins Præcognitio*, or *Præſcientia*) conſidered in order and nature (if we may ſpeak of God after the manner of men) goeth before providence: for God foreknew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and preſcience is no other than an infallible foreknowledge. For whatſoever our ſelves foreknow, except the ſame be to ſucceed accordingly, it cannot be true that we foreknow it. But this preſcience of God (as it is preſcience only) is not the cauſe of any thing futurely ſucceeding: neither doth God's foreknowledge impoſe any neceſſity, or bind. For in that we foreknow that the ſun will riſe, and ſet; that all men born in the world ſhall die again; that after the winter the ſpring ſhall come; after the ſpring, ſummer, and harveſt; and that according to the ſeveral ſeeds that we ſow, we ſhall reap ſeveral ſorts of grain, yet is not our foreknowledge the cauſe of this, or any of theſe: neither doth the knowledge in us bind or conſtrain the ſun to riſe and ſet, or men to dye; for the cauſes (as men perſuade themſelves) are otherwiſe manifeſt and known to all. *The eye of man* (ſaith [d] *Boetius) beholdeth thoſe things ſubject to ſenſe, as they are; the eye ſeeth that ſuch a beaſt is an horſe, it ſeeth men, trees, and houſes*, &c. *but our ſeeing of them (as they are) is not the cauſe of their ſo being, for ſuch they be in their own natures.* And again out of the ſame author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit neceſſitatem, quia ſi omnia evenirent ex neceſſitate, præmia bonorum, &*

[a] Matth. 6. 13. [b] John 18. 4. [c] Plat. pol. 6. Ficin. in l. 7. pol. [d] Boetius de Conſol.

pœna

pœna malorum periret; Divine providence (ſaith he) impoſeth no neceſſity upon things that are to exiſt; for if all come to paſs of neceſſity, there ſhould neither be reward of good, nor puniſhment of evil.

SECT. XIII.

Of PROVIDENCE.

NOW providence (which the *Greeks* call *Pronoia*) is an intellectual knowledge, both foreſeeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all paſt, all preſent, and all to come, but is the cauſe of their ſo being, which preſcience (ſimply taken) is not: and therefore providence by the philoſophers (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) is divided into memory, knowledge, and care: memory of the paſt, knowledge of the preſent, and care of the future: and we our ſelves account ſuch a man for provident, as, remembering things paſt, and obſerving things preſent, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times ſucceeding. That ſuch a thing there is as providence, the ſcriptures every where teach us; *Moſes* in many places, the prophets in their predictions, Chriſt himſelf and his apoſtles aſſure us hereof; and beſides the ſcriptures, *Hermes*, *Orpheus*, *Euripides*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the providence of God; yea the *Turks* themſelves are ſo confident therein, as they refuſe not to accompany and viſit each other in the moſt peſtilent diſeaſes, nor ſhun any peril whatſoever, though death therein do manifeſtly preſent it ſelf.

The places of ſcripture proving providence, are ſo many, both in general and particular, as I ſhall need to repeat but a few of them in this place: *Sing unto God* (ſaith [a] *David*) *which covereth the heavens with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh the graſs to grow upon the mountains, which giveth the beaſts their food, and feedeth the young raven that cries:* [b] *All theſe wait upon thee, that thou mayſt give them food in due ſeaſon:* [c] *and thou ſhalt drink of the river* Chereth (ſaith God to *Elijah*) *and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there.* [d] *Behold, the fowls of the air, they ſow not, nor reap, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them:* Again, [e] *Are not two ſparrows ſold for a farthing? and one of them ſhall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea, all the hairs of your head are numbred:* And St. [f] *Peter, Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his judgments are written,* ſaith [g] *David.*

God therefore, who is every where preſent, [h] *Who filleth the heavens and the earth, whoſe eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance againſt them that do evil,* was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus*, an infinite eye, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be eſteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other; for it is contrary to his own word, [i] *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*; I will not give my glory to another. No man commandeth in the king's preſence, but by the king's direction; but God is every where preſent, and king of kings. The example of God's univerſal providence is ſeen in his creatures. The father provideth for his children: beaſts and birds and all living, for their young ones. If providence be found in ſecond fathers, much more in the firſt and univerſal: and if there be a natural loving care in men, and beaſts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whoſe divine love was the beginning, and is the bond of the univerſal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium eſt principium, & vinculum univerſi* (ſaith *Plato*:) *Amor Dei eſt nobis perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile ſuſtentaculum, ac univerſæ machinæ fundamentum*; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and link or chain of the world, and the immovable pillar of every part thereof, and the baſis and foundation of the univerſal. God therefore, who could only be the cauſe of all, can only provide for all, and ſuſtain all; ſo as to abſolute power, to every where preſence, to perfect goodneſs, to pure and divine [k] love; this attribute tranſcendent hability of providence is only proper and belonging.

SECT. XIV.

Of PREDESTINATION.

NOW for predeſtination, we can difference it no otherwiſe from providence and preſcience, than in this; that preſcience only foreſeeth; providence foreſeeth and careth for, and hath reſpect to all [l] creatures, even from the brighteſt angels of heaven, to the unworthieſt worms of the earth: and predeſtination (as it is uſed, eſpecially by divines) is only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their ſalvation properly, in the common uſe of divines; or perdition, as ſome have uſed it. Yet [m] *Peter Lombard*, *Thomas*, *Bernenſis Theologus*, and others, take the word predeſtination more ſtrictly, and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of the fathers take it more largely ſometimes: among whom St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of two cities, and two ſocieties, uſeth theſe words: [n] *Quarum eſt una, quæ prædeſtinata eſt in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum ſupplicium ſubire cum diabolo*; whereof one is it, which is predeſtinated to reign for ever with God, but the other is to undergo everlaſting torment with the devil; for according to *Nonius Marcellus*, *Deſtinare, eſt præparare*; and of the ſame opinion are many proteſtant writers, as [o] *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Bucanus*, *Danæus*, and ſuch like: and as for the manifold queſtions hereof ariſing, I leave them to the divines; and why it hath pleaſed God to create ſome veſſels of honour, and ſome of diſhonour, I will anſwer with *Gregory*, who ſaith, [p] *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem ſuam conſiderans, cur non videat, rationem videt*; He that ſeeth no reaſon in the actions of God, by conſideration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reaſon of his blindneſs. And again with St. [q] *Auguſtine*, *Occulta eſſe cauſa poteſt, injuſta eſſe non poteſt*; Hidden the cauſe of his predeſtination may be, unjuſt it cannot be.

SECT. XV.

Of fortune: and of the reaſon of ſome things that ſeem to be by fortune, and againſt reaſon and providence.

LAſtly, ſeeing deſtiny or neceſſity is ſubſequent to God's providence, and ſeeing that the ſtars have no other dominion, than is before ſpoken, and that nature is nothing, but, as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificioſum Dei organum*; The art, or artificial organ of God: And *Cuſanus*, *divini præcepti inſtrumentum*; The inſtrument of the divine precept: we may then with better reaſon reject that kind of idolatry, or God of fools, called, *fortune* or *chance*; a goddeſs, the moſt reverenced, and the moſt reviled of all other, but not ancient: for *Homer* maketh her the daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pauſanias* witneſſeth in his *Meſſeniacks*. The *Greeks* call

[a] Pſ. 147. 8, 9. [b] Pſ. 104. 27. & 145. 15. [c] 1 Reg. 17. 4. [d] Matth. 6. 26. [e] Luke 12. 6, 7. [f] 1 Pet. 5. 7. [g] Pſ. 36. 6. [h] Jer. 23. 24. [i] Eſay 42. 8. [k] 1 John 4. 1. *God is love.* [l] Rom. 8. & 9. [m] Lomb. l. 1. diſt. 39. Thom. part. 1. diſt. 23. Bern. de Probl. de p. d. [n] Aug. l. 15. c. 1. de Civ. Dei. [o] Cal. in c. 9. ad Rom. v. 11. Bez. in magn. annot. in c. 9. ad Rom. Danæus l. 3. de Salut. [p] Greg. Mag. Job 9. [q] Aug. ad Polin. ep. 59.

call her τυχὴν, ſignifying a relative being, or beſtiding, ſo as before *Homer*'s time this great lady was ſcarce heard of; and *Heſiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all theſe counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*; yet afterwards ſhe grew ſo great and omnipotent, as from kings and kingdoms, to beggars and cottages, ſhe ordered all things, reſiſting the wiſdom of the wiſeſt, by making the poſſeſſor thereof miſerable; valuing the folly of the moſt fooliſh, by making their ſucceſs proſperous: inſomuch as the actions of men were ſaid to be but the ſports of fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens lives, but her paſtimes: of which [a] *Palladius*, *Vita hominum ludus fortunæ eſt*; The life of man is the play of fortune: and becauſe it often falleth out, that enterpriſes guided by ill counſels, have equal ſucceſs to thoſe by the beſt judgment conducted, therefore had fortune the ſame external figure with ſapience; whereof *Athenæus*:

Longiſſime a ſapientia fors diſſidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen ſimillima:
From wiſdom fortune differs far,
And yet in works moſt like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly underſtood) is nothing elſe but a power imaginary, to which the ſucceſs of human actions and endeavours were for their variety aſcribed; for when a manifeſt cauſe could not be given, then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cauſe of thoſe things, of which moſt men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of *Plato*, *Nihil eſt ortum ſub ſole, cujus cauſa legitima non præceſſerit*; Nothing ever came to paſs under the ſun, of which there was not a juſt preceding cauſe. But *Aquinas* hath herein anſwered in one diſtinction, whatſoever may be objected; for many things there are (ſaith he) which happen, beſides the intention of the inferior, but not beſides the intention of the ſuperior; *Præter intentionem inferioris, ſed non præter intentionem ſuperioris* (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (ſaith [b] *Melanchton*) *Quod poetæ fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; whom the poets call fortune, we know to be God. And that this is true, the ſcripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of murther, [c] *He that ſmiteth a man, and he die, ſhall die the death; and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he ſhall flee.* Now, where the ſcripture hath theſe words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we ſay, if he hurt him by chance: and in [d] *Deuteronomy*, where the ſlipping the ax from the helve, whereby another is ſlain, was the work of God himſelf; we in our phraſe attribute this accident, to chance or fortune: and in [e] *Proverbs*, *The lot is caſt into the lap, but the whole diſpoſition thereof is of the Lord*: ſo as that which ſeemeth moſt caſual and ſubject to fortune, is yet diſpoſed by the ordnance of God, as all things elſe; and hereof the wiſer ſort, and the beſt learned of the philoſophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witneſſeth for them, gathering the opinion of *Ariſtotle* and his ſectators, with thoſe of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, that the ſame power which they called *Animam mundi*, the ſoul of the world, was no other than that incomprehenſible wiſdom, which we expreſs by the name of God, governing every being as well in heaven as in earth; to which wiſdom and power they ſometime gave the title of neceſſity or [f] fate, becauſe it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: ſometime, the ſtyle of fortune, becauſe of many effects there appear unto us no certain cauſes. To this effect ſpeaketh St. *Auguſtine* in his queſtions upon *Geneſis* the firſt book: the ſame hath *Seneca* in his 4th of *Benefits*; which was alſo the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which ſect he was: [g] *For whatſoever* (ſaith he) *thou calleſt God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the ſame, differenced by divers terms, according as he uſeth, and exerciſeth his power diverſly.*

But it may be objected, that if fortune and chance were not ſometimes the cauſes of good and evil in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expreſs ſucceſs; how comes it then, that ſo many worthy and wiſe men depend upon ſo many unworthy and empty-headed fools? That riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and ſo many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected eſtates? In a word, there is no other inferiour, or apparent cauſe, beſide the partiality of man's affection, but the faſhioning and not faſhioning of our ſelves according to the nature of the time wherein we live: for whoſoever is moſt able, and beſt ſufficient to diſcern, and hath withal an honeſt and open heart and loving truth: if princes, or thoſe that govern, endure no other diſcourſe than their own flatteries: then, I ſay, ſuch an one, whoſe virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be baſe and a diſſembler, ſhall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deſerving well and receiving ill, we always falſly charge fortune withal. For whoſoever ſhall tell any great man or magiſtrate, that he is not juſt; the general of an army, that he is not valiant; and great ladies, that they are not fair; ſhall never be a counſeller, a captain, or a courtier. Neither is it ſufficient to be wiſe with a wiſe prince, valiant with a valiant, and juſt with him that is juſt, for ſuch a one hath no eſtate in his proſperity; but he muſt alſo change with the ſucceſſor, if he be of contrary qualities; ſail with the tide of the time, and alter form and condition, as the eſtate or the eſtate's maſter changeth: otherwiſe how were it poſſible, that the moſt baſe men, and ſeparate from all imitable qualities, could ſo often attain to honour and riches, but by ſuch an obſervant ſlaviſh courſe? Theſe men having nothing elſe to value themſelves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their duſty actions cryſtalline, have yet in all ages proſpered equally with the moſt virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to *Menander*, *Omnis inſipiens arrogantia & plauſibus capitur*; Every fool is won with his own pride, and others flattering applauſe: So as whoſoever will live altogether out of himſelf, and ſtudy other mens humours, and obſerve them, ſhall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the ſeaſon wherein he liveth be of all theſe, and of all ſorts of goodneſs, fruitful) ſhall never proſper by the poſſeſſion or profeſſion thereof. It is alſo a token of a worldly wiſe man, not to war or contend in vain againſt the nature of times wherein he liveth: for ſuch a one is often the author of his own miſery; but beſt it were to follow the advice, which the pope gave the biſhops of that age, out of *Ovid*, while the *Arian* hereſy raged:

[h] *Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori.*
While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man fury's gallop ſtay.

[a] Sen. ep. 91. Aur. vict. de Pertinace, Sen. ep. 74. Demetrius Poliorcetes, *in the great and often changes of his fortune, is ſaid to have uſed to cry out upon Fortune, applying to her a verſe of* Æſchylus: Tu me extuliſti, eadem me is (ſentio) perditum. [b] Te facimus fortuna Deam, cœloque locamus, Sat. 10. 366. [c] Exod. 21. 12, 13. [d] Deut. 19. 5. [e] Prov. 16. 33. [f] Cic. ac. quæſt. An. l. 1. [g] Senec. l. 4. c. 7. [h] Ovid. Met. l. 1.

And if *Cicero* (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed judgment) had followed the counſel of his brother *Quintus*, *Potuiſſet* (ſaith *Petrarch*) *in lectulo ſuo mori, potuiſſet integro cadavere ſepeliri*; He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an untorn and undiſſevered body buried; for, as, *Petrarch* in the ſame place noteth, *Quid ſtultius quam deſperantem (præſertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari?* What more fooliſh than for him that deſpairs (eſpecially of the effect) to be entangled with endleſs contentions? Whoſoever therefore will ſet before him *Machiavel*'s *two marks to ſhoot at* (to wit, riches, and glory, muſt ſet on and take off a back of iron to a weak wooden bow, that it may fit both the ſtrong and the feeble; for as he, that firſt deviſed to add ſails to rowing veſſels, did either ſo proportion them as being faſtened aloft, and towards the head of his maſt, he might abide all winds and ſtorms, or elſe he ſometime or other periſhed by his own invention: ſo that man which prizeth virtue for itſelf, and cannot endure to hoiſe and ſtrike his ſails, as the divers natures of calms and ſtorms require, muſt cut his ſails and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himſelf with a ſlow and ſure navigation (to wit) a mean and free eſtate. But of this diſpute of fortune, and the reſt, or of whatſoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or cauſes, the wit (or rather fooliſhneſs) of man hath found out: let us reſolve with St. *Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is [a] *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diverſities of operations, but God is the ſame, which worketh all in all.

[a] 1 Cor. 8. 6. 12. 6.

CHAP. II.

Of Man's eſtate in his firſt Creation, and of God's reſt.

SECT. I.

Of the image of God, according to which man was firſt created.

THE creation of all other creatures being finiſhed, the heavens adorned, and the earth repleniſhed, God ſaid, [a] *Let us make man in our own image, according to our likeneſs.*

Man is the laſt and moſt admirable of God's works to us known: [b] *Ingens miraculum homo*; Man is the greateſt wonder (ſaith *Plato* out of *Mercurius*:) *Naturæ ardentiſſimæ artificium*; The artificial work of the moſt ardent or fire-like nature (as ſaith *Zoroaſter*;) though the ſame be meant, not for any excellency external, but in reſpect of his internal form, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, becauſe it hath an eſſence, immortal and ſpiritual in qualities, becauſe the ſame was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, becauſe man was made lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

[c] *Sanctius his animal, mentiſque capacius altæ,*
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera poſſet:
Natus homo eſt.

More holy than the reſt, and underſtanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before,
So man began to be.

Of this image and ſimilitude of God, there is much diſpute among the fathers, ſchoolmen, and late writers: ſome of the fathers conceive, that man was made after the image of God, in reſpect chiefly of empire and dominion, as St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, and ſome others: which St. *Ambroſe* denieth to the woman in theſe words, *Ut ſicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus*; *& quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus eſſet ſuper faciem totius terræ: unus igitur unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem*; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewiſe of one man the whole kind ſhould be upon the face of the whole earth: therefore he being one, made one, that ſhould have the image of his unity. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the ſame verſe, that man was after the image of God in reſpect of rule and power; it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number; *and let them rule over the fiſh in the ſea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that man is ſaid to be after the image of God in reſpect of his immortal ſoul only: becauſe as God is inviſible, ſo the ſoul of man is inviſible; as God is immortal and incorporal, ſo is the ſoul of man immortal and incorporal; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, ſo but one ſoul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, ſo is the ſoul of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*; The ſoul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof, according to *Ariſtotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men, deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwiſe than potentially true, all the *Ariſtotelians* in the world ſhall never prove. Theſe and the like arguments do the *Jews* make (ſaith *Toſtatus*) and theſe reſemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite man.

The ſchool-men reſemble the mind or ſoul of man to God, in this reſpect eſpecially; becauſe that as in the mind there are three diſtinct powers, or faculties (to wit) memory, underſtanding, and will; and yet all theſe being of real differences, are but one mind: ſo in God there are three diſtinct perſons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and yet but one God. They alſo make the image and ſimilitude divers; and again, they diſtinguiſh between *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*; and ſpin into ſmall threds with ſubtile diſtinctions many times the plainneſs and ſincerity of the ſcriptures: their wits being like that ſtrong water, that eateth thro' and diſſolveth the pureſt gold. *Victorinus* alſo maketh the image of God to be ſubſtantial, but not the ſimilitude: *Sed in ſubſtantia nomen qualitatis declarativum*; A word declaring quality in the ſubſtance. Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the image and ſimilitude do greatly differ, ſo the ſinful ſoul doth not therefore leave to be the image of God; but it hath not his ſimilitude, except it be holy and righteous. St. *Auguſtine* alſo againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth,

[a] Gen. 1. 26. [b] Triſ. Aſel. 2. & de volunt. Dei. Plat. leg. l. 1. [c] Sanctum, quia pars potior immortalis; animal, quia in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met. l. 1. 76.

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that by ſin, the perfection of this image is loſt in man; and in his retractions maintaineth the ſame opinion, and alſo affirmeth that the ſimilitude is more largely taken, than the image.

But howſoever the ſchool-men and others diſtinguiſh, or whatſoever the fathers conceive; ſure I am, that St. *Paul* maketh the ſame ſenſe of the image, which *Victorinus* doth of the ſimilitude, who ſaith, [a] *As we have borne the image of the earthly, ſo ſhall we bear the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the ſcriptures, that the words *image* and *ſimilitude* were uſed but in one ſenſe, and in this place the better to expreſs each other; whatſoever *Lombard* hath ſaid to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himſelf in the ſcriptures, which neither *Moſes*, the *Prophets*, or *Apoſtles*, ever conceived. Now as St. *Paul* uſeth the word (image) for both: ſo St. *James* uſeth the word (ſimilitude) for both, in theſe words: [b] *Therewith bleſs we God even the Father, and therewith curſe we men, which are made after the ſimilitude of God.* Howſoever therefore St. *Auguſtine* ſeemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make ſome difference: as where he writeth, [c] *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, ſimilitudinem in moribus inveniri*; We confeſs that this image is found in eternity, but his ſimilitude in manners, that is, in the ſpiritual diſpoſitions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elſewere ſpeaketh plainly: [d] *Quaſi vero poſſit eſſe imago aliqua, in qua ſimilitudo non ſit: ſi enim omnino ſimilis non eſt, proculdubio nec imago eſt*; As if (ſays he) there could be any image, where the ſimilitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeneſs, there is no image. The very words of the text make this moſt manifeſt, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeneſs*; which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us: and in the next verſe following, God himſelf maketh it plain; for there he uſeth the word (image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all diſpute or ambiguity, in the firſt verſe of the fifth chapter, the word (ſimilitude) is uſed again by it ſelf, as, *In the day that God created* Adam, *in the likeneſs of God made he him.* And this ſimilitude [e] St. *Paul*, calleth the image; *Put on* (ſaith he) *the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image.* Now if we may believe St. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other ſchool-men, then it is as manifeſt as words can make it, that the image and ſimilitude is but the ſame; for St. *Paul* uſeth both the words directly in one ſenſe. [f] *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the ſimilitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

Zanchius laboureth to prove, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and mind: [g] *Nulla pars in homine, quæ non fuerit hujuſce imaginis particeps*; No part in a man (ſaith he) which was not participating God's image; for God ſaid, *Let us make man according to our own image.* But the ſoul alone is not man, but the *Hypoſtaſis* or whole man compounded of body and ſoul. *The body of man* (ſaith he) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcoſmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was firſt in God, ſo that man, according to his body, muſt needs be the image of God. Againſt which opinion of this learned man, his own objection ſeemeth to me ſufficient, where he alledgeth that it may be ſaid, that *Moſes* ſpake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body only: ſo when God ſaid, *Let us make man after our image*, he meant the ſoul of man, and not the body of earth and duſt: [h] *Maledictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*;) Curſed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of man's body: *Deus enim non eſt humanæ formæ particeps, neque corpus humanum divinæ* (ſaith *Philo*;) God is not partaker of human form, nor human body of the form divine. The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tſelem*, which ſignifieth a ſhadow or obſcure reſemblance: *In imagine pertranſit homo*; Man paſſeth away in ſhadow: Let us then know and conſider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily ſhape or compoſition, for it is both againſt his nature and his word; an error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, againſt the very eſſence and majeſty of God.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine underſtanding than theſe groſs Hereticks: *Ad ſimilitudinem Dei propius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura*; The virtue which is in man (ſaith he) came nearer the ſimilitude of God than the figure. For God is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, inviſible, and moſt ſimple; God is a juſt God, God is merciful, God is charity it ſelf, and (in a word) goodneſs it ſelf, and none elſe ſimply good. And thus much it hath pleaſed God himſelf to teach us, and to make us known of himſelf. What then can be the ſhadow of ſuch a ſubſtance, the image of ſuch a nature, or wherein can man be ſaid to reſemble his unexcogitable power and perfectneſs? Certainly, not in [i] dominion alone; for the devil is ſaid to be the prince of this world, and the [k] kingdom of Chriſt was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father: neither becauſe man hath an immortal ſoul, and therein the faculties of memory, underſtanding, and will; for the devils are alſo immortal, and participate thoſe faculties, being called [l] *dæmones*, becauſe *ſcientes* of knowledge and ſubtilty: neither becauſe we are reaſonable creatures, by which we are diſtinguiſhed from beaſts: for who have rebelled againſt God? who have made gods of the vileſt beaſts, of ſerpents, of cats, of owls, yea, even of ſhameful parts, of luſts and pleaſures, but reaſonable men? Yet do I not condemn the opinion of St. [m] *Chryſoſtom* and *Ambroſe*, as touching dominion, but that, in reſpect thereof, man was in ſome ſort after the image of God, if we take dominion, ſuch as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with juſtice and piety; for God did not only make man a ruler and governor over the fiſhes of the ſea, the fowls of heaven (or of the air) and over the beaſts of the field; but God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed kings to govern them, and judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude reaſon, as it is the ability of underſtanding. For I do not conceive, that *Irenæus* did therefore call man, the image of God, becauſe he was *animal rationale* only; but that he underſtood it better, with *Sybilla*; *Imago mea eſt homo, rectam rationem habens*; Man that is endued with right reaſon is ſaid to reſemble God (that is) by right reaſon to know and confeſs God his Creator, and the ſame God to ſerve, love, and obey; and therefore ſaid St. *Auguſtine* (who herein came nearer the truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem ſuam in mente*; God made man in reſpect of the intellect after his own image and ſimilitude; and

[a] 1 Cor. 15. 49. [b] Jam. 3. 9. [c] Ut ſupra. [d] Aug. ut ſupra. [e] Coloſſ. 3. 10. [f] Rom. 1. 23. [g] Zanch. de oper. Dei, l. 3. c. 1. [h] In Gen. [i] Eph. 6. 12. [k] John 18. 36. [l] Plat. in. Cratol. [m] Oſorius de Juſt. l. 5.

Reynerius,

[a] *Reynerius, Homo, quod habet mentem, factus eſt ad imaginem Dei*; Man was made after the image of God, in mind, *or*, in that he hath a mind.

SECT. II.

Of the intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the image of God; and that this image is much deformed by ſin.

BUT *mens* is not taken here for *anima phyſica*, according to *Ariſtotle*, which is, *forma vel natura hominis*; The form or nature of man; but this faculty or gift of God, called *mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*, the principal ſtrength of the mind, [or ſoul] *cujus actus eſt perepetua veritatis contemplatio*; whoſe act [exerciſe, or office] is the perpetual contemplation of truth; and therefore it is alſo called [b] *intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplativus, & anima contemplativa*; A divine underſtanding, and an intellect or mind contemplative. [c] *Eſt autem mens noſtra* (ſaith *Cuſanus*) *vis comprehendendi; & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compoſitum*; Our intellectual mind (ſaith he) is a power of comprehending; even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehenſion: unto which *Mercurius* attributeth ſo much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he eſteemeth it to be the very eſſence of God (which was alſo the error of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwiſe ſeparate from God (ſaith he) than the light from the ſun: for this *mens*, or underſtanding (ſaith *Mercurius*) [d] *eſt Deus in hominibus*; Is God in men; or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the ſun is not of the ſame eſſence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; ſo is this *mens* or underſtanding in men, not of the eſſence of God's infinite underſtanding, but a power and faculty of our ſouls the pureſt; or, the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternal light illightned. And this *mens* others call *animam animæ*, the ſoul of the ſoul; or, with St. *Auguſtine*, the eye of the ſoul, or receptacle of ſapience and divine knowledge, *Quæ amorem ſapientiæ tanquam ducem ſequitur*; Which followeth after the love of ſapience as her guide (ſaith *Philo*;) between which and reaſon; between which and the mind, called *anima*; between which and that power which the *Latins* call *animus*, there is this difference: reaſon, is that faculty by which we judge and diſcourſe; *anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is ſaid, *Anima corpus animat, id eſt, vivificat*; [or] The ſoul is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life; for death is the ſeparation of body and ſoul: and the ſame ſtrength (ſaith *Philo*) which God the great director hath in the world, the ſame hath this *anima*, or mind, or, ſoul in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Baſil* agreeth, which calleth this *mens*, or divine underſtanding, *Perſpicacem animæ partem*; The perceiving part of the mind, or, the light by which the ſoul diſcerneth: *Dormientium mens, non anima, ſopitur; & in furioſis mens extinguitur, anima manet*: In men that ſleep it is this (*mens*, or) underſtanding, and not the mind or ſoul, which reſteth, during which time it is but habitual in wiſe men, *and in mad men this* (mens) *is extinguiſhed, and not the ſoul*; for mad men do live, though diſtract.

Therefore this word being often uſed for the ſoul giving life, is attributed abuſively to mad men, when we ſay that they are of a diſtract mind, inſtead of a broken underſtanding: which word (mind) we uſe alſo for opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and ſometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, he is of an honeſt mind, or, a man of a juſt mind: ſometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's ſake: and *Ariſtotle* ſometimes uſeth this word (*mens*) for the phantaſy, which is the ſtrength of the imagination: ſometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without diſcourſe: oftentimes for ſpirits, angels, and intelligences: but as it is uſed in the proper ſignification, including both the underſtanding agent and poſſible, it is deſcribed to be a pure, ſimple, ſubſtantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his firſt object: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the ſoul, whereby it doth underſtand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from paſſion coming from without, and apt to be diſſevered, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*; *Anima eſt imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præeſt, mens animæ, anima corpori*; The ſoul (meaning that which giveth life) is the image of this underſtanding, or *mens*; and this (*mens*) or underſtanding is the image of God. God is preſident or ruler over this underſtanding, this underſtanding over the ſoul, and this ſoul over the body. This diviſion and diſtinction out of the *Platonics*, and *Peripateticks*, I leave to the reader to judge of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, [e] *Marſilius Ficinus* in his 9th book of the ſoul's immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (ſaith he) [f] *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam, non eget mens organo; tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem objectum ſunt phantaſmata, ſeu rerum a ſenſibus perceptarum ſimulachra ad phantaſiam prolata*: To exerciſe the faculty of underſtand, the mind of man (ſaith he) needeth no inſtrument, as a mean, by which it may underſtand: but it needeth an object, whereon to look, and whence to conceive the act of underſtanding. This object are the phantaſms, or the reſemblances of things received from the ſenſe, and carried to the phantaſy. But in effect, this concluſion ſeemeth to carry a contrary ſenſe, when he maketh the phantaſy, in repreſenting the object to the underſtanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be underſtood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the underſtanding. And he addeth, that the reſemblance of things in man's imagination, are, to his underſtanding and mind, as colours are to the ſight; whence it ſo followeth, that the imagination or phantaſy it ſelf is to the faculty of underſtanding, as the eye is to the faculty of ſeeing: and as this is an *Organum*, ſo that. Of this queſtion, how the mind in all her actions maketh uſe of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the reader to a moſt grave and learned diſcourſe in the laſt reply of M. D. [g] *Bilſon*, late biſhop of *Wincheſter*, unto *Hen. Jacob*. Howſoever the truth be determined, we muſt conclude, that it is neither in reſpect of reaſon alone, by which we diſcourſe, nor in reſpect of the mind it ſelf, by which we live, nor in reſpect of our ſouls ſimply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the image of God. But moſt ſafely may we reſemble our ſelves to God *in mente*, and in reſpect of that pure faculty, which is never ſeparate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; for St. *Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the mind or ſoul, and be-

[a] Reyn. de ment. [b] Pœmand. [c] De mente, Idiot. l. 3. [d] Sen. ep. 65. f. & 31. f. [e] Lib. 9. c. 5. [f] Zanch. de oper. Dei, par. 3. l. 1. c. 2. [g] Page 185. & ſequent. Ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, id eſt, ſapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui ipſe intuitus creatorem agnoſceret ſuum; atque imitari, proque ingenii, proque auctoritatis, ſibi conceſſæ ratione, ſtuderet. Exam.

tween the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the image of God: whose words are these, *Non propterea imago Dei est, quia sui meminit mens, seque intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of St. *Augustine*;) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere, ac diligere eum a quo facta est*, (that is) The mind (or *mens*) was not therefore the image of God, because it remembreth, understandeth, and loveth it self; but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it. And that this image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Basil*; *Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiæ affectibus immersit:* Man was made after the image and similitude of God, but sin hath deformed the beauty of this image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscence.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of immortality, nor in reason, nor in dominion, nor in any one of these by it self, nor in all these joyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the soul, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of original righteousness, most perfectly infused by God into the mind and soul of man in his first creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the seal of God's image (though reason may be said to be of her gift, which, joined to the soul, is a part of the essential constitution of our proper *species*) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodness, who breathed life into earth, and contrived within the trunk of dust and clay, the inimitable hability of his own piety and righteousness.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which dominion hath) do those that are powerful retain the image of God, as according to his commandments they exercise the office or magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walk in the ways of God, which in the scriptures is called, [a] *walking with God*; and all other men so long retain this image, as they fear, love, and serve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate sins. For the unjust mind cannot be after the image of God, seeing God is justice it self; the blood-thirsty hath it not, for God is charity and mercy it self; falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soul, together with God: and to be short, there is no likelihood between pure [b] light and black darkness, between beauty and deformity, or between righteousness and reprobation. And though nature, according to common understanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this image of God's goodness, which the sensual souls of beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude naturally more inclinable to follow and embrace the false and dureless pleasures of this stage-play world, than to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of God's wisdom, and the liberality of his mercy, formed eyes to our souls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest heavens, and thence bring knowledge and object to the mind and soul, to contemplate the ever-during glory, and termless joy, prepared for those which retain the image and similitude of their Creator, preserving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the image of God, is created in righteousness, and holiness, as saith [c] St. *Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by some of the fathers, as by St. *Augustine*, with whom [d] St. *Ambrose* joyneth, that by sin, the perfection of the image is lost, and not the image it self: both opinions by this distinction may be reconciled (to wit) that the image of God, in man, may be taken two ways; for, either it is considered according to natural gifts, and consisteth therein; namely, to have a reasonable and understanding nature, *&c.* and in this sense, the image of God is more lost by sin than the very reasonable or understanding nature, *&c.* is lost (or sin doth not abolish and take away these natural gifts:) or, the image of God is considered, according to supernatural gifts, namely, of divine grace and heavenly glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the natural image; and this manner of similitude and image of God is wholly blotted out, and destroyed by sin.

SECT. III.

Of our base and frail bodies: and that the care thereof should yield to the immortal soul.

THE external man God formed out of the dust of the earth, or (according to the signification of the word, *Adam*) of *Adamath*, of red earth, or *ex limo terræ*, out of the slime of the earth, or a mixed matter of earth and water. [e] *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id est) ex pinguissima & mollissima:* Not that God made an image or statue of clay, but out of clay, earth, or dust, God formed and made flesh, blood, and bone, with all parts of man.

That man was formed of earth and dust did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble fear he called unto God, to save *Sodom*: [f] *Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speak, I that am but dust and ashes:* And, *In these houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, do our souls inhabit*, according to *Job*. And though our own eyes do every where behold the sudden and resistless assaults of death, and nature assureth us by never-failing experience, and reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our bodies are but the anvils of pain and diseases, and our minds the hives of unnumbred cares, sorrows, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which envy and fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappiness of our condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our understanding, that we only prize, pamper, and exalt this vassal and slave of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast away leisure) the imprisoned immortal soul, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous men: seeing God's justice in the one, and his goodness in the other, is exercised for evermore, as the ever-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great account? never while we have one vanity left us to spend: we plead for titles, till our breath fail us; dig for riches, while our strength enableth us; exercise malice, while we can revenge; and then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature it self hateth the house of old age, we remember with [g] *Job*, that

[a] Gen. 5. 22. [b] 2 Cor. 6. 14. [c] 2 Cor. 3. 9. [d] St. Ambrose. [e] Arias Mont. de nat. f. 156. [f] Gen. 18. 27. [g] Job 4. 19. [h] Job 10. 21. & 17. 13.

we muſt go the way from whence we ſhall not return, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark; and then, I ſay, looking over-late into the bottom of our conſcience (which pleaſure and ambition had locked up from us all our lives) we behold therein the fearful images of our actions paſt, and withal this terrible inſcription: [a] *That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the ſun.*

But what examples have ever moved us? what perſuaſions reformed us? or what threatnings made us afraid? we behold other mens tragedies play'd before us, we hear what is promiſed and threatened: but the world's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds; and theſe betraying lights (with which we only ſee) do neither look up towards termleſs joys, nor down towards endleſs ſorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing elſe, at the world's hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

Nil boſtes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc ſumus, iiſque periclis
Tentati; nihilo meliores reddimur unquam,
Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diſeaſes, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought,
What erſt we were, we are; ſtill in the ſame ſnare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In vice we dwell, in ſin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal ſouls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, caſting our hopes on the peace, which we truſt to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious preſumption, and (that which is the worſt of all) even a contemptuous laughing to ſcorn, and deriding of God, his laws and precepts. [b] *Fruſtra ſperant, qui ſic de miſericordia Dei ſibi blandiuntur*; They hope in vain, ſaith *Bernard*, which in this ſort flatter themſelves with God's mercy.

SECT. IV.

Of the ſpirit of life, which God breathed into man in his creation.

IN this frame and carcaſs God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living ſoul: (that is) God gave a body of earth and of corruptible matter, a ſoul ſpiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any ſuch bodily inſtruments as men uſe, but God breathed the ſpirit of life and immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into ſuch as love and fear him. [c] *The ſpirit of God* (ſaith *Elihu* in *Job*) *hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life: In qua ſententia* (ſaith *Rabanus*) *vitanda eſt paupertas ſenſus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formaſſe corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labiis ſuis inſpiraſſe in faciem formati, ut vivere poſſit & ſpiraculum vitæ habere: nam & propheta cum ait, manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quam propria (id eſt, juxta conſuetudinem, qua ſolent homines operari) locutus eſt:* In which ſentence (ſaith he) the beggarlineſs of carnal ſenſe is to be avoided, leſt perhaps we ſhould think, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of ſlime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might live, and have the ſpirit of life: for the prophet alſo when he ſaith, thy hands have made me, ſpake this tropically, rather than properly (that is) according to the cuſtom which men uſe in working. *Quantum eſt periculi his, qui ſcripturas ſenſu corporeo legunt?* In what danger are they that read the ſcriptures in a carnal ſenſe? By this breath was infuſed into man, both life and ſoul, and therefore this (ſoul) the philoſophers call *Animam, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat*; Which doth animate and give life to the body. *The inſpiration of the Almighty giveth underſtanding*, ſaith *Job*, and this ſpirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reaſonable ſoul of man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the earth, out of which it was taken; according to *Eccleſiaſtes*: [d] *And duſt ſhall return to the earth, out of which it was taken, and the ſpirit ſhall return to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (ſpirit) uſually otherwiſe taken in the ſcriptures, than for the ſoul; as when *Stephen* cried unto God: [e] *Domine, ſuſcipe ſpiritum meum, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit:* and in St. *John*, [f] *And Jeſus bowed his head, and gave up the ghoſt*, or ſpirit; (which was) that his life and ſoul left his body dead. And that the immortal ſoul of man differeth from the ſouls of beaſts, the manner of creation maketh it manifeſt: for it is written, [g] *Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beaſt of the earth*, &c. But of man it is written, *Let us make man in our own image*, &c. and further, that [h] *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the water and earth were thoſe creatures brought forth, and thence received life; ſo ſhall they again be diſſolved into the ſame firſt matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlaſting, which God breathed into man, ſhall, according to *Eccleſiaſtes*, [i] *return again to God that gave it.*

SECT. V.

That man is (as it were) a little world: with a digreſſion touching our mortality.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abſtract or model, or brief ſtory of the univerſal: in whom God concluded the creation, and work of the world, and whom he made the laſt and moſt excellent of his creatures, being internally endued with a divine underſtanding, by which he might contemplate and ſerve his Creator, after whoſe image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reaſon and other abilities, that thereby alſo he might govern and rule the world, and all other God's creatures therein. And whereas God created three ſorts of living natures (to wit) angelical, rational, and brutal; giving to angels an intellectual, and to beaſts a ſenſual nature, he vouchſafed unto man, both the [k] intellectual of angels, the ſenſitive of beaſts, and the proper rational belonging unto man, and therefore (ſaith *Gregory Nazianzene*) [l] *Homo eſt utriuſque naturæ vinculum*; Man is the bond and chain which tyeth together both natures: and becauſe in the little frame of man's body there is a repreſentation of the univerſal, and (by alluſion) a kind of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcoſmos*, or the little world. [m] *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque exiguo totum, in terris ſtatuit*; God therefore placed in the earth the man whom he had made, as it were another world, the great and large world in the ſmall and little world; for out of the earth and duſt was formed the fleſh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpiſh; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard

[a] Eccl. 12. 14. [b] Bern. in Pſ. qui habitat. [c] Job 33. 4. [d] Eccl. 12. 7. [e] Acts 7. 59. [f] John 9. 30. [g] Gen. 1. 20, 24, 26. [h] Gen. 2. 7. [i] Eccl. 12. 7. [k] Ar. Phyſ. l. 8. c. 2. l. 17. f. [l] Greg. Naz. Epiſt. Omnis in homine creatura, & cœlum & terra. [m] Aug. l. qu. 83. 4. 67. retr. l. 1. c. 2.

rocks

rocks and ſtones, and therefore ſtrong and durable; of which *Ovid:*

[a] *Inde genus durum ſumus, experienſque laborum,*
Et documenta damus qua ſimus origine nati:

From thence our kind hard-hearted is,
Enduring pain and care,
Approving that our bodies of
A ſtony nature are.

His blood, which diſperſeth it ſelf by the branches of veins through all the body, may be reſembled to thoſe waters, which are carried by brooks and rivers over all the earth; his breath to the air, his natural heat to the incloſed warmth which the earth hath in it ſelf, which, ſtirred up by the heat of the ſun, aſſiſteth nature in the ſpeedier procreation of thoſe varieties, which the earth bringeth forth; Our radical moiſture, oyl, or balſamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is reſembled to the fat and fertility of the earth; the hairs of man's body, which adorns, or overſhadows it, to the graſs, which covereth the upper face and ſkin of the earth; our generative power, to nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light wandring, and unſtable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes, to the light of the ſun and moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the ſpring, which, either in a very ſhort time, or with the ſun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the ſtalks; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure underſtanding (formerly called *mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to thoſe intellectual natures, which are always preſent with God; and laſtly, our immortal ſouls (while they are righteous) are by God himſelf beautified with the title of his own image and ſimilitude. And although, in reſpect of God, there is no man juſt, or good, or righteous (for, [b] *In angelis deprehenſa eſt ſtultitia*, Behold, He found folly in his Angels, ſaith *Job*;) yet, with ſuch a kind of difference, as there is between the ſubſtance and the ſhadow, there may be found a goodneſs in man: which God being pleaſed to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and ſimilitude of his own righteouſneſs. In this alſo is the little world of man compared, and made more like the univerſal (man being the meaſure of all things; [c] *Homo eſt menſura omnium rerum*, ſaith *Ariſtotle* and *Pythagoras)* that the four complexions reſemble the four elements, and the ſeven ages of man the ſeven planets; whereof, our infancy is compared to the *Moon*, in which we ſeem only to live and grow, as plants; the ſecond age to *Mercury*, wherein we are taught and inſtructed; our third age to *Venus*, the days of love, deſire, and vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the ſtrong, flouriſhing, and beautiful age of man's life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we ſeek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the ſixth age is aſcribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of our ſelves, and grow to the perfection of our underſtanding; the laſt and ſeventh to *Saturn*, wherein our days are ſad, and over-caſt, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loſs which can never be repaired, that of all our vain paſſions and affections paſt, the ſorrow only abideth: Our attendants are ſickneſſes, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by ſo much the more greedily is our end deſired, whom when *time* hath made unſociable to others, we become a burthen to our ſelves: being of no other uſe, than to hold the riches we have from our ſucceſſors. In this time it is, when (as aforeſaid) we, for the moſt part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we paſs on unto with many ſighs, groans, and ſad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanſhip of death, finiſh the ſorrowful buſineſs of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both ſleeping and waking: neither have thoſe beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promiſe of entertainments; but by what crooked path ſoever we walk, the ſame leadeth on directly to the houſe of death, whoſe doors lie open at all hours; and to all perſons. For this tide of man's life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual ebb and falling ſtream, but never floweth again: our leaf once fallen, ſpringeth no more; neither doth the ſun or the ſummer adorn us again, with the garments of new leaves and flowers.

Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus ætas;
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.

To which I give this ſenſe.

The plants and trees made poor and old
By winter envious,
The ſpring-time bounteous
Covers again from ſhame and cold:
But never man repair'd again
His youth and beauty loſt,
Though art, and care, and coſt,
Do promiſe nature's help in vain.

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Soles occidere & redire poſſunt:
Nobis cum ſemel occidit brevis lux,
Nox eſt perpetua una dormienda.

The ſun may ſet and riſe:
But we contrariwiſe
Sleep after our ſhort light
One everlaſting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or reſt, in the courſe or race of man's life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academics*, the ſame might alſo perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the ſap and juice, wherein the life of plants is preſerved, both evermore aſcend or deſcend; ſo is it with the life of man, which is always either increaſing toward ripeneſs and perfection, or declining and decreaſing towards rottenneſs and diſſolution.

SECT. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his firſt creation, to diſpoſe of himſelf.

THeſe be the miſeries which our firſt parents brought on all mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconſtrained will, and on whom he beſtowed the liberal choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God ſet before him, a mortal and immortal life, a nature celeſtial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himſelf, to be his own guide, his own workman, and his own painter, that he might frame or deſcribe unto himſelf

[a] Ovid. Met. l. 1. [b] Job 4. 18. [c] Ariſt. 10. Meraph. c. 1. f.

himſelf what he pleaſed, and make election of his own form. [a] *God made man in the beginning,* (ſaith *Siracides*) *and left him in the hands of his own counſel.* Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity; whereas beaſts, and all other creatures reaſonleſs, brought with them into the world (ſaith *Lucilius*) and that even when they firſt fell from the bodies of their dams, the nature, which they could not change; and the ſupernal ſpirits or angels were from the beginning, or ſoon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforeſaid) God gave unto man all kind of ſeeds and grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of plants, the ſenſual of beaſts, the rational of man, and the intellectual of angels; whereof which ſoever he took pleaſure to plant and cultive, the ſame ſhould futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the firſt man *Adam*, and our firſt father, was enigmatically deſcribed by *Aſclepius Athenienſis* (ſaith *Miranduła*) in the perſon and fable of *Proteus*, who was ſaid, as often as he pleaſed, to change his ſhape. To the ſame end were all thoſe celebrated *Metamorphoſes* among the *Pythagoreans*, and ancient poets, wherein it was feigned, that men were transformed into divers ſhapes of beaſts, thereby to ſhew the change of mens conditions, from reaſon to brutality, from virtue to vice, from meekneſs to cruelty, and from juſtice to oppreſſion. For by the lively image of other creatures did thoſe *Ancients* repreſent the variable paſſions, and affections of mortal men; as by ſerpents were ſignified deceivers; by lyons, oppreſſors and cruel men; by ſwine, men given over to luſt and ſenſuality; by wolves, ravening and greedy men; which alſo St. *Matthew* reſembleth to falſe prophets, [d] *which come to you in ſheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves:* by the images of ſtones and ſtocks, fooliſh and ignorant men; by vipers, ungrateful men; of which [e] St. *John Baptiſt, O ye generation of vipers,* &c.

SECT. VII.

Of God's ceaſing to create any more: and of the cauſe thereof, becauſe the univerſal created was exceeding good.

IN this work of man, God finiſhed the creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore reſted: for God commanded, and it was finiſhed, *Cui voluiſſe eſt feciſſe*; With whom to will is to make, ſaith *Beda*. Neither did God ſo reſt, that he left the world made, and the creatures therein to themſelves: for [d] *My father worketh to this day* (ſaith *Chriſt*) *and I work*; but God reſted (that is) he created no new *ſpecies* or kinds of creatures, but (as aforeſaid) gave unto man a power generative, and ſo to the reſt of living creatures, to plants and flowers, their ſeeds in themſelves; and commanded man to [e] multiply and fill the earth, and the earth and ſea to bring forth creatures according to their ſeveral kinds: all which being finiſhed, God ſaw that his works were good, not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not, the beginning and end before they were; for God made every plant of the field before it was in the earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from ſo good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whoſe ſimple purity and from ſo excellent a cauſe there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberal choice, purchaſed by diſobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of man's heart, was the earth afterward curſed, and all creatures of the firſt age deſtroyed, but the righteous man *Noah* and his family, with thoſe creatures which the ark contained, reſerved by God to repleniſh the earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of PARADISE.

SECT. I.

That the ſeat of Paradiſe is greatly miſtaken: and that it is no marvel that men ſhould err.

CONcerning the firſt habitation of man, we read, that *the Lord God planted a garden eaſt-ward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made,* *Gen.* ii. 6. Of this ſeat and place of *Paradiſe*, all ages have held diſpute; and the opinions and judgments have been in effect, as divers, among thoſe, that have written upon this part of *Geneſis*, as upon any one place therein, ſeeming moſt obſcure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, without all regard of the world's geography, and without any reſpect of eaſt and weſt, or any conſideration of the place where *Moſes* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what region of the world this garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding reſpective and preciſe. Others, by being themſelves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the firſt interpretation; or truſting to their own judgments, underſtood one place for another; and one error is ſo fruitful, as it begetteth a thouſand children, if the licentiouſneſs thereof be not timely reſtrained. And thirdly, thoſe writers which gave themſelves to follow and imitate others, were in all things ſo obſervant ſectators of thoſe maſters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it ſafer to condemn their own underſtanding, than to examine theirs. For (ſaith *Vadianus* in his epiſtle of *Paradiſe*) *magnos errores, magnorum virorum auctoritate perſuaſi, tranſmittimus*; We paſs over many groſs errors, by the authority of great men led and perſwaded. And it is true, that many of the fathers were far wide from the underſtanding of this place. I ſpeak it not, that I my ſelf dare preſume to cenſure them, for I reverence both their learning and their piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided by truth: for they were men; *& humanum eſt errare.* And to the end that no man ſhould be proud of himſelf, God hath diſtributed unto men ſuch a proportion of knowledge, as the wiſeſt may behold in themſelves their own weakneſs: *Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus*; God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one. [f] St. *Paul* confeſs'd that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third heaven in the fleſh, or out of the fleſh; and Chriſt himſelf acknowledges thus much, [g] that neither men, nor angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, ſeeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to [h] St. *Jude*) who is only wiſe. *Sapientia ubi invenitur?* (ſaith *Job*) But where is wiſdom found? [i] *and where is the place of underſtanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the land of the living.* And therefore ſeeing God found folly in his angels, mens judgments (which inhabit in the houſes of clay) cannot be without their miſtakings: and ſo the fathers,

[a] Eccleſ. 15. 14. [b] Matth. 7. 15. [c] Matth. 3. 7. [d] John 5. 17. [e] Gen. 1. 28. & ver. 22. 24. [f] 2 Cor. 12. 2. [g] Matth. 24. 36. [h] Jude Ep. ver. 27. [i] Job 28. 12, 13. 4. 18.

and other learned men, excuſable in particulars, eſpecially in thoſe whereupon our ſalvation dependeth not.

SECT. II.

A recital of ſtrange opinions touching Paradiſe.

NOW touching *paradiſe*, firſt it is to be enquired, Whether there were a *paradiſe*, or no? or whether *Moſes*'s deſcription were altogether myſtical and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others, have affirmed; and that under the names of thoſe four rivers, *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, *the tree of life*, *and the tree of knowledge*, there were delivered unto us other myſteries and ſignifications; as, that by the [a] four rivers, were meant the four cardinal virtues, *Juſtice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude* and *Prudence*; or (by others) *Oil*, *Wine*, *Milk* and *Honey*. This allegorical underſtanding of *Paradiſe* by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Fran. Georgius* received (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*;) whoſe frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himſelf doth fully and learnedly anſwer, in the 34th annotation of his 5th book, *fol.* 338. the laſt edition.

[b] St. *Ambroſe* alſo leaned wholly to the allegorical conſtruction, and ſet *Paradiſe* in the third heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, *& in noſtro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our ſouls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this ſort. By the place or garden of *Paradiſe*, was meant the ſoul or mind; by *Adam*, *mens* or underſtanding; by *Eve*, the ſenſe; by the *ſerpent*, delectation; by the *tree* of good and evil, ſapience; and by the reſt of the trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence ſpringing. Notwithſtanding all which, upon 1 *Corinth. cap.* 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celeſtial and terreſtrial *Paradiſe*; the one, into which St. *Paul* was wrap'd; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chryſamenſis* was of opinion, that a *Paradiſe* had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the earth: the ſame being not only defaced, but withal the places now not ſo much as exiſting. To which *Luther* ſeemeth to adhere.

The *Manichees* alſo underſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was meant the whole earth; to which opinion *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two ſeveral places. Firſt, upon this; *Fill the earth*, *Gen.* 10. of which he gives this judgment: *Hoc ipſo etiam quod dixit*, *Replete terram*, *dominamini univerſis animantibus*, *ſubjicite terram*, *clariſſime docet*, *totam terram extantem*, *& omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus conſitam*, *ſedem & hortum illum* Adæ, *& poſteritatis futuræ fuiſſe*; Theſe words (ſaith he) in which God ſaid, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and ſubdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly ſhew, that the univerſal earth, ſet or filled with all ſorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and ſeat of *Adam*, and of his future poſterity. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the [c] *Acts*, *Apoſtolus ex uno ſanguine omne genus humanum ideo factum docet*, *ut habitarent ſuper univerſam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra paradiſus ille erat*; The apoſtle (ſaith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (ſaith he) was that *Paradiſe*. Which conjectures I will anſwer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was firſt planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar garden; which place *Goropius* findeth near the river of *Aceſines*, in the confines of *India*.

[d] *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradiſe* under the equinoctial; and *Poſtellus*, quite contrary, under the north pole: the *Chaldeans* alſo for the moſt part, and all their ſectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs; who would either make *Paradiſe* a figure, or ſacrament only, or elſe would have it ſeated out of this ſenſible world, or raiſed into ſome high and remote region of the air. *Strabus* and *Rabanus* were both ſick of this vanity, with *Origen* and *Philo*: So was our venerable [e] *Bede* and [e] *Peter Comeſtor*, and [e] *Moſes Barcephas* the *Syrian*, tranſlated by *Maſius*. But as *Hopkins* ſays of *Philo Judæus*, that he wonder'd, *Quo malo genio afflatus*, By what evil angel he was blown up into this error; ſo can I but greatly marvel at the learned men, who ſo groſly and blindly wander'd; ſeeing *Moſes*, and after him the prophets, do ſo plainly deſcribe this place by the region in which it was planted, by the kingdoms and provinces bordering it, by the rivers which water'd it, and by the points of the compaſs upon which it lay, in reſpect of *Judea*, or *Canaan*.

Noviomagus alſo upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, believeth that all the earth was taken for *Paradiſe*, and not any one place. For the whole earth (ſaith he) hath the ſame beauty aſcribed to *Paradiſe*. He addeth, that the ocean was that fountain from whence the four rivers, *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it poſſible, that theſe rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates* (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*) could riſe out of one fountain, were it not out of the fountain of the ocean.

SECT. III.

That there was a true local Paradiſe eaſtward in the country of Eden.

TO the firſt therefore, that ſuch a place there was upon the earth, the words of *Moſes* make it manifeſt, where it is written, [f] *And the Lord God planted a garden eaſtward in* Eden, *and there he put the man whom he had made:* and howſoever the vulgar tranſlation, called *Jerom*'s tranſlation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradiſum voluptatis a principio:* The Lord God planted a *Paradiſe* of pleaſure from the beginning; putting the word *(pleaſure)* for *Eden*, and *(from the beginning)* for *eaſtward:* it is manifeſt, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a region. For, what ſenſe hath this tranſlation (ſaith our *Hopkins*, in his treatiſe of *Paradiſe*) that he planted a garden of pleaſure, or, that a river went out of pleaſure to water the garden? but the ſeventy interpreters call it *Paradiſum Edenis*, The *Paradiſe* of *Eden*; and ſo doth the *Chaldean* paraphraſt truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a noun appellative; which region, in reſpect of the fertility of the ſoil, of the many beautiful rivers and goodly woods, and that the trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their leaves, was called *Eden*, which ſignifieth in the *Hebrew*, pleaſantneſs, or delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the country, oppoſite to the iſle of *Cuba*, *Florida:* and this is the miſtaking, which may end the diſpute, as touching the double ſenſe of the word, that as *Florida* was a country, ſo called for the flouriſhing beauty thereof; ſo was *Eden* a region, called pleaſure or delicacy for its pleaſure or delicacy: and as *Florida* ſignifieth flouriſhing; ſo *Eden* ſignifieth pleaſure: and yet both are the proper names of countries; for *Eden* be-

[a] Bartaſ. ſem. 2. l. 1. 143. [b] Amb. de Parad. cap. 3. [c] Acts 17. 26. [d] Bart. 16. 126. [e] Bed. in Gen. Pet. Comeſt. l. 1. Moſes Barc. de Par. [f] Gen. cap. 2.

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ing the proper name of a region (called pleaſure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradiſe* being the choice ſeat of all that region, *Paradiſe* was truly the garden of *Eden*, and truly the garden of pleaſure.

Now, for *eaſtward*, to tranſlate it, *from the beginning*, it is alſo contrary to the tranſlation of the ſeventy; to the antient *Greek* fathers, as *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Theodoret*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the *Latins*, *Severinus*, *Damaſcenus*, *&c.* who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a region, and ſet the word *(eaſtward)* for *ab initio*; for *Damaſcene*'s own words are theſe, *Paradiſus eſt locus Dei manibus in Eden ad orientem mirabiliter conſitus*; Paradiſe is a place marvellouſly planted by the hands of God in *Eden*, towards the eaſt.

And after all theſe fathers, *Guilhelmus Pariſienſis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, of latter times, do both underſtand theſe words of *Eden* and of the *eaſt*, contrary to the vulgar tranſlation; *Pariſienſis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, directly againſt the vulgar: of which theſe are their own words; After this I will begin to ſpeak of Paradiſe terreſtrial, which God planted from the beginning, or eaſtward, *&c. Poſt hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiſo terreſtri, quem plantaſſe Deum ab initio vel ad orientem, &c.* And then *Senenſis*; *Moſes enim clariſſime prodit, Paradiſum a Deo conſitum in regione terræ orientalis, quæ dicitur Eden: Eden autem eſſe proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus*, Cham *habitaſſe ad orientalem plagam Eden*; For *Moſes* (ſaith he) doth ſhew moſt clearly, that Paradiſe was planted of God in a region of the eaſt country, which is called *Eden:* but that *Eden* is a proper name, it appeareth in [a] *Geneſis*, where we read, that *Cham* dwelt on the eaſt border of *Eden*. *Pererius* endeavoureth to qualify this tranſlation; for this particle (ſaith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very firſt day; alledging this place of Chriſt, that although the devil was ſaid to be a [b] *Man-ſlayer from the beginning*, yet that was meant but after the ſixth day. But ſurely, as I think (referring my ſelf to better judgment) the devil was from the inſtant of his fall a man-ſlayer in diſpoſition, though he had not whereon to practiſe till man's creation. And for concluſion, St. *Hierome* (if that be his tranſlation) adviſeth himſelf better in the end of the 3d chapter of [c] *Geneſis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by *(ante)* and not *(a principio)* as, God did ſet a cherubin before the garden of *Eden*; *Collocavit Deus ante paradiſum voluptatis, cherubin*; and *Pererius* himſelf acknowledgeth, that this is the true ſenſe of this place, preciſely taken, according to the *Hebrew*, *Poſuit a parte orientali horti Eden, cherubin*; He ſet on the eaſt ſide of the garden of *Eden*, a cherubin. *Becanus* affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word *(Be)* ſignifieth (with) as well as (in) and ſo the text beareth this ſenſe; That God planted a garden with pleaſure (that is to ſay) full of pleaſure. But *Becanus* followeth this conſtruction, only to the end to find *Paradiſe* upon the river of *Aceſines*; for there he hath heard of the *Indian* fig-tree in great abundance, which he ſuppoſeth to be the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and would therefore draw *Paradiſe* to the fig-tree: which conceit of his I will anſwer hereafter.

Now, becauſe *Paradiſe* was ſeated by *Moſes* towards the eaſt, thence came the cuſtom of praying towards the eaſt, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans:* and therefore all our churches are built eaſt and weſt, as to the point where the ſun riſeth in *March*, which is directly over *Paradiſe* (ſaith *Damaſcenus*:) affirming, that we always pray towards the eaſt, as looking towards *Paradiſe*, whence we were caſt out; and yet the temple of *Solomon* had their prieſts and ſacrifices, which turned themſelves in their ſervice and divine ceremonies, always towards the weſt, thereby to avoid the ſuperſtition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But becauſe eaſt and weſt are but in reſpect of places (for although *Paradiſe* were eaſt from *Judea*, yet it was weſt from *Perſia*) and the ſerving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great, which way we turn our faces, ſo our hearts ſtand right; other than this, that we who dwell weſt from *Paradiſe*, and pray turning our ſelves to the eaſt, may remember thereby to beſeech God, that as by *Adam*'s fall we have loſt the *Paradiſe* on earth; ſo by Chriſt's death and paſſion we may be made partakers of the *Paradiſe* celeſtial, and the kingdom of heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other myſtery in adding the word (eaſt) to *Eden* by *Moſes*, than to ſhew, that the region of *Eden*, in which *Paradiſe* was, lay eaſtward from *Judea* and *Canaan:* for the ſcriptures always called the people of thoſe nations, the ſons of the eaſt which inhabited *Arabia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Perſia:* of which *Ovid*,

Eurus ad auroram, Nabathæaque regna receſſit,
Perſidaque, & radiis juga ſubdita matutinis.
The eaſt wind with *aurora* hath abiding
Among th'*Arabian* and the *Perſian* Hills,
Whom *Phœbus* firſt ſalutes at his up-riſing.

And if it be objected, that *Jeremy* the prophet, threatning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, doth often make mention of *northern* nations, it is to be noted, that the *north* is there named, in reſpect of thoſe nations that followed *Nabuchodonoſor*, and of whom the greateſt part of his army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it ſelf ſtood *north* from *Jeruſalem*, though inclining from the *eaſt* towards the *north*.

Now to the difference of this tranſlation, *Peter Comeſtor* giveth beſt ſatisfaction: for he uſeth the word, *from the beginning*, that is, *from the firſt part of the world (a principio) id eſt* (ſaith he) *a prima orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *a principio*, and *ad orientem*, have the ſame ſignification: *from the beginning*, and *eaſt-ward*, is all one; *a principio idem eſt quod ad orientem.*

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this ſtory of mankind was not allegorical, it followeth in the text of the 2d chapter and 9th verſe, in theſe words; *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree pleaſant to the ſight, and good for meat*, &c. ſo as firſt it appeared that God created *Adam* elſewhere as in the world at large, and then *put him into the garden:* and the end why, is expreſs'd, verſe 18, *that he might dreſs it and keep it: Paradiſe* being a garden or orchard filled with plants, and trees, of the moſt excellent kinds, pleaſant to behold, and (withal) good for meat: which proveth that *Paradiſe* was a terreſtrial garden, garniſhed with fruits, delighting both the eye and taſte. And to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of allegorical conſtruction, he affirmeth, verſe 10, that it was watered and beautified with a river; expreſſing alſo the region, out of which this river ſprang, which he calleth *Eden*; and that *Eden* is alſo a country near unto *Charon* in *Meſopotamia*, [f] *Ezechiel* witneſſeth.

But to all theſe cabaliſts, which draw the truth and ſtory of the ſcriptures into allegories, *Epiphanius* anſwereth in theſe words; *Si Paradiſus non eſt ſenſibilis, non eſt etiam fons, ſi non eſt fons, non eſt*

[a] Gen. 4. 16. [b] John 8. 44. [c] Gen. 3. 24. [d] Ezech. 27. 23.

flumen,

flumen, ſi non eſt flumen, non ſunt quatuor principia; non Piſon, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates; non eſt ficus, non folia, non comedit Eva *de arbore, non eſt* Adam, *non ſunt homines, ſed veritas jam fabula eſt, & omnia ad allegorias revocantur*; If *Paradiſe* be not ſenſible, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no ſuch four heads or branches, and then not any ſuch river as *Piſon*, or *Gehon*, *Tigris*, or *Euphrates*; no ſuch fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves; *Eve* then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any *Adam*, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things eſteemed are called back into allegories. Words to the ſame effect hath St. *Hierome* upon *Daniel*; *Conticeſcant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate ſequentes, ipſam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradiſum & flumina, & arbores putent allegoriæ legibus ſe debere ſubruere:* Let the dotage of them be ſilent, who following ſhadows and images in the truth, endeavour to ſubvert the truth it ſelf, and think that they ought to bring *Paradiſe*, and the rivers, and the trees, under the rules of allegory.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the ſtory, is the place made more manifeſt. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every tree of the garden (the tree of knowledge excepted) which trees *Moſes* in the 9th verſe ſaith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Beſides, God left all beaſts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and theſe beaſts were neither in the third heaven, nor near the circle of the moon, nor beaſts in imagination: for if all theſe things were enigmatical or myſtical, the ſame might alſo be ſaid of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the glory of the *Aſſyrian* kings, uſeth this ſpeech; [a] *All the trees of Eden, which were in the garden of God, envied him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradiſe*, therein ſeated, to be terreſtrial: for the prophets made no imaginary compariſons. But *Moſes* wrote plainly, and in a ſimple ſtyle, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and preciſe in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, than in any other place of ſcripture; of purpoſe to take away all ſcruple from the incredulity of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if he had not deſcribed both the region and the rivers, and how it ſtood from *Canaan*, many of the unbelieving *Iſraelites*, and others after them, would have miſconſtrued this ſtory of mankind. And, is it likely, there would have been ſo often mention made of *Paradiſe* in the ſcriptures, if the ſame had been an *Utopia?* For we find that the valley, wherein [b] *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſtood (ſometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principal cities therein) was before the deſtruction (which their unnatural ſin purchaſed) compared to the *Paradiſe* of the Lord, and like to the land of *Egypt* toward *Zoar:* in like manner was *Iſrael* reſembled to the *Paradiſe* of God, before the *Babylonians* waſted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradiſe* it ſelf, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that theſe places had but a reſemblance thereof: being compared to a ſeat and ſoil of far exceeding excellency.

Beſides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous*'s gardens, as *Juſtin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moſes*'s deſcription of *Paradiſe? Gen.* ii. And whence are their praiſes of the *Elyſian* fields, but out of the ſtory of *Paradiſe?* To which alſo appertain thoſe verſes of the golden age in *Ovid:*

[c] *Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris,*
Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.
The joyful ſpring did ever laſt,
And *Zephyrus* did breed
Sweet flowers by his gentle blaſt,
Without the help of ſeed.

And it is manifeſt, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Heſiodus*, and *Homer*, and, after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all theſe together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their ſectators, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the ſtoln treaſures of divine letters, altered by prophane additions, and diſguiſed by poetical converſions, as if they had been conceived out of their own ſpeculations and contemplations.

But beſides all theſe teſtimonies, if we find what region *Heden*, or *Eden* was; if we prove the river that ran out of it, and that the ſame afterwards was divided into four branches; together with the kingdoms of *Havila*, and *Cuſh*; and that all theſe are eaſtward from *Canaan*, or the deſarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moſes* wrote; I then conceive, that there is no man that will doubt, but that ſuch a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the allegorical ſenſe of the ſcripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Chriſt, as in all the Old Teſtament throughout: the ſtory being directly true notwithſtanding. And to this purpoſe (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *Tres ſunt de Paradiſo generales ſententiæ: una eſt eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradiſum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui ſpiritualiter tantum (id eſt) eccleſiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradiſum accipiunt*; (that is) There are three opinions of *Paradiſe:* the one of thoſe men, which will have it altogether corporal: a ſecond of thoſe, which conceive it altogether ſpiritual, and to be a figure of the church: the third of thoſe, which take it in both ſenſes; which third opinion [d] St. *Auguſtine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgment: [e] *Quemadmodum homo ſenſibilis, & intelligibilis ſimul conditus erat: ſic & hujus ſanctiſſimum nemus ſenſibile ſimul & intelligibile, & duplici ſpecie eſt præditum*; (that is) As man was created at one time, both ſenſible, and intelligible, ſo was his holy grove, or garden, to be taken both ways, and endued with a double form.

SECT. IV.

Why it ſhould be needful to intreat diligently of the place of Paradiſe.

BUT it may be objected, that it is needleſs, and a kind of curioſity, to enquire ſo diligently after this place of *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no uſe. To which I anſwer, that there is nothing written in the ſcripture, but for our inſtruction; and if the truth of the ſtory be neceſſary, then by the place proved, the ſame is alſo made more apparent. For if we ſhould conceive that *Paradiſe* were not on the earth, but lifted up as high as the moon; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known world; from whence, *Adam* was ſaid to wade through the ſea, and thence to have come into *Judea* (out of doubt) there would be few men in the world, that would give any credit unto it. For what could ſeem more ridiculous than the report of ſuch a place? and beſides, what maketh this ſeat of *Paradiſe* ſo much diſputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Piſhon* ſhould be *Ganges*, which watereth the eaſt *India*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt:* and theſe two rivers ſo far diſtant, as (except all the world were *Paradiſe*) theſe ſtreams can no way be compriſed therein?

[a] Ezech. 31. 9. [b] Gen. 13. 10. [c] Ovid. Met. 1. [d] Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21. [e] Suidas in verbo Paradiſus.

Secondly,

Secondly, If the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were ſaid to have been in ſome ſuch country, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his miracles had been performed in the air, or no place certainly known: I aſſure my ſelf, that the Chriſtian religion would have taken but a ſlender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witneſſes of worldly actions.

Thirdly, If we ſhould rely, or give place to the judgment of ſome writers upon this place of *Geneſis* (though otherwiſe for their doctrine in general they are worthy of honour and reverence) I ſay that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the world ſo ſet by it ſelf, and ſeparated, as to hang in the air under the circle of the moon? or who ſo doltiſh to conceive, that from thence the four rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, ſhould fall down, and run under all the ocean, and riſe up again in this our habitable world, and in thoſe places where they are now found? which leſt any man think that I enforce, or ſtrain to the worſt, theſe are *Peter Comeſtor*'s own words. *Eſt autem locus amœniſſimus, longo terræ & maris tractu a noſtra habitabili Zona ſecretus, adeo elevatus, ut uſque ad lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) It is a moſt pleaſant place, ſevered from our habitable *Zone*, by a long tract of land and ſea, elevated ſo, that it reacheth to the globe of the moon.

And *Moſes Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: [a] *Deinde hoc quoque reſponſum volumus, Paradiſum multo ſublimiore poſitum eſſe regione, atque hæc noſtra extet terra, eoque fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non poſſis; eoque impetu impulſi preſſique ſub oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rurſus proſiliant ebulliantque in hoc a nobis culto orbe:* which have this ſenſe: Furthermore (ſaith he) we give this for an anſwer, that *Paradiſe* is ſet in a region far raiſed above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to paſs, that from thence theſe rivers fall down with ſuch a headlong violence, as words cannot expreſs; and with that force ſo impulſed and preſs'd, they are carried under the deep ocean ſea, and do again riſe and boil up in this our habitable world: and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this: *Ephram dicit, Paradiſum ambire terram, atque ultra oceanum ita poſitum eſſe, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atque lunæ orbis lunam cingit*; (which is) That *Paradiſe* doth compaſs or embrace the whole earth, and is ſo ſet beyond the ocean, as it enviroueth the whole orb of the earth on every ſide, as the orb of the moon doth embrace the moon. To the end therefore that theſe ridiculous expoſitions and opinions do not bring queſtion unto truth it ſelf, or make the ſame ſubject to doubts or diſputes, it is neceſſary to diſcover the true place of *Paradiſe*, *which God in his wiſdom* appointed in the very navel of this our world, and (as *Melanchton* ſays) *in parte terræ meliore*, in the beſt part thereof, that from thence, as from a center, the univerſal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we ſhall the better judge of the beginning of nations, and of the world's inhabitation: for near unto this did the ſons of *Noah* alſo diſperſe themſelves after the flood, into all other remote regions and countries. And if it be a generous deſire in men, to know from whence their own fore-fathers have come, and out of what regions and nations; it cannot be diſpleaſing to underſtand the place of our firſt anceſtor, from whence all the ſtreams and branches of mankind have followed and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that ſuch a place there was as *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine ſeveral opinions before remembred, by the truth it ſelf; and to ſee how they agree with the ſenſe of the ſcripture, and with common reaſon; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the region in which God firſt planted this delightful garden.

SECT. V.

That the flood hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradiſe, nor cauſed hills in the earth.

AND firſt, whereas it is ſuppoſed by *Aug. Chyſamenſis*, that the flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in ſuch ſort, as no man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which opinion there were others alſo, aſcribing to the flood the cauſe of thoſe high mountains, which are found on all the earth over, with many other ſtrange effects:) for mine own opinion, I think neither the one, nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradiſe* was after the flood withered, and grown old, in reſpect of the firſt beauty (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things time hath changed:) yet if there had been no ſign of any ſuch place, or if the ſoil and ſeat had not remained, then would not *Moſes*, who wrote of *Paradiſe* about 850 years after the flood, have deſcribed it ſo particularly, and the prophets long after *Moſes*, would not have made ſo often mention thereof. And though the very garden it ſelf were not then to be found, but that the flood, and other accidents of time, made it one common field and paſture with the land of *Eden*, yet the place is ſtill the ſame, and the rivers ſtill remain the ſame rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, we are ſure to find in what longitude *Paradiſe* lay; and learning out one of theſe rivers, which afterward doth divide it ſelf into four branches, we are ſure that the partition is at the very border of the garden it ſelf.

For it is [b] written, that out of *Eden* went a river to water the garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads; now, whether the word in the *Latin* tranſlation *(inde)* from thence, be referred to *Eden* it ſelf, or to *Paradiſe*; yet the diviſion, and branching of thoſe rivers, muſt be in the north, or ſouth ſide of the very garden (if the rivers run as they do, north and ſouth;) and therefore theſe rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifeſtly known, there could be no ſuch defacing by the flood, as is ſuppoſed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be ſo altered, as future ages knew it not; ſo is there no probability that either theſe rivers were turned out of their courſes, or new rivers created by the flood which were not, or that the flood (as aforeſaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decreaſe, was the cauſe of high hills, or deep valleys. For what deſcent of waters could there be in a ſpherical and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? ſeeing that all violent force of waters is either by the ſtrength of wind, by deſcent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebb or flood of the ſea. But that there was any wind (whereby the ſeas are moſt enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, [c] *Therefore God made a wind to paſs upon the earth, and the waters ceaſed.* So as it appeareth not, that, until the waters ſank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodneſs, cauſed the wind to blow, to dry up the abundant

[a] Barcephas *converted by* Maſius. [b] Gen. 2. 10. [c] Gen. 8. 1.

ſlime and mud of the earth, and make the land more firm, and to cleanſe the air of thick vapours, and unwholſome miſts: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore diſſever the violence of outragious winds, and beat down, and level the ſwelling and mountainous billows of the ſea: for any ebbs and floods there could be none, when the waters were equal, and of one height, over all the face of the earth, and when there were no indraughts, bays, or gulfs to receive a flood, or any deſcent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the earth and waters, as aforeſaid: and therefore it ſeemeth moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the waters rather ſtood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or over-bearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the flood made no ſuch deſtroying alteration, *Joſephus* avoweth that one of thoſe pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be ſeen in his days; which pillars were ſet up above 1426 years before the flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Joſeph* himſelf to have lived ſome forty or fifty years after Chriſt: of whom, altho' there be no cauſe to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in queſtion. And therefore it may be poſſible, that ſome foundation or ruin thereof might then be ſeen. Now, that ſuch pillars were raiſed by *Seth*, all antiquity hath avowed. It is alſo written that *Beroſus* (to whom, altho' I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the city of *Enoch*, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus* was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruins thereof, *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) ſaith, were to be ſeen in his days, who liv'd in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*. And if theſe his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, ſpeaking of this city of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this ſort: *Cujus maximæ & ingentis molis fundamenta viſuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut noſtri mercatores, & peregrini referunt*; The foundation of which huge maſs is now to be ſeen, and the place is called by the people of that region, the City of *Cain*, as both our ſtrangers and merchants report. It is alſo avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in theſe things) that the city of *Joppa* was built before the flood, over which *Cepha* was king: whoſe name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their religion, was found graven upon certain altars of ſtone. And it is not impoſſible, that the ruins of this other city, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be ſeen, tho' founded in the firſt age: but it could not be of the firſt city of the world, [a] built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the flood was not the cauſe of mountains, but that there were mountains from the creation, it is written, that *the waters of the flood overflowed by fifteen cubits the higheſt mountains*. And *Maſius Damaſcenus*, ſpeaking of the flood, writeth in this manner: *Eſt ſupra Minyadam excelſus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos, ſermo eſt, diluvii tempore liberatos*; And upon *Minyada* there is an high mountain in *Armenia* (called *Baris*) unto which, it is ſaid, that many fled in the time of the deluge, and that they ſaved themſelves thereon. Now, tho' it is contrary to God's word, that any more were ſaved than eight perſons (which *Maſius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a teſtimony, that ſuch mountains were before the flood, which were afterwards, and ever ſince, known by the ſame names, and on which mountains it is generally received that the ark reſted; but untruly, as I ſhall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the mount *Sion* (tho' by another name) was known before the flood; on which the *Thalmudiſts* report, that many giants ſaved themſelves alſo; but (as *Annius* ſaith) without all authority, either divine or human.

Laſtly, it appeareth that the flood did not ſo turn upſide down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made paſt knowledge, after the waters were decreaſed, by this, that [b] *when Noah ſent out the dove the ſecond time, ſhe returned with an olive-leaf in her mouth*, which ſhe had pluck'd, and which (until the trees were diſcovered) ſhe found not: for otherwiſe ſhe might have found them floating on the water; a manifeſt proof, that the trees were not torn up by the roots, nor ſwam upon the waters, for it is written, *folium olivæ raptum*, or *decerptum*, a leaf pluck'd; which is, to take from a tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the flood made no ſuch alteration, as was ſuppoſed, but that the place of *Paradiſe* might be ſeen to ſucceeding ages, eſpecially unto *Moſes*, by whom it pleaſed God to teach the truth of the world's creation, and unto the prophets which ſucceeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this diſcovery.

SECT. VI.

That Paradiſe was not the whole earth, as ſome have thought: making the ocean to be the fountain of thoſe four rivers.

THIS conceit of *Aug. Chryſamenſis* being anſwered, who only giveth *his opinion* for reaſon, I will in a few words examine that of the *Manichees*, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all thoſe that underſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was meant the whole earth. But in this I ſhall not trouble the reader with many words, becauſe by thoſe places of ſcripture formerly remember'd, this univerſality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, [c] *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the earth and ſubdue it, rule over every creature, &c.* with this of the *Acts*, [d] *And hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell on all the face of the earth*, do no way prove ſuch a generality: for the world was made for man, of which he was lord and governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his uſe. Now, altho' all men were of one and the ſame fountain of blood originally; and *Adam*'s poſterity inhabited in proceſs of time over all the face of the earth: yet it diſproveth in nothing the particular garden, aſſigned to [e] *Adam* to dreſs and cultive, in which he lived in ſo bleſſed an eſtate before his tranſgreſſion. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the univerſal, *Moſes* would not then have ſaid [f] *eaſtward in Eden*, ſeeing the world hath not eaſt nor weſt but reſpectively. And to what end had the angel of God been ſet to keep the eaſt ſide, and entrance into *Paradiſe* after *Adam*'s expulſion, if the univerſal had been *Paradiſe?* for then muſt *Adam* have been chaſed alſo out of the world. For if all the earth were *Paradiſe*, that place can receive no better conſtruction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the world into the world, and out of *Paradiſe* into *Paradiſe*, except we ſhould believe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one as to affirm, *That in ſo large a field as the*

[a] Gen. 4. 17. [b] Gen. 8. 11. [c] Gen. 1. 28. [d] Acts 17. 26. [e] Gen. 2. 8. [f] Gen. 3. 24.

univerſal,

univerſal, there ſhould grow but one thiſtle. Noviomagus upon *Beda*, ſeemeth to be led by this, that it was impoſſible for thoſe three rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus* and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the world ſo far diſtant) to riſe out of one fountain, except the ocean be taken for the well, and the world for the garden.

And it is true, that thoſe four rivers, being ſo underſtood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it ſhall plainly appear, that *Piſon* was falſly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falſly for *Nilus*, altho' *Ganges* be a river by *Havila* in *India*, and *Nilus* runs thro' *Ethiopia*. The *Seventy* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the *Manichees*, and the miſtakings of *Noviomagus*, *Goropius* and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifeſt. Yet was their conjecture far more probable than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus* and *Athanaſius*, That *Paradiſe* was ſeated far beyond the Ocean ſea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at laſt came toward the country in which he was created, and was buried at mount *Calvary* in *Jeruſalem*. And certainly, tho' all thoſe of the firſt age were of great ſtature, and ſo continued many years after the flood, yet *Adam*'s ſhin-bones muſt have contained a thouſand fathom, and much more, if he had forded the ocean; but this opinion is ſo ridiculous, as it needs no argument to diſprove it.

SECT. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradiſe as high as the moon: and of others which make it higher than the middle region of the air.

THirdly whereas *Beda* ſaith, and as the ſchoolmen affirm, *Paradiſe* to be a place altogether removed from the knowledge of men (*locus a cognitione hominum remotiſſimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradiſe* was far in the eaſt, but mounted above the ocean, and all the earth, and near the orb of the moon (which opinion, tho' the ſchoolmen charge *Beda* withal, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Strabus*, and his maſter *Rabanus*) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his geography of *Paradiſe*, doth not much differ from the reſt, but finds it ſeated next or neareſt heaven; it may ſeem, that all theſe borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates:* but neither of them (as I conceive) well underſtood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for heaven it ſelf, into which the ſouls of the bleſſed were carried after death.

[a] True it is, that theſe philoſophers durſt not for fear of the *Areopagites* (in this, and many other divine apprehenſions) ſet down what they believed in plain terms, eſpecially *Plato:* though *Socrates* in the end ſuffered death for acknowledging one only powerful God; and therefore did the devil himſelf do him that right, as by an oracle, to pronounce him the wiſeſt man. [b] *Juſtin Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the ſcriptures; and St. *Auguſtine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Chriſtian. And it ſeemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Euſebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforeſaid, meant the celeſtial *Paradiſe*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightful, and healthful, upon the top of mount *Atho* (called *Acrithonos*) which being above all clouds of rain, or other inconvenience, the people (by reaſon of their ſo many years) are called *Macrobici* (that is) long-liv'd. A further argument is uſed for proof of the height of this place, becauſe therein was *Enoch* preſerved from the violence of the flood: approved by *Iſidore* and *Peter Lombard:* in which place alſo *Tertullian* conceived, that the bleſſed ſouls were preſerved till the laſt judgment: which *Irenæus* and *Juſtin Martyr* alſo believed. But this opinion was of all *catholick divines* reproved, and in the *Florentine council* damned; of which St. *Auguſtine* more modeſtly gave this judgment: *Sicut certum eſt Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc ſunt, an in paradiſo an alibi, incertum eſt*; (that is) As it is certain that *Enoch* and *Elias* do now live; ſo where they now live, in paradiſe, or elſewhere, it is uncertain. But *Barcephas* gives a third cauſe, though of all other the weakeſt. For (ſaith he) it was neceſſary that *Paradiſe* ſhould be ſet at ſuch a diſtance and height, becauſe the four rivers (had they not fallen ſo precipitate) could not have had ſufficient force to have thruſt themſelves under the great ocean, and afterward have forced their paſſage thro' the earth, and have riſen again in the far diſtant regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

Theſe ſtrange fancies and dreams have been anſwered by divers learned men long ſince, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this ſubject; of whoſe arguments I will repeat theſe few: (for to uſe long diſcourſe againſt thoſe things, which are both againſt ſcripture and reaſon, might rightly be judged a vanity in the anſwerer, not much inferiour to that of the inventer.)

It is firſt therefore alledged, that ſuch a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being ſet ſo near the moon, it had been too near the ſun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, becauſe it muſt have been too joynct a neighbour to the element of fire. Thirdly, becauſe the air in that region is ſo violently removed, and carried about with ſuch ſwiftneſs, as nothing in that place can conſiſt or have abiding. Fourthly, becauſe the ſpace between the earth and the moon (according to *Ptolemy* and *Alfraganus*) is ſeventeen times the *diameter* of the earth, which makes in a groſs account about one hundred and twenty thouſand miles. Hereupon it muſt follow, that *Paradiſe*, being raiſed to this height, muſt have the compaſs of the whole earth for a *baſis* and foundation. But had it been ſo raiſed, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, ſeeing it would deprive us of the ſun's light all the fore-part of the day, being ſeated in the eaſt, as they ſuppoſe. Now, to fortify the former opinions, *Toſtatus* addeth this, that thoſe people which dwell near thoſe falls of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like thoſe that dwell near the [c] *Catadupæ*, or over-falls of *Nilus*. But this I hold as feigned. For I have ſeen in the *Indies*, far greater water-falls, than thoſe of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling near them are not deaf at all. *Toſtatus* (better to ſtrengthen himſelf) citeth *Baſil* and *Ambroſe* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hæc apud Baſilium & Ambroſium in eorum ſcriptis, quæ nunc extant, nuſquam me legere memini*; But I do not remember (ſaith he) that I ever read thoſe things either in *Baſil* or *Ambroſe*.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath diſpoſed of them according to his wiſdom. Their taking up might be into the celeſtial *Paradiſe*, for ought we know. For altho' fleſh and blood, ſubject to corruption, cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, and the ſeed muſt rot in the ground before it grow, yet we ſhall not all die (ſaith St. *Paul*) [d] *but all ſhall be changed:* which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was eaſy to him that is almighty. But for the reſt, the ſcriptures are manifeſt, that by the flood all periſhed on the earth ſaving [e] eight perſons;

[a] Diog. Laert. in Sco. [b] Juſt. Mart. adm. ad Gent. Aug. [c] Cicero Somn. Scip. [d] 1 Cor. 15. 36, 51. [e] 1 Pet. 3. 20.

ſons; and therefore in the terreſtrial *Paradiſe* they could not be.

For *Toſtatus*'s own opinion, who ſoared not altogether ſo high as the reſt, but believed that *Paradiſe* was raiſed above the middle region of the air, and twenty cubits above all mountains, that the flood did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter ſchool-men alſo believed; for, ſay they, there were no ſinners in *Paradiſe*, and therefore no cauſe to overwhelm it:) this is alſo contrary to the expreſs letter of the ſcripture, which directly, and without admitting of any diſtinction, teacheth us, that [a] *the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven.* And were it otherwiſe, then might we as well give credit to *Maſius Damaſcenus*, and the *Thalmudiſts*, who affirm, that there were of the giants that ſaved themſelves on the mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion.* But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the reſt of the ſchool-men are) full of diſtinctions, ſaith; that the waters ſtood at *Paradiſe*, as they did in the [b] red ſea, and at *Jordan*; and as the flood was not natural, ſo was *Paradiſe* ſaved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth his high conceit with this ſuppoſition, that it was not believed, that *Paradiſe* was ſo ſeated, as *Bede* and others ſeem to affirm in words, but by *hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty ſo reſembled. But this I dare avow of all thoſe ſchool-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their followers to ſhift, than to reſolve, by their diſtinctions. Wherefore not to ſtay long in anſwering this opinion of *Toſtatus*, I confeſs that it is written, that the mountains of *Olympus*, *Atho*, and *Atlas*, over-reach and ſurmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithſtanding) there is found on the heads of the hills both ſprings and fruits; and the *Pagan* prieſts, ſacrificing on theſe mountain-tops, do not find the aſhes (remaining of their ſacrifices) blown thence, nor thence waſh'd off by rains, when they return: yet experience hath reſolved us, that theſe reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himſelf (who was not ſparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of theſe mountains is far under the ſuppoſed place of *Paradiſe*; and on theſe ſelf hills the air is ſo thin (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, whom herein I miſtruſt) that it is not ſufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any ſenſible reſiſtance of air to mount her ſelf by.

SECT. VIII.

Of their opinion that ſeat Paradiſe *under the Equinoctial: and of the pleaſant habitation under thoſe climates.*

THOSE which come nearer unto reaſon find *Paradiſe* under the *Equinoctial line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*; judging, that thereunder might be found moſt pleaſure, and the greateſt fertility of ſoil: but againſt it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the diſtemperate heat, which he ſuppoſeth to be in all places ſo directly under the ſun; but this is *non cauſa pro cauſa*; for although *Paradiſe* could not be under the line, becauſe *Eden* is far from it, in which *Paradiſe* was; and becauſe there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* under it (*Ganges* being one of the four rivers, as they ſuppoſe) yet this conceit of diſtemper (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, conſidering the age, when thoſe fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every country, as it lay by degrees nearer the tropick, and ſo toward the *Equinoctial*, did ſo much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reaſonable conjecture, that thoſe countries which were ſituated directly under it, were of a diſtemper uninhabitable: but it ſeemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better and ſo did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough: and though (perchance) in thoſe days it might be thought a fantaſtical opinion (as all are which go againſt the vulgar;) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight, that *Paradiſe* had, the ſame muſt be found within that ſuppoſed uninhabitable burnt zone, or within the tropicks, and neareſt to the line it ſelf. For hereof experience hath informed reaſon, and time hath made thoſe things apparent, which were hidden, and could not by any contemplation be diſcovered. Indeed it hath ſo pleaſed God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that ſuch inconveniences which we contemplate afar off, are found by trial and the witneſs of mens travels, to be ſo qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitleſs lump to faſhion out the reſt. For [c] *God himſelf* (ſaith *Iſaiah*) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we find that theſe hotteſt regions of the world ſeated under the *Equinoctial* line, or near it, are ſo refreſhed with a daily gale of eaſterly wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth evermore blow ſtrongeſt in the heat of the day, as the downright beams of the ſun cannot ſo much maſter it, that there is any inconvenience or diſtemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are ſo cold, freſh and equal, by reaſon of the entire interpoſition of the earth, as (for thoſe places which my ſelf have ſeen, near the line and under it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equal temper, only there are ſome tracts, which by accident of high mountains are barr'd from this air and freſh wind, and ſome few ſandy parts without trees, which are not therefore ſo well inhabited as the reſt; and ſuch difference of ſoils we find alſo in all other parts of the world. But (for the greateſt part) thoſe regions have ſo many goodly rivers, fountains and little brooks, abundance of high cedars, and other ſtately trees caſting ſhade, ſo many ſorts of delicate fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with bloſſom and fruit, both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be beſt compared to the *Paradiſe* of *Eden*: the boughs and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their ſap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the froſt: neither doth *Pomona* at any times deſpiſe her withered huſband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are theſe countries called *Terræ vitioſæ*, vicious countries: for nature being liberal to all without labour, neceſſity impoſing no induſtry or travel, idleneſs bringeth forth no other fruits than vain thoughts, and licentious pleaſures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and thoſe of his opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who miſliked this opinion, and followed a worſe. And (to ſay the truth) all the ſchool-men were groſs in this particular.

SECT. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that beſides that Eden *in* Cœleſyria, *there is a country in* Babylon, *once of this name, as is proved out of* Iſaiah xxxvii, *and* Ezek. xxvii.

THESE opinions anſwered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of thoſe imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zonæ*; it followeth that

[a] Gen. 7. 19. [b] Exod. 14. 21. [c] Iſaiah 45. 18.

now

now we diſcover and find out the ſeat thereof, for in it was *Paradiſe* by God planted. The difficulty of which ſearch reſteth chiefly in this, that as all nations have often changed names with their maſters; ſo are moſt of theſe places, by *Moſes* remembred, forgotten by thoſe names of all hiſtorians and geographers as well ancient as modern.

Beſides, we find that the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Perſians* (*Cyrus* only and few others excepted) ſought to extinguiſh the *Hebrews*. The *Grecians* hated both their nation and their religion; and the *Romans* deſpiſed once to remember them in any of their ſtories. And as thoſe three monarchies ſucceeded each other; ſo did they transform the names of all thoſe principal places and cities in the eaſt: and after them, the *Turk* hath ſought (what he could) to extinguiſh in all things the ancient memory of thoſe people, which he hath ſubjected and inthralled.

Now beſides thoſe notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides theſe two conſiderations (to wit) that it lay eaſtward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all others the moſt beautiful and fertile. Firſt in reſpect of ſituation, the next country to *Judea* eaſtward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this region was *Moſes* himſelf when he wrote: and the next unto it eaſtward alſo was *Arabia* the *Deſart*, both which in reſpect of the infertility could not be *Eden*, neither have any of the *Arabians* any ſuch rivers, as are expreſs'd to run out of it: ſo as it followeth of neceſſity, that *Eden* muſt be eaſtward, and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deſerta*. But becauſe *Eden* is by *Moſes* named by it ſelf, and by the fertility and the rivers only deſcribed, we muſt ſeek it in other ſcriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour nations better deſcribed. In the prophet *Iſaiah* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent countries, in theſe words ſpoken in the perſon of *Senacherib* by *Rabſakeh*. [a] *Have the Gods of the nations delivered them, which my fathers have deſtroyed, as Goſan and Haran and Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar?* and in *Ezekiel*, where he propheſieth againſt the *Tyrians*: [b] *They of Haran and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Aſhur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants*, &c.

But to avoid confuſion, we muſt underſtand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he divideth *Syria* into three provinces, whereof the firſt he maketh *Syria Damaſcene*, or *Decapolitan*: the ſecond part is that valley called *Avenis*, otherwiſe *Convallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Aſſyria* is joyned to *Arabia* the *Deſart* and where [d] *Ptolemy* placeth the city of *Averia*: and the third is known by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cœleſyria*, otherwiſe *vallis cava*, or the hollow valley, becauſe the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both ſides, and border it: for *Coile* in *Greek* is *cava* in *Latin*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we ſeek: neither doth this province lie eaſt from *Canaan*, but north, and ſo joyneth unto it as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, becauſe there is a little city therein called *Paradiſe*, the *Jews* believed this *Cœleſyria* to be the ſame which *Moſes* deſcribeth. For the ſame cauſe doth *Hopkins* in his treatiſe of *Paradiſe* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden* with the other *Eden* of *Paradiſe*: tho' to give *Beroaldus* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later writers, ſaving that he failed in diſtinguiſhing theſe two regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether miſunderſtood two of the four rivers, to wit, *Piſon* and *Gehon*, as ſhall appear hereafter. Now, to find out *Eden*, which (as *Moſes* teacheth us) lay eaſtward from the *Deſarts*, where he wrote after he had paſſed the red ſea; we muſt conſider where thoſe other countries are found, which the prophet *Iſaiah* and *Ezekiel* joineth with it. For (ſaith *Iſaiah*) *Goſan, Haran, and Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar.* Alſo [e] *Ezekiel* joineth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with thoſe of *Sheba*, *Aſhur* and *Chilmad*, were the merchants that traded with the city of *Tyre*, which was then (ſaith *Ezekiel*) *the mart of the people for many iſles.* And it hath ever been the cuſtom, that the *Perſians* conveyed their merchandiſe to *Babylon*, and to thoſe cities upon *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and from thence tranſported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the port of the *Mediterranean* ſea: as in ancient times to the city of *Tyre*, afterwards to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbark them at the port of *Alexandretta*, in the bay of *Iſſicus*, now *Laiazzo*. *Ezekiel*, in the deſcription of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the nations of the eaſt, as the only mart-town of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and alſo what commodities every country yielded: and having counted the ſeveral people and countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exerciſed. [f] *They were thy merchants* (ſaith the prophet) *in all ſorts of things, in rayments of blue ſilk, and of broidered works, fine linen, coral and pearl:* and afterwards ſpeaking of the merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and in what kinds they traded, he hath theſe words. *The merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy merchants, they occupied in thy fairs, with the chief of all ſpices, and with all precious ſtones and gold.* Now theſe be indeed the riches which *Perſia* and *Arabia fœlix* yield: and becauſe *Sheba* and *Raamah* are thoſe parts of *Arabia*, which border the ſea, called the *Perſian gulf*, therefore did thoſe nations both vent ſuch ſpice, ſweet gums, and pearls, as their own countries yielded, and withal having trade with their neighbours of *India*, had from them alſo all ſorts of ſpices, and plenty of gold. The better to convey theſe commodities to that great mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans* or *Arabians* entered by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the city of *Terredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonozor*, now called *Balſara*) thence ſent up all theſe rich merchandiſes by boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended weſtward, and afterwards by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over land they paſs'd to *Tyre*, as they did afterwards to *Tripoly* (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforeſaid. Now the merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezekiel* joineth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the river, and received this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, beſides thoſe proper commodities which themſelves had, alſo which they received out of *Perſia*, which bordered them. St. *Jerome* underſtandeth by *Canneh*, *Seleucia*, which is ſeated upon *Euphrates*, *where it breaketh into four heads*, and which took that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent city. *Hieroſolymitanus* thinks it to be *Cteſiphon*, but *Cteſiphon* is ſeated down low upon *Tigris*, and *Canne* cannot be on that ſide, I mean on the eaſt ſide of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the valley of *Shinar*. [g] *Pliny* placeth the *Schenite* upon *Euphrates*, where

[a] Iſa. 37. 12. [b] Ezek. 27. 23. [c] Amos 1. 1. [d] Strabo. [e] Ezek. 27. 23. [f] Ezek. 27. 24. [g] Plin. l. 6. c. 26.

the ſame beginneth to be fordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, and where the river of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the *Deſart* of *Palmirena:* for theſe people of *Canneh* (afterwards *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, ſtretching themſelves from their own city of *Canneh* in *Shinar* weſtward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the city of *Thapſacus*, where *Ptolemy* appointed the fords of *Euphrates:* which alſo agreeth with the deſcription of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whoſe words are theſe; [a] *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam euntibus iter eſt per Schœnitas*; The merchants which travel from *Syria* to *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, take their way by the *Schenites.* Therefore thoſe which take *Canneh* for *Charran* do much miſtake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from [b] *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) ſtandeth alſo in *Meſopotamia*, not upon *Euphrates* itſelf, but upon the river of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates:* and the merchants of *Charran* are diſtinctly named with thoſe of *Canneh* in *Ezekiel*, as *they of* Haran, *and* Canneh, *and* Eden, *the merchants of* Sheba, Aſhur, *and* Chilmad *were thy merchants.* Wherefore *Charran*, which is ſometimes called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the ſame *Charran* of *Meſopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the region of *Meſopotamia:* or *Aran fluviorum*, the *Greek* word *Meſopotamia* importing a country between rivers: for *Meſos* in *Greek* is *medius* in *Latin*, and *Potamos fluvius.* And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the city itſelf, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforeſaid.) For *Strabo*, in the deſcription of *Arabia*, giveth that tract of land from the borders of *Cœleſyria* to the edge of *Meſopotamia*, to the *Schenitæ*, who alſo inhabited on both ſides of *Euphrates*, and were in afterages accounted of theſe *Arabians* which inhabit *Batanea* and the north part of the *Deſarts*, ſtretching themſelves towards the unhabited ſolitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth between *Syria* and *Arabia* the *Deſart.* So as theſe of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran* and to *Eden:* and therefore they are by the prophet *Ezekiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneth, and Eden, &c.* But St. *Jerome* made a good interpretation of *Canneth*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*, for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (witneſs *Appian*;) and ſo *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his commentaries upon *Geneſis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalne* or *Canne*, to *Chalanne:* of which name there are two other cities, ſtanding in triangle with *Seleucia*, and almoſt the next unto it, as *Thelbe-canne* and *Mann-canne*, the one a little to the weſt of *Seleucia*, and the other oppoſite unto it, where theſe rivers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are ready to join. Therefore which of theſe the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain ſeat thereof, that ſo many other cities did retain a part of the name in ſo many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that theſe additions of *Thelbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the eaſt and the weſt, or the greater and the leſs *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to diſtinguiſh cities by, are ordinary in all the regions of the world.

Now of the other city joyned with *Eden*, as *Haran*, or *Charran*, St. *Jerome* on the *Judges* ſpeaking thereof in theſe words: [c] *Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ eſt in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo die*; When they returned, they came to *Charran* (which is the midway againſt *Nineveh*) the eleventh day.

This city is by the martyr *Stephen*, named *Charran* (ſpeaking to the high-prieſt:) [d] *Ye men, brethren, and fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, while he was in Meſopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the ſeat of this city is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many ſcriptures, but withal exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Craſſus* the *Roman*, who, for his unſatiable greedineſs, was called *Gurges avaritiæ*; the gulf of avarice. Whereof *Lucan:*

[e] *Aſſyrias Latio maculavit ſanguine carras.*
With *Roman* blood th'*Aſſyrian* car he defil'd.

But this city *Canne*, or *Chalne*, is made manifeſt by *Moſes* himſelf, where it is written of *Nimrod:* [f] *And the beginning of his kingdoms was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chalne, in the land of Sinaar*, or *Shinar:* where *Moſes* ſheweth the firſt compoſition of the *Babylonian* empire, and what cities and people were ſubject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the ſaid valley of *Shinar*, or near it; and this valley of *Shinar* is that tract afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which alſo *Eden* ſtretcheth it ſelf, *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinar, idem ſunt* (ſaith *Comeſtor.*) Three names of one country: which region of *Babylonia*, took name of the tower *Babel*; and the tower, of the confuſion of tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proved in theſe words: [g] *And as they went from the eaſt, they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and there they abode:* in which plain *Babylon* was built (as aforeſaid.)

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneh*, in the firſt beginning of *Nimrod*'s greatneſs, and before he had ſubdued any ſtrange, or far-off nations, being one part of his dominion, and alſo named by *Moſes* to be in *Shinar*, it proveth that *Canneh* joyneth to *Babylonia*; which alſo *Ezekiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that thoſe of *Eden* were alſo the merchants which traded with the *Tyrians:* and *Iſaiah* in the threats of *Senacherib* againſt *Jeruſalem* (with other nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his fathers had deſtroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telaſſar.* But before I conclude where *Eden* it ſelf lyeth, it is neceſſary to deſcribe thoſe other countries which *Ezekiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as thoſe of *Sheba* and *Raamah.* It is written in *Geneſis:* [h] *Moreover the ſons of Ham were Cuſh*, &c. *And the ſons of Cuſh were Seba, and Havila, and Sabtah, and Raamah*, &c. *And the ſons of Raamah were Sheba*, &c. And anon after; *Cuſh begat Nimrod:* ſo as *Sheba* was the grandchild of *Cuſh*, and *Nimrod* the ſon of *Cuſh*, whoſe elder brother was *Sebah:* though ſome there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and underſtanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia.* His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoyning to *Shinar*, toward the ſea ſide and *Perſian* gulf (called afterwards *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the father, and his ſons, which poſſeſſed it.) *For* (ſaith *Ezekiel*) *the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all ſpices and all*

[a] Strabo, l. 16. [b] Gen. 11. 31. [c] Jud. 1. [d] Acts 7. 1. [e] Lucan. l. 1. 105. [f] Gen. 10. 10. [g] Gen. 11. 2. [h] Gen. 10. 7.

precious

precious ſtones, and gold. So as *Sheba* was that tract of country, which parteth *Arabia Deſerta* from *Arabia Felix*, and which joyneth to the ſea, where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themſelves to the ocean. This part and the confining country, [a] *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the beſt myrrh and frankincenſe is gathered: which people have an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the eaſt ſide of the *Perſian* gulf. By this it appears who were the *Shebeans*, ſpoken of by *Ezekiel*, and ſaid to have been the merchants of *Tyre*, for gold, ſpices, and precious ſtones: of which they had not only plenty of their own, but were alſo furniſhed from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their aromatics, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Eratoſthenes*, *In Perſicæ oræ initio inſula eſt, in qua multi & pretioſi uniones gignantur: in aliis vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli. Eratoſthenes* (ſaith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, In the beginning of the *Perſian* gulf, there is an iſland, in which there are many precious pearls bred: and in other, very clear and ſhining ſtones. Now, the difference between *Sheba* the ſon of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the ſon of *Cuſh*, is in this, that *Seba* is written with the *Hebrew* (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin*:) but whatſoever the difference may be in the *Hebrew* orthography, their countries and habitations are diverſe. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Perſian* ſea, and *Saba* (whence the queen of *Saba*) neighboured the red ſea; and ſo that place of the 72d *Pſalm* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the *Hebrew* this ſenſe, *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ.*

The *Shebans*, *Ezekiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, becauſe they inhabited upon the out-let of the ſame river, upon which the *Edenites* were ſeated: and ſo thoſe of *Sheba*, towards the ſea-coaſt and upon it, paſs'd up the country, by *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, being joyned in one main ſtream, and ſo through the region of *Eden*, which *Tigris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandiſe toward *Tyre*. And as the cities of *Charran*, and *Canneh*, border *Eden* on the weſt and north-weſt: ſo doth *Sheba* on the ſouth, and *Chilmad* on the north-eaſt: *Chilmad* being a region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean* paraphraſt: which country, by the geographers is called *Coromitena* (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R*) which change the *Hebrews* alſo often uſe.

Thus much of thoſe countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telaſſar*: for theſe *Senacherib* vaunted, that his fathers had deſtroyed; and this place of *Telaſſar* lay moſt convenient, both to receive the trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and alſo to convey it over into *Syria* and to *Tyrus*. Now, to make theſe things the more plain, we muſt remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* empire fell from his obedience, and after his death theſe monarchies were utterly disjoyned.

For it appeareth both in *Eſay* the 37th, and in the 2d of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabſache*, the while the army of *Aſſyria* lay before *Jeruſalem*, that the cities of *Goſan*, *Haran*, *Reſeph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telaſſar*, had reſiſted the *Aſſyrians*: tho' by them (in a ſort) maſtered and recovered. [b] *Have the Gods of the nations delivered them whom my fathers have deſtroyed, as Goſan, and Haran, Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar?* But it appeared manifeſtly after *Senacherib*'s death, that theſe nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others ſubjection: for *Eſar-Haddon* held *Aſſyria*; and *Merodach Baludan*, *Babylonia*. [c] And after that the army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabſache* which lay before *Jeruſalem* (*Hezekiah* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the angel of God deſtroyed; the king of *Babel* ſent to [d] *Hezekiah*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Aſſyrians*. After which overthrow, [e] *Senacherib* himſelf was ſlain by his own ſons in the temple of his idols, *Eſar-Haddon* ſucceeding him in *Aſſyria*. To the *Babylonian* ambaſſadors ſent by *Merodach*, [f] *Hezekiah* ſhewed all his treaſures as well proper as conſecrate, which invited the kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conqueſt and ſubverſion. So as, the ſuſpicion of war encreaſing between *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the north, and towards *Aſſyria*, were employ'd to bear off the incurſions of the *Aſſyrians*; and their garriſon-place was at *Telaſſar*: and the very word (*Telaſſar*) ſaith *Junius*, ſignifying as much as a bulwark againſt the *Aſſyrians*. This place *Hieroſolymitanus* takes for *Reſem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telaſſar* is the ſame, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the hiſtory of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterpriſe of *Perſia*) calleth *Thilutha* inſtead of *Telaſſar*, who deſcribeth the exceeding ſtrength thereof in his 24th book: it is ſeated in an iſland of *Euphrates* upon a ſteep and unaſſaultable rock, inſomuch as the emperor *Julian* durſt not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a garriſon againſt the *Aſſyrians*, being alſo a paſſage out of *Meſopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the country adjoyning were lodged to defend the ſame. This place [g] *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, having *Reſeph* (which he calleth *Reſepha*) on the left hand; and *Canneh* (which he calleth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; not far from whence, is alſo found the city of *Mann-Canne*, upon *Tigris*; and all theſe ſeated together, as *Eſay* and *Ezekiel* have ſorted them. But the underſtanding of theſe places is the more difficult, becauſe *Aſſyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Atturia*) and *Meſopotamia*, were ſo often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchange of dominion. [h] *Aſſyria & Meſopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen tranſierunt* (ſaith *Niger*;) *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia* took the name of *Babylonia*. Laſtly, It appeareth, by thoſe adjacent regions by the prophets named, in what part of the world *Eden* is ſeated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: alſo by *Canneh* and *Reſeph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in theſe words tranſlateth this place: *Plantaverat autem Jehovah Deus hortum in Eden, ab oriente*; The Lord God planted a garden in *Eden* eaſtward: that is (ſaith he in his annotations) *Juſſerat naſci arbores in Eden, regione orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Meſopotamiæ*; He commanded trees to grow in *Eden*, an eaſtern region in the borders of *Arabia* and *Meſopotamia*.

SECT. X.

Of divers other teſtimonies of the land of Eden; *and that this is the* Eden *of* Paradiſe.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it ſeems by the two epiſtles of the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, that inhabit *Meſopotamia*: which epiſtles in the year 1552, they ſent to the pope about the confirming of their patriarch, and *Andræas Maſius* hath publiſhed them, tranſlated out of *Syriac* into *Latin*. By theſe epiſtles (I ſay) it ſeems we may have ſome farther light for the proof of that, which we have ſaid about the region of *Eden*

[a] Strabo, l. 16. [b] Eſay 37. 12. [c] 2 Kings 19. 35. 20. 12. [d] Eſay 39. 1. [e] Eſay 37. 38. [f] Eſay 39. 2. [g] Aſiæ Tab. 4. [h] Coſmog. Aſiæ.

in

in thoſe parts. For in them both, there is mention of the iſland of *Eden* in the river *Tigris*, or at leaſt, *Tigris* in both theſe epiſtles is called the river of *Eden*. This iſland, as *Maſius* in his preface to theſe epiſtles ſaith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the iſland, by an eminency.) It hath (ſaith he) ten miles in circuit, and was ſometimes walled round about, which name of the iſland *Eden* may (doubtleſs) remain to this day; tho' in the reſt of the region ſo called, this name be ſwallowed up with the fame of thoſe flouriſhing kingdoms of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This iſland of *Eden* hath up the river, and not far beyond it, the city of *Haſan-Cepha*, otherwiſe *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Moſal* or *Moſel*, from which (as in that which followeth it ſhall appear out of *Maſius*) it is not above twelve miles diſtant. Neither is it to trouble us, that *Moſal* or *Moſel* by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the cities higher up *Tigris*, in theſe words, [a] *Juxta autem Tigrim, civitates ſunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Moſel dicitur*; *magna ſane, &c.* (that is) By *Tigris* are theſe cities, *Dorbeta* near unto mount *Taurus* (which is now called *Moſel*) which is a great one, *&c.* This opinion of *Niger*, diſplacing *Moſel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I ſay) needs not here to trouble us: ſeeing for this matter, the teſtimony of *Maſius*, informed by the Chriſtians that dwelt there (the ſeat of whoſe patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Moſal* (or *Mozal*) is in the confines of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, ſeated upon *Tigris*, and in the neighbourhood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The *Neſtorian* Chriſtians in their former epiſtle, call it *Attur* in theſe words: *Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ ſunt circum civitatem Moſal (hoc eſt) Attur, in vicinia Nineves*; Of all the cities and towns which are about the city of *Moſal* (that is) *Attur* in the neighbourhood of *Nineve*. As alſo *Niger* acknowledgeth *Cteſiphon* a city thereabout to be called *Aſſur* (which is the ſame as *Attur*, after the dialect of thoſe nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he ſhould miſtake *Cteſiphon* (which is not far off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Aſſur*. By this then we may come ſomewhat near the end of our purpoſe. For the iſle of *Eden*, which lieth in the breaſt of *Tigris*, is but twelve miles from *Moſal* and that ancient city, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the ſcriptures *Nineve*; *Philoſtratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Moſula*, and *John Lean*, *Moſal*, others *Moſſe* (tho' it be not the ſame with *Moſal*) is ſet but a little higher upon the ſame river of *Tigris*, near *Moſal*: ſo that we are like to find this iſle of *Eden* hereabout. For the ſame *Andræas Maſius*, which placeth it above *Moſal*, makes it to be below *Haſan-Cepha*, which is upon the ſame river of *Tigris*.

The only difficulty is this, that ſome perhaps may think, that the words of the *Neſtorians* in both their epiſtles, ſpeak not of any iſle in *Tigris*, called the iſle of *Eden*, but of an iſle in *Tigris*, a river of *Eden*. But this ſenſe of their words in my opinion ſeemeth the more improbable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a teſtimony from the learned of thoſe parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but alſo *Tigris*, was a river of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in thoſe parts is not yet quite worn out, tho' the region hath been ſubject to the ſame change that all other kingdoms of the world have been, and hath by conqueſt and corruption of other languages, received new and differing names. For the ſouth part of *Eden*, which ſtretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the flood called *Shinar*, and then, of the tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*, and the north part of *Eden* is that tract of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris* between mount *Taurus* and *Seleucia*. And of this region of *Eden* that ancient *Æthicus* maketh mention (not that latter *Æthicus*, diſciple of *Gallinicus*, otherwiſe by *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* called *Iſtri*, who lived in *Egypt* in the reign of *Philadelphus*; but another of a far higher and remote time) the fame being made *Latin* out of the *Greek* by St. *Jerome*. And tho' by corruption of the ancient copy it be written, in *Æthicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*: yet *Adonis*, being a river of *Phœnicia*, cannot be underſtood to be the region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a country, and not a river, and joyneth it with *Meſopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Æthiopia*, after the vulgar, and ſeptuagint. And laſtly, the river which watereth the regions (ſaith *Æthicus*) falleth into the gulf of *Perſia*: which river he calleth *Armodius* for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name impoſed for the ſwiftneſs thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a river, or rivers, to water the garden, both which rivers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverſe *Meſopotamia*, regions firſt of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained alſo ſome part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in ſome part thereof (ſaith *Strabo*) the leaves are always green, and therefore therein a perpetual ſpring. Alſo *Stephanus*, *de Urbibus*, mentioneth the city of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in uſe in *Amos*'s time, tho' he ſpake not of *Eden* in the eaſt, but of *Eden* in *Cœleſyria*. But to the end I may not burthen the readers patience with too long a diſcourſe, it may ſuffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once joined together, and afterwards ſeparate) are two of thoſe four heads, into which theſe rivers which are ſaid to water the garden of *Paradiſe*, were divided: whoſe courſes being known, *Eden* (out of which they are ſaid to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the *Seventy* and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: *& Hiddekel, Tigrim omnes exponunt*; and all men underſtand *Hiddekel* by *Tigris* (ſaith *Vatablus.*) And becauſe that which I have ſaid of the iſle of *Eden* ſhall not be ſubject to the cenſure of ſelf-invention, I have hereunder ſet down the words out of the two general epiſtles of the *Neſtorians*, as *Maſius* (*ad verbum*) hath converted them into *Latin*. The occaſion of thoſe letters and ſupplications to the pope, were, that the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, which inhabit *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at leaſt in queen *Mary*'s time they had) fifteen churches in one city called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Moſel* upon the river *Tigris*; having no ſufficient authority to chooſe themſelves a patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three metropolitan biſhops at the leaſt) ſent to the biſhop of *Rome*, in the year of Chriſt 1552 (as aforeſaid) a petition to obtain allowance unto ſuch an election, as themſelves had made: having three hundred years before that, upon the like defect, ſent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the biſhop of *Rome* the ſtate of the Chriſtian church in thoſe parts: for, upon the death of their patriarch (who of a covetous deſire to enrich himſelf, had forborn to inſtitute metropolitan biſhops, when the places fell void) they all aſſembled themſelves together to conſult

[a] Ut ſupra.

of

of the church-government. And becauſe all the patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one houſe and family to the prejudice of the church, and that there yet remained one biſhop of the ſame ſtock and kindred, who aſpired to the ſame dignity which his predeceſſors had held, the reſt of the profeſſors refuſed to allow him. Upon which occaſion, and for the choice of a governour more ſufficient, the teachers in all the churches aſſembled themſelves. The words of the general epiſtle to the pope were theſe, about the middle of the ſaid epiſtle; *Verum nos non acceptavimus, neque proclamavimus ipſum; ſed ſubito convenimus ex omnibus locis orientalibus, & ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ ſunt circum civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt, Attur) in vicinia Nineves, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arbella, ex Inſula quæ eſt in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, &c.* i. e. But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but ſuddenly we aſſembled our ſelves out of all parts of the eaſt, and out of all the cities and villages which are about *Moſel* (or *Attur*) neighbouring upon *Nineve*; and out of *Babylon*, *Charra*, *Arbella*; and out of the iſland which lieth in the middle of *Tigris*, a river, of *Eden*, or rather out of the iſle of *Eden*, which lieth in the river *Tigris*. And in a ſecond epiſtle at the ſame time ſent, they uſed theſe words: *Neque ſuperſunt apud nos metropolitæ, quorum eſt ordinare catholicum; ſed ſoli pauci epiſcopi, epiſcopus Arbelæ, epiſcopus Salmaſti, epiſcopus Adurbeigan; en e veſtigio convenimus in inſulam, quæ eſt intra Tigrim flumen, Eden; fecimuſque compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any metropolitan biſhops, to whom it belongs to ordain a patriarch, but only a few biſhops, as the biſhop of *Arbela*, the biſhop of *Salmaſtus*, and the biſhop of *Adurbeigan:* but lo, we aſſembled ſpeedily in the iſland of *Eden*, which is in *Tigris*, and agreed between our ſelves, *&c.*

Now this iſland of *Eden*, *Maſius* deſcribeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Neſtorian* epiſtles, and the ſtate of the church may be in thoſe parts (ſaith he) the better underſtood. And after he hath diſtinguiſhed the four ſorts of Chriſtians in thoſe parts of the world, and in the ſouth part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Neſtorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronitæ*, and *Cophti*, he goeth on in theſe words: *Mox, audita illius morte, concurriſſe aiebant tumultuario in illam quam modo dixi Tigris inſulam, quæ duodecim circiter paſſuum millibus ſupra Moſal poſita, decem fere millia paſſuum ſuo ambitu continet, muris undique cincta, & a paucis aliis quam Chriſtianis hominibus habitata:* which is, Now hearing of the death of the patriarch (as thoſe that came to *Rome* reported) they ran tumultuouſly together into that iſland of *Tigris* or *Eden* before ſpoken of, which iſland is ſituated about twelve miles above *Moſal*, containing very near ten miles in compaſs, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men than Chriſtians. And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Chriſtian churches; among the reſt he addeth the iſle of *Eden* by the name of *Geſerta*, *inſula Tigris*, *ſive Geſerta*. Furthermore, deſcribing the city of *Hoſan-Cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *ſupra prædictam Tigris inſulam, rupi aſperæ impoſitam*; Above the aforeſaid iſland of *Tigris*, being ſeated on a ſteep rock. Of this iſland of *Geſerta*, *Andrew Theuet* maketh mention in his 10th book of his general coſmography, in theſe words: *Geſerta ou Geſire eſt au milieu de la riviere du Tigre, & penſe que c'eſt une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Aſie*; *Geſerta* or *Geſire* is in the middle of *Tigris*, the ſoil the moſt fertile of all *Aſia*.

By this we may ſee that the ancient name of *Eden* liveth; and of that *Eden* which lieth eaſtward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the deſart where *Moſes* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezekiel*, and that *Eden* which is ſeated according to the aſſertion of the ſaid prophet, and joined with thoſe nations of *Reſeph*, *Canneth*, and *Charran*, and the reſt which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two regions of *Aſſyria*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Telaſſar* were garriſoned to reſiſt the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe diſplantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above-written;) and laſtly, the ſame *Eden*, which embraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known rivers of thoſe four, which are by all men aſcribed to *Paradiſe*.

SECT. XI.

Of the difficulty in the text, which ſeemeth to make the four rivers to riſe from one ſtream.

BUT it may be objected, that it is written in the text, *That a river went out of Eden*, and not rivers in the plural: which ſcruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus anſwered in his chronology: The *Latin* tranſlation, ſaith he, hath theſe words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradiſum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: quæ verba melius conſentiunt cum rei narratione, & ejuſdem explicatione, ſi ita reddantur; & fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc eſt) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, And a river went out of the place of pleaſure to water *Paradiſe*, and thence was divided into four heads; which words (ſaith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus tranſlated; And a river was going forth of *Eden* (that is) rivers went forth, and ran out of the region of *Eden* to water the orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads. The *Tigurine* differs from the vulgar or *Latin*; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis*; And a river went out of pleaſure, inſtead of *Eden*; and the *Latin* addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis*; And a river went out of the place of pleaſure: and ſo the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a region moſt delighful and fertile; and ſo alſo the word (*inde*) and *thence*, was divided, hath reference to the country of *Eden*, and not to the garden it ſelf.

And for the word *(river)* for rivers, it is uſual among the *Hebrews:* for it is written: *Gen.* i. 11. *Let the earth bud forth the bud of the herb that ſeedeth ſeed, the fruitful tree*, &c. Here the *Hebrew* uſeth the ſingular for the plural, *herb and tree*, for *herbs and trees*; and again, *Gen.* iii. 2. *We eat of the fruit of the tree*, inſtead of (trees:) And thirdly, *Gen.* iii. 8. *The man and his wife hid themſelves from the preſence of God*; *In medio ligni Paradiſi*; In the middle of the tree of the garden, for (trees.) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi* and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Geneſis* ſay, that the *Hebrews* do often put the ſingular for the plural, as *illud*, for *unumquodque illorum*; and he giveth an inſtance in this queſtion it ſelf, as, *A river* (for rivers) *went out of* Eden.

And this anſwer out of divers of the learned, may, not without good reaſon, be given to the objection, that *Moſes* ſpeaketh but of one river, from which the heads ſhould divide themſelves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reaſon, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable paſſages into famous countries. And ſo we may take the word (river) verſe the 10th for one river (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this river

(after he is paſt the place, where we ſuppoſe *Paradiſe* to have been) divides it ſelf, and ere long yielded four notable paſſages into ſeveral countries, tho' not all the way down ſtream (for this is no where in the text) where it is noted, that following the river downward, there is conveyance into the countries named in the text, tho' part of the way to one of the countries (to wit, to *Aſſyria*) were up *Tigris*.

To this end the text ſpeaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riſeth from the river of *Eden*, doth not ſay, it compaſſeth or waſheth the whole region of *Aſſyria* (as it had uſed this phraſe of *Piſon* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Aſſyria*. The firſt branch *Piſon*, is *Nahar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Baſilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* under *Apamia*; whence ariſeth the name of *Paſi-Tigris*, as it were *Piſo-Tigris*. This leadeth to the land of *Havila* or *Suſiana*. The ſecond branch *Gehon*, is that which in hiſtorians is *Nabarſares* or *Narragas*, for *Nahar-ragas:* both which names ſignify *flumen derivatum* (a river derived) alſo *Acracanus*, *quaſi Ranoſus*, by reaſon of the froggy fens which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the firſt ſeat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is loſt at length in the lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the upper ſtream of *Piſon*, or *Baſilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly ſo called (that is, into *Tigris*) above *Seleucia*, where it ſheweth a paſſage up *Tigris* into *Aſſyria:* where, becauſe at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tigris*, having before no known proper name, the text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, ſo called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the river *Euphrates*, which runneth thro' *Babylon* and *Otris*. But be it a river or rivers, that come out of *Eden*, ſeeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradiſe* was not far from theſe rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moſes* is *Euphrates*, there can be no queſtion; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (ſaith *Moſes* eaſtward towards *Aſſur*, as we find, that *Tigris* is the river of *Aſſyria proprie dicta*, whoſe chief city was *Nineveh*, as in *Geneſis* the 10th it is written: That out of that land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Aſſur*, and builded *Nineveh*, which was the chief city of *Aſſyria*.

And as for the kind of ſpeech here uſed in the text, ſpeaking of four heads; tho' the heads of rivers be (properly) their fountains, yet here are they to be underſtood, to be ſpoken of the beginning of their diviſion from the firſt ſtream. *Caput aquæ* (ſaith *Ulpianus*) *illud eſt, unde aqua naſcitur; ſi ex fonte naſcatur fons; ſi ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia*, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a fountain, then is the fountain taken for the head: if out of a lake, then the lake; and if from a main river any branch be ſeparate and divided, then where that branch doth firſt bound it ſelf with new banks, there is that part of the river, where the branch forſaketh the main ſtream, called the head of the river.

SECT. XII.

Of the ſtrange fertility and happineſs of the Babylonian *ſoil, as it is certain that* Eden *was ſuch.*

IT may alſo be demanded, whether this region of *Eden*, by us deſcribed, be of ſuch fertility and beauty, as *Eden* the ſeat of *Paradiſe* was: which if it be denied, then muſt we alſo conſider, that there was no part of the earth, that retained that fertility and pleaſure, that it had before the curſe: neither can we aſcribe the ſame fruitfulneſs to any part of the earth, nor the ſame virtue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before the food; and therefore this region of *Eden* may be now no ſuch flouriſhing country, as it was when it was firſt created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: Firſt in *Herodotus*, *Clia. lib.* 1. who was an eye-witneſs, and ſpeaketh of the very place it ſelf, for the iſle of *Eden* is but twelve miles or thereabout from *Nineveh*, and ſo from *Moſal*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod urbs Ninus ſita erat, hæc regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima eſt*, &c. Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, not far from the place where *Ninus* is ſeated; this region, of all that we have ſeen, is moſt excellent. And he addeth afterward, *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeo ferax eſt, ut nunquam non fere ducenta reddat*, &c. (that is) It is ſo fruitful in bringing forth corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: the leaves of wheat and barley being almoſt four fingers broad: as for the height of millet and ſeſam, they are even in length like unto trees, which altho' I know to be true, yet I forbear to ſpeak hereof, well knowing, that thoſe things which are reported of this fruitfulneſs, will ſeem very incredible to thoſe, which never were in the country of *Babylon*. They have commonly in all the country palm-trees growing of their own accord, the moſt of them bearing fruit; out of which they make both meats, and wine, and honey, ordering them as the fig-trees. Thus far *Herodotus*.

To this palm-tree, ſo much admired in the *Eaſt-India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that it yieldeth *bread*; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; of which theſe people make bread, wine, honey, and vinegar. But *Antonius* the eremite findeth a fifth commodity, not inferiour to any of thoſe four, which is, that from this ſelf-ſame tree there is drawn a kind of fine flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in *Eaſt-India* they prepare the cordage for their ſhips; and that this is true, *Athanaſius* in the life of *Antonius* the eremite confeſſeth, ſaying, *That he received a garment made thereof from the eremite himſelf, which he brought with him out of this region.* So therefore thoſe trees, which the *Eaſt-Indies* ſo highly eſteem and ſo much admire (as indeed the earth yieldeth no plant comparable to this) thoſe trees (I ſay) are in this upper *Babylon*, or region of *Eden*, as common as any trees of the field. *Sunt etiam* (ſaith *Strabo*) *paſſim per omnem regionem palmæ ſua ſponte naſcentes*; there are of palms over all the whole region, growing of their own accord. Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report, *Euntibus a parte læva Arabiæ odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campeſtris intereſt inter Tigrim & Euphratem, jacens tam ubere & pingui ſolo, ut a paſtu repelli pecora dicantur, ne ſatietas perimat* (that is) As you travel on the left hand of *Arabia* (famous for plenty of ſweet odours) there lieth a champain country placed between *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and ſo fruitful and fat a ſoil, that they are ſaid to drive their cattle from paſture, leſt they ſhould periſh by ſatiety. *Bis in anno ſegetes Babylonii ſecant*; The *Babylonians* cut their corn twice a year (ſaith *Niger*.) And as countries generally are more fruitful to the ſouthward, than in the northern parts: ſo we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the ſouth part of *Armenia*, which is the north border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his words be theſe in the *Latin*, *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat manſuetis, itemque ſemper virentibus*; This region aboundeth with pleaſant fruits, and trees always green: which witneſſeth a perpetual ſpring, not found elſewhere but in the *Indies* only, by reaſon of the ſun's neighbourhood, the life and ſtirrer up of nature in a per-

a perpetual activity. In brief, ſo great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are conſtrained twice to mow down their corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with ſheep: which husbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the valley of *Mexico*, for the firſt forty years, could not make out kind of wheat bear ſeed, but it grew up as high as the trees, and was fruitleſs. Beſides, thoſe fields are altogether without weeds (ſaith [a] *Pliny*) who addeth this ſingularity to that ſoil, That the ſecond year the very ſtubble (or rather falling down of the ſeeds again) yieldeth them a harveſt of corn without any further labour: his words are theſe: *Ubertatis tantæ ſunt, ut ſequenti anno ſponte reſtibilis fiat ſeges.*

SECT. XIII.

Of the river Piſon, *and the land of* Havilah.

AFTER the diſcovery of *Eden*, and the teſtimonies of the fertility thereof, it reſteth to prove that *Piſon* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certainty of theſe two rivers ſhould trouble ſo many wiſe men, it is ſtrange to me, ſeeing neceſſity itſelf (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out: for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both, be that river or rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradiſe*, which river or rivers *Moſes* witneſſeth afterward; divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Piſon*, the other *Gehon*, *&c.* Could there be a ſtranger fancy in the world, than when we find both theſe, namely, *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia*, to ſeek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two rivers as far diſtant, as any of fame known or diſcovered in the world: the ſcriptures making it ſo plain, that theſe rivers were divided into four branches; and with the ſcriptures, nature, reaſon and experience bearing witneſs. There is no error, which hath not ſome ſlippery and bad foundation, or ſome appearance of probability reſembling truth, which when men (who ſtudy to be ſingular) find out (ſtraining reaſon according to their fancies) they then publiſh to the world matter of contention and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformity of mens minds to find ſome partakers or ſectators, the better by their help to nurſe and cheriſh ſuch weak babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this miſtaking (and firſt for the river of *Piſon*) ſeemeth to have grown out of the not diſtinguiſhing of that region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah*, which adjoineth to *Babylonia*, afterwards known by the name of *Suſiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tigris* took name from *Havilah* the ſon of *Cuſh*; and *Havilah* in *India* from *Havilah* the ſon of *Joctan*; the one remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, the other where [b] *Moſes* ſetteth down the generations of *Noah* and his ſons after the flood. For the ſons of *Cuſh* were *Seba*, *Havila*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*; and the ſons of *Joctan* were *Ophir* and *Havilah*, &c. of which latter, to wit, of *Ophir* and *Havilah*, the ſons of *Joctan*, that *iſland of Ophir* (whence *Solomon* had gold) and *Havilah* adjoining had their names. Now becauſe *Ganges* is a great and a famous river of the *Eaſt-India*, and *Havilah* a country of the ſame, and is ſituated upon *Ganges*, hence it came, that *Ganges* is taken for [c] *Piſon*, which river is ſaid by *Moſes* to water the land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps it was ſuppoſed that thoſe four rivers, named by *Moſes*, muſt of neceſſity be four of the greateſt in the world; whence (ſuppoſing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous river after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, they choſe out this river to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another river, whom in theſe reſpects they ſhould rather have choſen than *Ganges*; for the river *Indus* on this ſide *India*, for beauty, for nearneſs, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*; but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reaſonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be one of the four heads: ſeeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tigris*; and between *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large empire of *Perſia*, conſiſting of many kingdoms. And again, farther towards the eaſt, and beyond *Indus*, are all thoſe ample dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie between thoſe two proud rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, becauſe it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Perſia*, then how much leſs *Ganges*, which falleth into the ocean, little leſs than forty degrees to the eaſtward of *Indus*? Surely whoſoever readeth the ſtory of *Alexander* ſhall find, that there is no river in *Aſia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaſpis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* tranſported himſelf and the greateſt part of his army, and in ſailing down that branch of *Indus*, found it ſo large and deep, and by reaſon thereof ſo great a billow, as it endangered his whole fleet, which was ready to be ſwallowed up therein: *Hydaſpis* (as aforeſaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having beſides this, the rivers of *Coas*, of *Suaſtus*, *Aceſines*, *Adris* (otherwiſe *Hirotis*) *Hiſpalis* and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are ſwallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one ſtream, it croſſeth athwart *Aſia*, and then at *Cambaia* viſiteth the ocean ſea.

But becauſe *Piſon*, which compaſſeth *Havilah*, as alſo [d] *Gehon*, which watereth *Cuſh*, muſt ſomewhere be joined with the reſt in one body, or at leaſt be found to proceed out of the ſame country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed, out of doubt they cannot, either the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riſeth in the uttermoſt of the ſouth, and runneth northward into the *Mediterranean* ſea; and the river *Ganges* riſeth out of the mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucaſus*, which divides the northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from north to ſouth into the *Indian* ocean. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not far off in the ſame *Armenia*, by the *Gordiæan* mountains, ſo as *Ganges* who only travelleth in her own *India*, and *Nilus* thro' *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, never ſaw the land of *Eden*, or joined themſelves in one channel, either with themſelves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be ſeparated or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moſes*.

Therefore the river *Piſon*, which inricheth *Havila*, is the ſame which by joining itſelf with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Piſi-tigris*, or *Piſo-tigris*, of *Piſon* and *Tigris*, which river watereth that *Havilah*, which *Havilah* the ſon of *Cuſh* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, ſo called of *Havilah* the ſon of *Joctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the eaſt. And this *Havilah* of the *Cuſhites* hath alſo [e] gold, bdellium, and the onyx-ſtone. This bdellium is a tree, of the bigneſs of an olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain gum, ſweet to ſmell to, but bitter

[a] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 18. c. 17. [b] Gen. 10. 7. 10. 29. [c] Gen. 2. 11. [d] Gen. 2. 13. [e] Gen. 2. 12.

in

in taſte, called alſo bdellium. The *Hebrews* take the loadſtone for bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in *Hebrew* ſignifieth pearl: ſo doth *Eugubinus*; and *Jerome* calls it *Oleaſter*: be it what it will, a tree bearing gum or pearl: *Havilah* or *Suſiana* hath plenty of both. Now this country of *Suſiana* or *Havilah* ſtretcheth itſelf towards the north, as far as the altars of *Hercules*, and from thence embraceth all the tract of land ſouthward, as far as the *Perſian* gulf, on the eaſt ſide thereof: from which eaſt-ſide had the *Shebans* (which traded with the city of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold, which *Strabo* alſo witneſſeth, as was ſhewed before.

The [a] *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Piſon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-ezra* (ſaith [b] *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranſlateth *Piſon* into *Nilus*: but *Nilus* findeth the ſame impoſſibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the ſea of *Helleſpont* and all *Aſia* the leſs, between it and *Tigris*. Now *Piſon*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Suſiana*, doth to this day retain ſome ſign of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other under the city of *Apamia*, there do they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Piſo-tigris*. And it is ſtrange unto me, that from ſo great antiquity there ſhould be found remaining any reſembling ſound of the firſt name: for *Babylon* itſelf, which dwelleth ſo near theſe rivers, is by ſome writers known by the name of *Bandas*, as, by [c] *Poſtellus*, by *Caſtaldus*, of *Baldach*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by [d] *Andrew Theuet*; and yet all thoſe that have lately ſeen it, call it *Bagdet*. To this river of *Piſon*, [e] *Ptolemy* indeed, with many others, give the name of *Baſilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they term *Maharſares* and *Marſias*, and *Baarſares*. So is *Euphrates*, near the ſpring and fountain, by *Strabo* and [f] *Pliny* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puckperah*, out of the *Hebrew*, that is, the profuſion or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh thro' the mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the *Hebrews Parath* (ſaith *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Joſephus*, *Phorah*: *Euſebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Giſtilanus* and *Colinutius* term it *Cobar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Aſſyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The ſame confuſion of names hath *Tigris*, as, *Diglito*, and *Diglath*, *Seilax*, and *Sollax*: of the *Hebrews* it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Geneſis* conceiveth rightly of theſe rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (ſaith he) ſtream into four branches, two of which keep their ancient names, and the other two are called *Piſon* and *Gehon*. The reaſon why theſe two rivers joyned in one (below *Apamia*) loſe their names, and are called *Piſi-tigris*, and the memory of *Euphrates* extinguiſhed, is, becauſe the beſt part of *Euphrates* running through the channel of *Gehon*, ſinketh into the lakes of *Chaldea*, not far from *Ur*, the city of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Perſian* ſea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Piſon* doth.

This error, that *Piſon* was *Ganges*, was firſt broached by *Joſephus* (whoſe fields, tho' they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be ſufficient in matter of deſcription, whereupon depended no other important conſequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, and *Jerome*, take this for current; whereof it followed, that as *Piſon* was tranſported into the *Eaſt India*, to find out *Havilah*: ſo was *Gehon* drawn into *Africa*, to compaſs *Ethiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moſes* ſpeaketh in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, be found to be a region, adjoyning to *Babylon* on the one ſide, and *Cuſh* (which is falſly interpreted *Ethiopia*) faſtned to it on the other ſide, we ſhall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impoſe upon men the tranſportation of rivers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other uſes) were made to tranſport men. Now it was in the valley of *Shinar*, where *Cuſh* the ſon of *Ham* firſt ſat down with his ſons, *Sheba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the ſon of *Cuſh*, did that region take name, which *Piſon* compaſſeth; and the land (called *Cuſh*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cuſh* himſelf. For as the ſons of *Joctan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, ſeated themſelves as near together as they could in *India*, ſo did the ſons of *Cuſh* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah* or *Chavilah* was firſt *Chuſea* of *Cuſh*; then *Chuſa*, *Suſa*, and *Suſiana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the deſarts of *Sur*, did the *Iſraelites* and *Amalekites* poſſeſs all the interjacent countries: for [g] *Saul* ſmote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur* the *Chaldean* paraphraſt converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red ſea; but this was not meant from *Sur* upon the red ſea, to *Havilah* in the *Eaſt India*; for *Saul* was no ſuch traveller or conqueror, and therefore *Havilah* muſt be found nearer home, where the ſons of *Iſmael* inhabited, and which country *Saul* waſted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* poſſeſt that neck of country, between the *Perſian* ſea, and the red ſea; *Havilah* being the extreme of the one towards the eaſt, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the weſt, leaving that great body of *Arabia Fœlix* towards the ſouth; and they ſpread themſelves with the *Midianites* and *Edumeans*, from the eaſt part, or back-ſide of the *holy land*, to the banks of *Euphrates*, compriſing the beſt parts of *Arabia Petræa* and *Deſerta*.

SECT. XIV.

Of the river Gehon *and the land of* Cuſh: *and of the ill tranſlating of the* Ethiopia *for* Cuſh, 2 Chron. xxi. 16.

NOW, as *Havilah* in the *Eaſt India* drew *Piſon* ſo far out of his way thither, ſo I ſay did *Cuſh* (being by the Seventy tranſlated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cuſh* being taken for *Ethopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latins* followed, *Gehon* conſequently was eſteemed for *Nilus*. But [h] *Ethiopians* are, as much, as *black or burnt faces*, whoſe proper country is called *Thebaides*, lying to the ſouthward of all *Egypt*. And altho' there be many other regions of *Ethiopians*, and far ſouth in *Africa*, yet thoſe of *Thebaides* are thoſe ſo often remembered in the *Egyptian* ſtories, and out of which nation they had many times their kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopians* are very near, or elſe directly under the *Equinoctial line*, which is very far from that land inhabited by the *Chuſites*; who are neither black of colour, nor in any ſort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualify in this manner. There are (ſaith he) two *Ethiopia's*, the eaſt, and the weſt: and this diviſion he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Ho-*

[a] Steuch. [b] Hopk. de Par. [c] Poſt. Coſmog. [d] Theuet. Coſmog. [e] Aſiæ tab. 4. [f] Plin. lib. 5. c. 24. [g] 1 Sam. 15. 7. [h] *See more of this point*, c. 7. §. 10.

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mer. Now becauſe there is no colour to make *Chus Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Cuſh* and the land of the *Chuſites* (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the happy, with the region of *Midian*) to be the eaſt *Ethiopia*.

Now if it be granted, that *Cuſh* and the land of the *Chuſites*, be that tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the ſcriptures: [a] *Habitavit Iſmael ab Havilah uſque Sur, quæ reſpicit Ægyptum introeuntibus Aſſyrios*; *Iſmael* dwelt from *Havilah* unto *Sur*, that is, towards *Egypt*, as thou goeſt towards *Aſſyria*: The ſame ſufficeth to prove that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a river which watereth *Cuſh*, and not *Ethiopia*. But this place of ſcripture *Habitavit Iſmael*, &c. hath this ſenſe: *Iſmael* dwelt from *Havilah*, which is the way of *Aſſyria*, or the country bordering *Aſſyria*; and *Sur*, which lyeth towards *Egypt*, which is as much to ſay, as, the [b] iſſues of *Iſmael* (whereof there were twelve princes) whom God had promiſed to make a great people, inhabited all thoſe regions between the border of *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*. And that they were (according to the word God) ſo increaſed and multiplied, it well appeared, when [c] *Zerah* the *Chuſite*, which others call *Tharantha*, brought an army of ten hundred thouſand againſt *Aſa* king of *Juda*. Which army came not out of *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; for that had been a ſtrange progreſs for ſuch a multitude, as ten hundred thouſand, having ſo mighty a king as the king of *Egypt*, between *Paleſtina* and *Ethiopia*. But theſe were the *Chuſites*, *Amalekites*, *Midianites*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Aſa* (ſtrengthned by God) had defeated this world of an army, he in following his victory took ſome of the cities of king *Zerah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a city of the *Ethiopians*, it cannot be ſuſpected: for theſe be the words of the ſcripture diſproving it: [d] *And Abraham departed thence towards the ſouth country, and dwelt between Cadeſh and Sur, and ſojourned in Gerar*; Now *Sur* is that part, upon which *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* firſt ſet their feet after they paſſed the red ſea, where the [e] *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* ſet on them, ſuppoſing that they had been weary, and unable to reſiſt. Again, in the ſtory of *Iſaac* it is written, [f] *Wherefore Iſaac went to Abimelech, and the Philiſtines unto Gerar*: and I am ſure *Abimelech* and the *Philiſtines* were no *Ethiopians*. And laſtly, *Moſes* himſelf, where he deſcribeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath theſe words: [g] *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comeſt to Gerar*: for *Sydon* was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the north, and *Gerar* by *Gazah* towards the ſouth. But indeed, howſoever *Pererius* doth with an honeſt excuſe ſalve his tranſlation of *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint*, and *Joſephus* did altogether miſunderſtand this place. And firſt, for *Homer*'s eaſt and weſt *Ethiopia*, they are both found elſewhere. For *Pliny* in his fifth book and eighth chapter, citeth *Homer* for an author, of theſe two *Ethiopia*'s. But the eaſt *Ethiopia* is that which compaſſeth *Nilus* to the ſouth of *Egypt*, and is the ſouth border thereof; now a part of the empire of the *Abyſſines*, under *Preſter John*; and the weſt *Ethiopia* is that, which joyneth it ſelf with the river *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for thereabouts are theſe *Ethiopians*, called *Perorſi*, *Daratites*, with divers other names, which [h] *Pliny* numbereth. But all theſe are in *Africa*, and beyond the *deſarts* thereof, ſaith *Pliny* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Juba*, which regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Preſter John*, and the *Troglodites*) lie due eaſt and weſt. But as for *Cuſh*, and the region of the *Iſmaelites*, &c. they are extended directly north from that *Ethiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Joſephus* was exceeding groſs herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of *Moſes* when he ſerved *Pharaoh*, in the wars againſt the *Ethiopians*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Ethiopia*) he tranſporteth *Midian* by miracle over the red ſea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and ſetteth it in *Ethiopia*, as ſhall be ſhewed more at large in the chapter of the world's plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly tranſlated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confeſſeth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greek* copy, than otherwiſe. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of the prophet *Jeremy*. [i] *And what haſt thou now to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Ægypti, ut bibas aquam Gehon?* To this ſaith *Pererius*, *profecto Hebraice ibi non eſt vox Gehon ſed Sichor, quæ ſignificat nigrum & turbidum*; Truly (ſaith *Pererius*) the word *Gehon* in this place, is not found in the *Hebrew*, but *Sichor*, which ſignifieth black and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifeſt and unanſwerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for *Ethiopia*. [k] *Moſes* married the daughter of *Jethro*, prince and prieſt of *Midian*, whom both the *Greek* and *Latin* call a *Midianite*, and not [l] *Ethiopiſſam*, as (with *Joſephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it helps it a little with a marginal note. Now it is without diſpute, that *Zipporah* was of the country of *Midian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petræa*, bordering the red ſea; for it is written in *Exodus*, that *Moſes* [m] *fled from Pharaoh into the land of Midian, and ſat down by a well, &c.* and again, [n] *When Moſes kept the ſheep of Jethro his father-in-law, prieſt of Midian, &c.* Indeed, theſe four nations are every where mixt in the ſcriptures, becauſe they dwell confuſedly with one another (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Iſmaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chuſites*, which were all in one general word, *Arabians*, and in the ſcriptures ſometimes called by one of thoſe names, and ſometimes by another, as in *Gen.* xxxvii. 25, 27, 28, that *Joſeph* was ſold to the *Iſmaelites*; and again, *v.* 36. it is written, that the *Midianites* ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh*'s ſteward. The *Genevians*, in a marginal note (to avoid this confounding of the nations) ſay, that *Moſes* wrote according to their opinion, who took the *Midianites* and *Iſmaelites* to be all one. But *Moſes* wrote not after any man's opinion, he wrote the truth, and theſe were all *Arabians*, and ſo in this very place it appeareth by their merchandiſe, which they brought with them, when they bought *Joſeph*: for their [o] camels were laden with ſpicery, and balm, and myrrh, which are the trades of *Arabia Fœlix*, from whence chiefly, and from the *Eaſt India*, all the world is ſerved with myrrh and frankincenſe; and their ſpices they received from the eaſt ſide of the *Arabian Gulf*, as aforeſaid. And in chap. 39. ver. 1. it is ſaid: That *Potiphar* bought *Joſeph* of the *Iſmaelites*, which the *Chaldean* paraphraſt in the ſame place calleth *Arabians*. Now, to make this the more manifeſt, it is written, in *Judges* vi. 3. That when *Iſrael* had ſown, then came up the *Midianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the eaſt, and came upon them: they of the eaſt, were *Arabians* of the *Deſart*; ſo as where before, in the buying of *Joſeph*, the *Midianites* and the *Iſmaelites* were confuſed, here the *Midianites* and *Amalekites*, are made one nation. For in the proſecution of the ſtory of *Gideon*, the [p] *Midianites*

[a] Gen. 25. 18. [b] Gen. 25. 16. [c] 2 Chron. 14. 9. [d] Gen. 10. 11. [e] Exod. 17. 8. [f] Gen. 26. 1. [g] Gen. 10. 19.
[h] Plin. l. 5. 8. [i] Jer. 2. 18. [k] Exod. 2. 21. 3. 1. [l] Numb. 12. 1. [m] Exod. 2. 15. [n] Exod. 3. 1. [o] Gen. 37. 25.
[p] Judges chap. 6.

only are named as comprehending both nations; and these nations are all called [a] *Ismaelites*, and neither *Midianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gideon* desired, that every man would give him the golden ear-rings, which they had taken, after the victory against *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, kings of *Arabia*, amounting to seventeen hundred sheckles of gold, it is written: [a] *For they had gold earrings, because they were Ismaelites.* And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valiant nation, and ever in action of war. [b] *Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; *His hand* (saith God of *Ismael*) *shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him.* Of these *Ismaelites* came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the *Desarts* of *Sur* and *Pharan* (saith *Josephus*) use poison upon their arrows, as the *Indians* do. Towards the south-east are the *Midianites*, and *Chusites*: and beyond them, towards the *Desarts* of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*; and all are one nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, the ill translation of *Ethiopia* for *Chus*, is, amongst other places, made most apparent, in *Chronicles*, in these words: [c] *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirit of the Philistines and the Arabians, which confine the Ethiopians*; so *Jerome* reads it; the *Geneva* translation hath it, *which were besides the Ethiopians.* Now, how far it is off, between the *Philistines*, and the *Negroes*, or *Ethiopians*, every man that looketh in a map may judge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* do mix and join with the land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from *Ethiopia* about 32 or 33 degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the *Desarts* of *Sur*, and *Pharan*, are between them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should have been translated in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirits of the Philistines, and Arabians, which confine and border upon the Chusites*, who indeed are their next neighbours. [d] *Nulla supereſt dubitatio, quin Æthiopia in ſacris literis ſit Arabiæ propinqua*; There remaineth no doubt (saith *Steuchius*) but *Ethiopia* in the scriptures is taken for that country, which joineth to *Arabia*.

Now may we think it is probable, or possible, that *Moses* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No; he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would never have named *Gehon* for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely if *Moses* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the river (into which he was cast upon reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the [e] daughter of *Pharaoh*) a river of *Egypt*, wherein he was born and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides, the river of *Nilus* is often named in the scriptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Israelites*, that *Nilus* had been a river of *Paradise*, they might justly have thought that he had derided them: for they had lived there all the days of their lives, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof; except we shall believe the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (saith [f] *Pliny*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild olives instead of golden apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in [g] *Isaiah*, and once in the prophet [h] *Jeremy*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a river of *Ethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Israelites* had never any communion or affairs with the *Ethiopians*, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the south; but the enemies, which they had on the south, and east parts, were these nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: who being often governed by many little kings, or *reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the fathers and heads of those nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the north-side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cœlesyrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalines*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest cities upon the sea-coast, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others: yea, *Jerusalem* itself was with-held from *Israel* (from the days of *Moses* even unto the time of *David*) by the *Jebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty is, that it doth not appear, that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia the stony*, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desart* it was, that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himself in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two rivers, and call them *Gehon*, and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*, for I find none such *in rerum natura*, as he hath described: by which rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, even *Arabia the Desart*.

And as he well proved that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon Nilus*: so where to find them elsewhere, it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this river of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterranean* at *Gaza*, and whose springs he findeth far east in *Arabia*, is but imaginary: for the current by *Gaza* is but a small stream, rising between it and the red sea, whose head from *Gaza* itself is little more than twenty *English* miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their near neighbours, and never looked back to the first seats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the flood, *Chus* and his children never rested, till they found the valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himself with his sons first inhabited. *Havilah* took the river-side of *Tigris* chiefly on the east, which after his own name he called *Havilah* (now *Susiana*:) *Raamah* and *Sheba* farther down the river, in the entrance of *Arabia Fœlix*. *Nimrod* seated himself in the best of the valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth into the lakes of *Chaldea*, and in process of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more westerly towards the red or *Arabian* sea: from whence *Mizraim* pass'd over into *Egypt*, in which tract the *Chusites* remained for many years after. Now because there could be no such river found in *Arabia the stony*, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus Ethiopia*, and *Gehon Nilus*. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first peopled this island, had arrived upon the river *Thames*, and calling the island after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a river that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards, in process of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and con-

[a] Judges 8. 24. [b] Gen. 16. 12. [c] 2 Chron. 21. 16. [d] Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. 2. [e] Exod. 2. [f] Plin. lib. 5. c. 1. [g] Isaiah 23. 3. [h] Jer. 2. 18.

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quered *Scotland*, which he alſo entituled by the ſame name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, becauſe the river *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us ſuppoſe that *Europa*, the daughter of the king of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, *lib.* 1. *&* 4. and that the firſt diſcoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of ſome river in *Thrace*, which then watereth as much of *Europe*, as he firſt diſcovered, ſhall we in like ſort reſolve, that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, &c. are no part of *Europe*, becauſe that river is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it ſaid by *Moſes*, in his deſcription of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole land of *Chus*; but not the whole land which the *Chuſites* ſhould or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, ſeeing in after-ages they became lords of many nations, and they might (perchance) have been maſters in time (as the *Saracens* which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For tho' the *Babylonian* empire, which took beginning in *Nimrod* the ſon of *Chus*, conſiſted at the firſt but of four cities (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*, yet we find, that his ſucceſſors within a few years after commanded all the whole world in effect: and the fame of *Babel* conſumed the memory of *Chuſea*. For of this *tower of confuſion* did all that land take the name of *Babylonia:* and the greatneſs of that empire, founded by *Nimrod* a younger ſon, obſcured the name and nation of his father *Cuſh* in thoſe parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian* empire, where the *Chuſites* retained their names, which alſo they faſtened to the ſoil and territory by themſelves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think that *Chus* or any of his could in haſte creep thro' thoſe deſert regions, which the length of 130 years after the flood had (as it were) fortified with thickets, and permitted every buſh and briar, reed and tree, to join themſelves (as it were) into one main body and forreſt. For if we look with judgment and reaſon into the world's plantation, we ſhall find, that every family ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſibly they could; and tho' neceſſity enforced them, after they grew full of people, to ſpread themſelves, and creep out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times reſort, and ſuccour one another by river, the fields being then (without all doubt) impaſſable. So *Nimrob*, who out of wit and ſtrength uſurped dominion over the reſt, ſat down in the very confluence of all thoſe rivers, which watered *Paradiſe:* for thither it was to which the greateſt troops of *Noah*'s children repaired; and from the ſame place whence mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increaſe. The firſt father of men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The ſecond father of mankind *Noah*, began from thence his diſperſion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngeſt, yet ſtrongeſt, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforeſaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleanſed and enriched; ſo did *Havilah* place himſelf upon *Piſo-Tigris: Raamah* and his ſon *Sheba* farther down upon the ſame river, on the ſea coaſt of *Arabia: Chus* himſelf upon *Gehon*, the faireſt branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to ſpread themſelves farther off, yet they always faſtened themſelves to the rivers ſides: for *Nineveh*, *Charran*, *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and the other firſt peopled cities, were all founded upon theſe navigable rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the other, as is already often remembred.

SECT. XV.

A concluſion by way of repetition of ſome things ſpoken of before.

BUT now to conclude this diſpute, it appeareth to me by the teſtimonies of the ſcriptures, that *Paradiſe* was a place created by God, and a part of this our earth and habitable world, ſeated in the lower part of the region of *Eden*, afterwards called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Meſopotamia*, which taketh into it alſo a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia:* this region ſtanding in the moſt excellent temper of all others (to wit) 35 degrees from the *Equinoctial*, and 55 from the north pole: in which climate the moſt excellent wines, fruits, oil, grain of all ſorts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this ſaid ſoil and temper, than the abundant growing of the palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein ſoever the earth, nature, and the ſun can moſt vaunt, that they have excelled, yet ſhall this plant be the greateſt wonder of all their works: this tree alone giveth unto man whatſoever his life beggeth at nature's hand. And tho' it may be ſaid, that theſe trees are found both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, which countries are alſo bleſſed with a perpetual ſpring and ſummer, yet lay down by thoſe pleaſures and benefits the fearful and dangerous thunders and lightnings, the horrible and frequent earthquakes, the dangerous diſeaſes, the multitude of venomous beaſts and worms, with other inconveniences, and then there will be found no compariſon between the one and the other.

What other excellences this garden of *Paradiſe* had, before God (for mans ingratitude and cruelty) curſed the earth, we cannot judge; but I may ſafely think that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular garden exceed all parts of the univerſal world, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the trees of life, of knowledge; plants only proper, and becoming the *Paradiſe* and garden of ſo great a lord.

The ſum of all this is, that whereas the eyes of men in this ſcripture have been dim-ſighted (ſome of them finding *Paradiſe* beyond our known world: ſome, above the middle region of the air: ſome, elevated near the moon: others, as far ſouth as the line, or as far north, as the pole, *&c.*) I hope that the reader will be ſufficiently ſatisfied, that theſe were but like caſtles in the air, and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was eaſtward in *Eden* (ſaith *Moſes*;) eaſtward, in reſpect of *Judea*, that God planted this garden, which *Eden* we find in the prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in ſome part) remaineth to this day. A river went out of *Eden* to water this garden, and from thence divided it ſelf into four branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* ſwimming thro' *Eden* do join in one, and afterward taking ways apart, do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moſes:* the true ſeats of *Chus* and his ſons then being in the valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, the ſcripture, reaſon, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joined cannot be divided. *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the rivers of *Eden*; that *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the ſame diſtance maketh the ſame impoſſibility, and this river is a greater ſtranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for altho' there are between *Tigris* and *Ganges* above four thouſand miles, yet they both riſe in the ſame quarter of the world; but *Nilus* is begotten in the mountains of the moon, almoſt as far off as the *Cape of Good Hope*,

Hope, and falleth into the *Mediterranean* ſea: and *Euphrates* diſtilleth out of the mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the gulf of *Perſia*: the one riſeth in the ſouth, and travelleth north: the other riſeth in the north, and runneth ſouth, threeſcore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leaf following, I have added a chorographical deſcription of this terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, that the reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding diſcourſe; and this is the reward I look for, that my labours may but receive an allowance ſuſpended, until ſuch time as this deſcription of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief trees in the garden of PARADISE.

SECT. I.

That the tree of life was a material tree: and in what ſenſe it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made ſubject to death.

FOR eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge was *Adam* driven out of *Paradiſe*, *in exilium vitæ temporalis*, into the baniſhment of temporal life, ſaith *Beda*. That theſe trees of life and knowledge were material trees (tho' figures of the law and of the goſpel) it is not doubted by the moſt religious and learned writers: altho' the the wits of men, which are ſo volatile, as nothing can fix them, and ſo ſlippery as nothing can faſten them, have in this alſo delivered to the world an imaginary doctrine.

The tree of life (ſay the *Hebrews*) hath a plural conſtruction, and is to be underſtood, *Lignum vitarum*, the tree of lives, becauſe the fruit thereof had a property, to preſerve both the growing, ſenſitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for [a] *Adam*'s tranſgreſſion) had prolonged his own days, but alſo given a dureful continuance to all poſterity; and that, ſo long as a body compounded of elements could laſt.

And altho' it is hard to think, that fleſh and blood could be immortal, but that it muſt once periſh and rot, by the unchanged law of God impoſed on his creatures, man (notwithſtanding) ſhould have enjoyed thereby a long, healthful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of moſt divines) he ſhould have been tranſlated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the flood, the days of men had the long meaſure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and ſoon after the flood, of two hundred years and upwards even to five hundred: ſo if *Adam* had not diſobey'd God's firſt and eaſy commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longeſt times of the firſt age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chryſoſtom*, *Rupertus*, *Toſtatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adam*'s fall and tranſgreſſion) *Adam* and his poſterity had been immortal. But ſuch is the infinite wiſdom of God, as he foreſaw that the earth could not have contained mankind; or elſe, that millions of ſouls muſt have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the firſt number, wherewith the earth was repleniſhed, had abode thereon for ever: and therefore that of *Chryſoſtom* muſt be underſtood of immortality of bodies, which ſhould have been tranſlated and glorified.

But of what kind or ſpecies this tree of life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which reſpect many have conceived, that the ſame was not material, but a mere *allegory*, taking their ſtrength out of *Solomon*, where wiſdom is compared to the tree of life, and from other places, where alſo *Chriſt* is called the tree of life, and out of the *Apocalypſis*, [b] *I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the tree of life, which is in the* Paradiſe *of God.* But to this place St. *Auguſtine*'s anſwer may ſuffice (which is) that the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, ſo there was a celeſtial. For altho' *Agar* and *Sara* were figures of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, yet to think that they were not women, and the maid and wife of *Abraham*, were mere fooliſhneſs. And ſo in this place the ſenſe of the ſcripture is manifeſt. *For God brought out of the earth every tree fair to ſight, and ſweet to taſte; the tree alſo of life in the midſt of the garden*: which ſheweth, that among the trees, which the earth by God's commandment produced, the tree of life was one, and that the fruit thereof was alſo to be eaten. The report of this tree was alſo brought to the ancient poets: for as from the indigeſted matter or *chaos*, *Heſiodus*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, ſteal the invention of the created world; ſo from the garden of *Paradiſe*, they took the platform of the orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Heſperides*: and from the tree of life, their *Nectar*, and *Ambroſia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, ſignifieth *making young*, and *Ambroſia*, *immortality*; and therefore ſaid to be the meat and drink of the Gods.

SECT. II.

Of Becanus's *opinion, that the tree of knowledge was* Ficus Indica.

NOW for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, ſome men have preſumed farther, eſpecially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himſelf the honour to have found out the kind of this tree, which none of the writers of former times could ever gueſs at, whereat *Goropius* much marvelleth. But as he had an inventive brain, ſo there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himſelf. Surely howſoever his opinion may be valued, yet he uſurpeth the praiſe due to others, at leaſt if the invention be at that price at which he ſetteth it. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* faſtened on this conjecture above ſix hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himſelf referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his author *Philoxenus Maburgenſis*, and others, whoſe very words *Goropius* uſeth, both concerning the tree, and the reaſons wherewith he would induce other men to that belief. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* in his treatiſe of *Paradiſe* (the firſt part, and fol. 48.) ſaith, that the tree of knowledge was *ficus Indica*, the *Indian* fig-tree, of which the greateſt plenty (ſaith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Aceſines*, one of the rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his fleet of gallies in, or near the kingdom of *Porus*.

This tree beareth a fruit of the bigneſs of a great pea, or (as [c] *Pliny* reporteth) ſomewhat bigger, and that it is a tree *ſe ſemper ſerens*, always planting it ſelf; that it ſpreadeth it ſelf ſo far abroad, as that a troop of horſemen may hide themſelves under it. [d] *Strabo* ſaith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no leſs than a ſhield. *Ariſtobulus* affirmeth that fifty horſemen may ſhadow themſelves under one of theſe trees. *Oneſicritus* raiſeth this number to four hundred. This tree (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) exceedeth all other in bigneſs, which alſo *Pliny* and *Oneſicritus* confirm: to the trunk of which theſe authors give ſuch a magnitude, as I

[a] Part. ſept. 2. l. 1. 174. [b] Apocal. 2. 7. [c] Plin. l. 11. c. 5. [d] Lib. 1. c. 2.

ſhame

ſhame to repeat. But it may be, they all ſpeak by an ill-underſtood report. For this *Indian* fig-tree is not ſo rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiveth, who, becauſe he found it no where elſe, would needs draw the garden of *Paradiſe* to the tree, and ſet it by the river *Aceſines*. But many parts of the world have them, and I my ſelf have ſeen twenty thouſand of them in one valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moiſt grounds, and in this manner. After they are firſt ſhot up ſome twenty or thirty foot in length (ſome more, ſome leſs, according to the ſoil) they ſpread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or ſtem: for from the utmoſt end of the head-branches there iſſueth out a gummy juice, which hangeth downward like a cord or ſinew, and within a few months reacheth the ground; which it no ſooner toucheth but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh it ſelf a tree exceeding haſtily. From the utmoſt boughs of theſe young trees there fall again the like cords, which in one year and leſs (in that world of a perpetual ſpring) become alſo trees of the bigneſs of the nether part of a launce, and as ſtrait as art or nature can make any thing, caſting ſuch a ſhade, and making ſuch a kind of grove, as no other tree in the world can do. Now one of theſe trees conſidered, with all his young ones, may (indeed) ſhroud four houndred or four thouſand horſemen, if they pleaſe; for they cover whole vallies of ground where theſe trees grow near the ſea-bank, as they do by thouſands in the inner part of *Trinidado*. The cords which fall down over the banks into the ſea, ſhooting always downward to find root under water, are in thoſe ſeas of the *Indies*, where oyſters breed, intangled in their beds, ſo as by pulling up one of theſe cords out of the ſea, I have ſeen five hundred oyſters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, that oyſters grew on trees in *India*. But that they bear any ſuch huge leaves, or any ſuch delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to *Goropius Becanus*. This tree (ſaith he) was good for meat and pleaſing to the ſight, as the tree of knowledge of good and evil is deſcribed to be.

Secondly, This tree having ſo huge a trunk (as the former authors report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themſelves from the preſence of God, for no other tree (ſaith he) could contain them. But firſt it is certain, that this tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or ſtem, for among ten thouſand of them it is hard to find any one bigger than the reſt, and theſe are all of a mean ſize. Secondly, the words of *Moſes* traſlated *in medio ligni*, are by all the interpreters underſtood in the plural number (that is) *in the midſt of the trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moſes Bar-Cephas*, word for word) is, that when [a] *Adam* and *Eve* found themſelves naked, they made them breeches of fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the tree it ſelf was a fig-tree, or that a fig-tree grew near it: becauſe *Adam* being poſſeſs'd with ſhame, did not run up and down the garden to ſeek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it ſelf; and theſe leaves of all others were moſt commodious, by reaſon of their largeneſs, which *Pliny* avoweth in theſe words; [b] *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet*, the breadth of the leaves hath the ſhape of an *Amazonian* ſhield: which alſo *Theophraſt* confirmeth; the form of which target *Virgil* touches:

[c] *Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis*
Penthesilæa furens.

The *Amazon* with creſcent-formed ſhield
Penthesilea leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* deſireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed diſcovery, uſing this confident (or rather cholerick) ſpeech. *Quis erit tam impudenter obſtinatus, ſi hæc a nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis ſcriptoribus cum Moſis narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inveniri poſſe, quæ cum illa magis quadret*; Who will be ſo impudently obſtinate, if he compare theſe things, which we have reported of this fig-tree, and out of ancient writers delivered, with the narration of *Moſes*, as to dare to avow, that any other tree can be found, which doth more properly anſwer, or agree therewith. But for my ſelf, becauſe I neither find this tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſs of leaves, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: that the earth never brought forth any of theſe trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind: only thereby, and by the eaſy commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon, it pleaſed God to make trial of his obedience: [d] *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum puræ ac ſimplicis obedientiæ bonum*; Being forbidden, not for any other reſpect, than thereby to commend the goodneſs of pure and ſimple obedience.

SECT. III.

Of Becanus's *not unwitty allegorizing of the ſtory of his* Ficus Indica.

BUT in this I muſt do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this tree, allowing his ſuppoſition of the tree it ſelf to be true. The effects whereof, becauſe his diſcourſes are exceeding ample, I have gathered in theſe few words. As this tree (ſaith he) ſo did man grow ſtraight and upright towards God, until ſuch time as he had tranſgreſſed and broken the commandment of his Creator; and then like unto the boughs of this tree, he began to bend downward, and ſtooped toward the earth, which all the reſt of *Adam*'s poſterity after him have done, rooting themſelves therein, and faſtening themſelves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiouſneſs of this tree he compareth to the dark and ſhadowed life of man, thro' which the ſun of juſtice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the ſhadow of death, till it pleaſed *Chriſt* to climb the tree of the croſs for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among ſo many large leaves, may be compared (ſaith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived knowledge among ſo large vanities, which obſcure and ſhadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding ſweet, and delicate to the taſte and palate; ſo are the delights and pleaſures of the world moſt pleaſing while they dure. But as all thoſe things which are moſt mellifluous, are ſooneſt changed into choler and bitterneſs: ſo are our vanities and pleaſures converted into the bittereſt ſorrows and repentances. That the leaves are ſo exceeding large, the fruit (for ſuch leaves) exceeding little, in this, by compariſon we behold (ſaith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their ſollicitude, their outward ſhews and publick oſtentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we ſeek for the fruit, which ought to be their vir-

[a] Gen. 3. 7. [b] Pl. l. 12. c. 5. [c] Virg. Æn. l. 1. 494. [d] Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, l. 13. c. 20.

tuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigneſs of the ſmalleſt pea; glory, to all the world apparent; goodneſs, to all the world inviſible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body, and boughs of this tree, by ſo much exceed all other plants, as the greateſt men of power and worldly ability ſurpaſs the meaneſt: ſo is the little fruit of ſuch men, and ſuch trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthieſt ſhrub, and humbleſt briar, or the pooreſt and baſeſt man, than ſuch a flouriſhing ſtatelineſs and magnitude. Laſtly, whereas *Adam*, after he had diſobey'd God, and beheld his own nakedneſs and ſhame, ſought for leaves to cover himſelf withal, this may ſerve to put us in mind of his and our ſins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which we uſe ſo many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

SECT. IV.

Of the name of the tree of knowledge of good and evil: with ſome other notes touching the ſtory of Adam's *ſin.*

NOW, as touching the ſenſe of this tree of knowledge of good and evil, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the property of the tree itſelf, *Moſes Bar-Cephas*, an ancient *Syrian* doctor (tranſlated by *Maſius*) giveth this judgment, that the fruit of this tree had no ſuch virtue or quality, as that by the taſting thereof, there was any ſuch knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* alſo noteth, *Arbor ſcientiæ boni & mali (id eſt) experientiæ boni & mali ab eventu*; The tree of knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event. For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phraſe) by the workmanſhip of God's own hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant, out of whoſe ſeed all men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the breath or ſpirit of God, he could not (for theſe reſpects) be ignorant, that the diſobeying of God's commandment was the fearfulleſt evil, and the obſervation of his precepts the happieſt good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithſtanding) conceive, that ſickneſs is grievous, and yet in no ſuch degree of torment, as by the ſuffering and experience in themſelves they afterwards witneſs: ſo was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the puniſhments due to neglect and diſobedience; and yet felt by the the proof thereof in himſelf another terror than he had forethought, or could image. For looking into the glaſs of his own guilty ſoul, he beheld therein the horror of God's judgments, ſo as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchaſed evil, which could not be expreſs'd. He then ſaw himſelf naked both in body and mind; that is, deprived of God's grace and former felicity: and therefore was this tree called the tree of knowledge, and not becauſe the fruit thereof had any ſuch operation, by any ſelf-quality or effect: for the ſame phraſe is uſed in many places of the ſcriptures, and names are given to ſigns and ſacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In ſuch ſort as this tree was called the tree of knowledge, becauſe of the event (as is aforeſaid) ſo was the well of [a] contention therefore called [b] *Eſek*, and the well of hatred [c] *Sitnath*, becauſe the herdſmen of *Iſaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heap of ſtones, called the [d] *heap of witneſs*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*, not that the ſtones bare witneſs, but for a memory of the covenant. So *Jacob* called the houſe of God [e] *Bethel*: and [f] *Hagar*, the well in the *deſart*, *viventis & videntis*.

But *Adam* being both betray'd and maſtered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himſelf, and looking but ſlightly (as all his iſſues do) into the miſeries and ſorrows incident, and greatly affecting the ſuppoſed glory which he might obtain by taſting the fruit forbidden, he was tranſported and blown forward by the gentle wind of pleaſing perſuaſions unawares; his progreſſion being ſtrengthened by the ſubtile arguments of *Satan*, who laboured to poiſon mankind in the very root, which he moiſtened with the liquor of the ſame ambition, by which himſelf periſhed for ever.

[g] But what means did the devil find out, or what inſtruments did his own ſubtilty preſent him, as fitteſt and apteſt to work this miſchief by? even the unquiet vanity of the woman; ſo as by *Adam*'s hearkening to the voice of his wife, contrary to the expreſs commandment of the living God, mankind by that her incantation became the ſubject of labour, ſorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a counſellor. [h] *But becauſe thou haſt obeyed the voice of thy wife*, &c. (ſaith God himſelf) *Curſed is the earth for thy ſake, in ſorrow ſhalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is alſo to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; even by the moſt ugly and unworthy of all beaſts, into whom the devil entred and perſuaded.

Secondly, What was the motive of her diſobedience: even a deſire to know what was moſt unfitting her knowledge, an affection which hath ever ſince remained in all the poſterity of her ſex. Thirdly, What was it that moved the man to yield to her perſuaſions? even the ſame cauſe which hath moved all men ſince to the like conſent, namely, an unwillingneſs to grieve her and make her ſad, leſt ſhe ſhould pine and be overcome with ſorrow. But if *Adam* in the ſtate of perfection, and *Solomon* the ſon of *David*, God's choſen ſervant, and himſelf a man endued with the greateſt wiſdom, did both of them diſobey their Creator, by the perſuaſion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not ſo wonderful as lamentable, that other men in ſucceeding ages have been allured to ſo many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perſuaſions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and ſhadow many malicious purpoſes with a counterfeit paſſion of diſſimulate ſorrow and unquietneſs.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things between the fall of Adam, *and the flood of* Noah.

SECT. I.

Of the cauſe and the revenge of Cain's *ſin: and of his going out from God.*

THE ſame pride and ambition which began in angels, and afterwards poſſeſs'd *Adam*, *Cain* alſo inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptation of his brother's prayer and ſacrifice) ſlew him, making himſelf the firſt man-ſlayer, and his brother the firſt martyr: the revenge of which

[a] Numb. 20. 13. [b] Gen. 26. 20. [c] Gen. 26. 21. [d] Gen. 31. 48. [e] Gen. 28. 19. [f] Gen. 16. 14. [g] Bart. ſem. 2. l. 2. [h] Gen. 3. 17.

unnatural

unnatural murder, although it pleaſed God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his puniſhment was greater than he could bear. For the ſame offence chiefly (wherewith the ſons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he deſtroyed all mankind, but *Noah* and his family: for it is written, [a] *The earth alſo was corrupt before God:* of which in the ſame place *Moſes* giveth a reaſon; for, ſaith he, *The earth was filled with cruelty:* and anon, after God himſelf made the cauſe known unto *Noah*, ſaying, *An end of all fleſh is come before me, for the earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will deſtroy them with the earth*, or *from the earth:* Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men only, but in all ſorts of injuſtice and oppreſſion. After this murder of *Abel*, [b] *Cain went out from the preſence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, towards the eaſt-ſide of Eden:* in which words, the going out of *Cain* from the preſence of the Lord, is not to be underſtood after the literal ſenſe; God being wholly in all parts of the world. [c] *Totus in cœlo eſt, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, ſed utrumque ſimul*; God (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) is wholly in heaven, and wholly in earth, and not by interchanged times, but all at once: and that this is true, *David* witneſſeth. [d] *If I be in heaven* (ſaith *David*) *thou art there; if in hell, thou art there alſo:* but what is meant thereby? [e] *Exiit a facie Dei* (ſaith *Chryſoſtom*) *Cain* went out from the preſence of the Lord, that is, he was left of God, diſfavoured and bereaved of his protection.

SECT. II.

Of Cain's *dwelling in the land of* Nod: *and of his city* Enoch.

THIS word *Nod*, or *Naid*, [f] St. *Jerome* and many others underſtand to ſignify wandering, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, ſaith *Junius:* but the *Seventy* convert it otherwiſe, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a country, and ſo doth [g] *Joſephus*. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a vagabond or wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing elſe, and that his thoughts and conſcience had no quiet or reſt, in regard of the murder committed, juſtly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: [h] *And whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith *Cain*) *ſhall ſlay me*. Now that *Nod*, or *Naid*, was a region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word [*dwelt*] for dwelling ſignifieth an abiding: and we call thoſe people wanderers and vagabonds that have no dwelling-place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifeſt, [i] *Moſes* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the eaſt-ſide of *Eden*. Secondly, It is ſaid by *Moſes*, that after *Cain* departed from the preſence or favour of God, he built a city, and called it by the name of his firſt-born, *Enoch*; which ſheweth that he feared to wander, and rather ſought to fortify himſelf againſt revenge. *Cyrillus* ſaith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Chriſt* and of the *Jews*; and that as *Cain*, after that he had ſlain *Abel* unjuſtly, had thenceforth no certain abiding in the world: ſo the *Jews*, after they had crucified the Son of God, became runnegates: and it is true, that the *Jews* had never ſince any certain eſtate, commonweal, or prince of their own upon the earth. Now this land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deſerta*, a region of *Nomades*; but *Arabia the Deſart* is not eaſtward, or on the eaſt-part of *Eden*, neither are theſe *Nomades* any particular people or nation. For all theſe, in what part of the world ſoever, which in old time lived by paſtorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) upon white-meat without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greeks Nomades*, and by the *Latins Paſtores vagi*, as the northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britons*, and the northern *Iriſh:* yea, ſuch were the inhabitants of *Italy* itſelf, till ſuch time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the huſbandry of tillage uſed at this day. But the region eaſtward from *Eden* is that part of *Aſſyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Calena*, which alſo might be derived of *Carena*, the county of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in thoſe parts it may be gathered by the firſt poſſeſſion of his father *Adam*; for thus it is written, [k] *Therefore the Lord God ſent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken:* and in the verſe following, *Thus he caſt out man*, &c. *and at the eaſt-ſide of the garden of Eden he ſet the Cherubins:* which ſheweth that the entry into *Paradiſe* was from the eaſt, by which entrance *Adam* was caſt out, and therefore inhabiting on that ſide of *Paradiſe* which was eaſtward, according to the text: *Cain* alſo in the ſame region ſought his dwelling-place. Now, if the word *Nod*, or *Naid*, do ſignify *profugus*, that is, a fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, than till he built the city of *Enoch*, the firſt of the world, which he incloſed either for his own defence, or (as *Joſephus* writeth) to oppreſs others thereby. So as for my own opinion, I am reſolved with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a region; and for the word [*vagabond*] which *Cain* uſeth of himſelf, it ſeemeth by the percloſe of the ſame verſe, that [*vagabond*] is therein underſtood for ſuch an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: *for whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith *Cain*) *ſhall ſlay me*; or elſe [*vagabond*] is taken for a man without protection, and caſt out from the favour of God.

And becauſe theſe *Henochians*, ſo called of the city *Henoch*, were the firſt ſociety and civil aſſembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of theſe people (either for cruelty, ſtrength, or other actions) lived in the memory of *Noah* and his ſons; ſo that after the flood (as there were of all ſorts of natures, ſome virtuouſly, ſome impiouſly, diſpoſed, and every active mind ſetting before it whom to follow or imitate) thoſe people, which delighted in cruelty and oppreſſion, took on them their names whoſe natures they moſt liked and allowed; of whom theſe *Enochians* were not the leaſt. Perchance the place it ſelf where *Enoch* ſtood before the flood, and whereof the monuments might remain (as the pillars or the foundation of *Joppe* did) gave occaſion to the planters of that place to call themſelves by the ſame names: for of thoſe *Enochians* there were many nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*, and of the ſame name many mountains, as thoſe which are otherwiſe called *Coraxici*. And ſeeing that it is hard to find out the truth of theſe things, which the moſt aged time hath covered over or defaced, we may (according to the counſel of [l] *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith ſatisfy our ſelves, if of ſo great and almoſt worn-out antiquity, if of the eldeſt people's names and nations, there remain any print or footſteps to poſterity.

[a] Gen. 6. 11, 13. [b] Gen. 4. 16. [c] Aug. de civitate Dei, l. 12. c. 19. [d] Pſal. 139. 8. [e] Chryſoſt. in Gen. Homil. 2. [f] Jerom. rad. Heb. [g] Joſeph. l. 1. c. 3. [h] Gen. 4. 14. [i] Gen. 4. 16, 17. [k] Gen. 3. 23, 24. [l] Quotidie aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriuntur. Seneca ad Albinum.

In

In [a] *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find thoſe *Henochei* deſcribed, though diverſly written, as in *Pliny* ſometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela Eniochi*, in *Flaccus*, *Heniochi*, in *Lucan Enochii*, all which inhabit upon the ſea *Euxinus*, but yet none of theſe are on the eaſt ſide of *Eden*, or (according to *Moſes*'s words) eaſtward from *Eden*. For *Moſes*, in all places where he deſcribeth any region, was ſo exceeding preciſe, as ſometimes he uſeth the word eaſt or ſouth without borrowing, or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as eaſtward or ſouthward, or towards the eaſt or ſouth. In the place of *Geneſis* xi. ver. 2. he writeth the word [eaſt] ſimply and directly. *And as they went from the eaſt, they found a plain in the land of Shinar*, but this of *Cain* he addeth the word [towards] as, *in the land of Nod towards the eaſt ſide of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining ſome one point or two either to the north or to the ſouth of the eaſt.

But as we may conjecture that theſe nations took name of *Henoch*, the city of *Cain*, or of the region wherein it ſtood, when the ſame was repeopled after the flood: ſo it is probable that theſe *Henochii* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoyning, were not the firſt of that name, after the ſons of *Noah* began to fill the world again: becauſe, had this *Henoch* the city of *Cain* ſtood in any of theſe parts, it had then been ſeated north, and not eaſt or eaſtward from *Eden*. But as [b] *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, ſo afterwards he goeth on eaſtward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth theſe of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; [c] *Ptolemy Zani*; beyond which, an hundred and fifty miles eaſtward, he findeth another nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond theſe again he diſcovereth a third nation, from whence all the reſt took beginning, which inhabited on the weſt ſide of the mountains of *Paro-paniſus*, between them and the great river of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the north ſide; and theſe *Henochii* are due eaſt from the region of *Eden*, and eaſtward from the very garden it ſelf.

And altho' we cannot be aſſured, that theſe *Henochii* took name from the memory of the city of *Henoch* directly, yet becauſe they inhabited due eaſt from *Paradiſe*, and afterwards ſpred themſelves weſtward (as all *Noah*'s ſons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable, than that of *Annius* the frier, who ſets *Henoch* in *Phenicia*, quite contrary to *Moſes*'s word: *Phenicia* from all parts of *Eden* being directly weſt.

And beſides theſe ſeveral nations of the *Henochii*, [d] *Stephanus* findeth a region called *Henochia*, and the ſame alſo in the eaſt, with divers mountains about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana* of the ſame name. Only the *Grecians* (according to their fabulous inventions of all things elſe) out of the word [*Heniochi*] which ſignifieth carts or coach-men, make theſe nations to have ſprung from the waggoners of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (to wit) [e] *Amphipes* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterpriſe of *Jaſon* into *Colchis*. And tho' I do not deny, but that *Jaſon* with other *Greeks* ranged the coaſts of *Aſia* the leſs, in an open boat or kind of ſmall galley, [f] of whom I ſhall ſpeak in his own time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden fleece was for the moſt part poetical; and withal that in ſuch an open boat, which could hardly carry their own rowers, being fifty-four, there was no place, and leſs uſe of coach-horſes or waggoners.

SECT. III.

Of Moſes's *omitting ſundry things concerning* Cain's *generation.*

BUT of the remembrance and teſtimonies of the name of the city of *Henoch* in prophane ſtory, thus much may ſuffice; now it followeth to anſwer ſome few objections againſt certain particulars in the fourth and fifth chapter of *Geneſis*: againſt which for the firſt it is demanded, how it was poſſible for *Cain* (having no other aſſiſtance than his ſon *Henoch*) to perform ſuch a work as the building of a city, ſeeing there is thereto required ſo many hands, and ſo great a maſs of all ſorts of materials? To which it is anſwered, that we are firſt to conſider, that of *Cain* (becauſe he was the parent of an impious race) *Moſes* uſeth no ample declaration; and ſo it beſt agreeth with his divine reaſon, ſeeing that he containeth the whole ſtory of the firſt race, which waſted by the leaſt account 1656 years, in five ſhort chapters. Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakeſt reaſon, that ſeeing it pleaſed God to beſtow on the firſt generations of mens lives, ſo long a meaſure, as 800 and 900 years, that in ſuch a ſpace *Cain* had not want of leiſure and means to build many ſuch cities as *Henoch*, be the capacity anſwering to what other of the world ſoever: for in what age of *Cain*'s life he built it, the ſcriptures are ſilent: as of thoſe times, and the times of his iſſues *Moſes* had the leaſt care. And as it was ſaid of *Cain*, that he built a city: ſo was it ſaid of *Noah*, that his three ſons peopled all the world: but in both, the proceſs of time required to be underſtood: which advice ſeeing *Moſes* uſeth where the ſpace leſs requireth it, as knowing that he writ the ſcriptures to reaſonable men, we may eaſily underſtand, that ſuch was his meaning alſo in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of *Abel*, and oblation of *Cain*, he ſpake it in this ſort, *Fuit autem poſt dies multos*, or *a fine dierum* (that is) in proceſs of time *it came to paſs that Cain brought an oblation.* And therefore it is in like ſort to be underſtood of *Cain*, that many years fore-gone, and when his people were increaſed he built the city of *Enoch* or *Henoch.*

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, ſo of [g] *Solomon*, that he built the temple of *Jeruſalem*; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he employed in that work 150000 labourers: for this phraſe or ſpeech is common with our ſelves to ſay, the king invaded; when he cauſed an invaſion to be made: and he built, when he commanded ſuch a building. And therefore ſeeing we find, that *Moſes* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cain*'s iſſues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he alſo paſſeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumſtance: for of *Cain*, *Moſes* writeth in this manner: [i] *Cain alſo knew his wife, who conceived and bare Enoch, and he built a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his ſon Enoch. And to Enoch was born Irad, and Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methuſael, and Methuſael Lamech.*

Now of *Seth*, *Moſes* writeth far otherwiſe, and in this manner. [k] *And Seth lived* 105 *years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch* 807 *years, and begat ſons and daughters: ſo as all the days of Seth were* 912 *years, and he died*, as for the years and times of the wicked they were not numbered *in libro viventium*, ſaith *Cyril.* But in *Seth*

[a] Plin. l. 6. c. 9, 11, & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. ult. Strabo, lib. 11. Val. Flac. l. 6. Lucan. l. 3. v. 37. [b] Plin. l. 6. c. 4, 5. [c] Ptol. tab. Aſiæ 3. [d] Steph. de urb. [e] Nat. Comes *calleth them* Rhecas. Nat. Com. l. 8. c. 9. Strabo, l. 11. [f] *In the ſecond book of this part*, cap. 13. §. 5. [g] 2 Kings 6. [h] Gen. 4. 17, 18. [i] Gen. 5. 6.

was the church of God eſtabliſhed, from whom *Chriſt* deſcended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moſes* walked in, and finiſhed it with care, paſſing over the reprobate generation (as aforeſaid.) Of the line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moſes* remembreth but eight generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* alſo therein, as followeth:

I. ADAM.

2. *Cain.*
3. *Henoch.*
4. *Irad.*
5. *Mahujael.*
6. *Mathuſael.*
7. *Lamech*, who by *Ada* had
8. *Jubal* and *Tubal*, and by *Silla* *Tubalcain* and *Noëma.*

2. *Seth.*
3. *Enos.*
4. *Cainan.*
5. *Mahaleel.*
6. *Jarad.*
7. *Henoch.*
8. *Methuſalem.*
9. *Lamech*, and
10. *Noah.*

Theſe be the generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the ſcriptures mention: but *Joſephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threeſcore and ſeventeen ſons and daughters, by his two wives *Ada*, and *Silla:* and to theſe three ſons of *Lamech*, *Moſes* aſcribeth the invention of paſtorage, of muſick, and the working in metal; for it ſeemeth that [a] *Jubal* firſt gathered together, and made familiar thoſe beaſts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into herds and droves: [a] *Tubal* invented muſick, and [a] *Tubalcain* the working in braſs and iron: the one being addicted to huſbandry, the other was mechanical, the third given to idleneſs and pleaſure. In whom began theſe three meaner degrees of ſhepherds, handy-crafts men, and muſicians. And in the iſſues of *Seth* began the ſervices of God, divinity, prophecy, and aſtronomy: the children of the one beheld the heavens, the other the earth.

SECT. IV.

Of the diverſities in the ages of the patriarchs when they begat their children.

A Second ſcruple hath been made, how it came to paſs that the *patriarchs* begat their children at ſo divers ages as *Cainan* or *Kenan* at ſeventy years, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threeſcore and five years, whereas *Jarad* begat not any of his until he was 162 years old: *Methuſalem* begat at 187; *Lamech* at 182, and *Noah* at 500 years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, becauſe it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jarad*, *Methuſalem*, or *Lamech* abſtained from marriage out of the religion of abſtinence, ſeeing that *Enoch*, who was tranſlated by God for his ſingular ſanctities, begat children before he was threeſcore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariſeth in this, that *Moſes* did not number the generations before the flood preciſely, according to the firſt-begotten and eldeſt ſons of the *patriarchs*; but he drew down the line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterwards from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true anceſtors, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Enoch* was not the eldeſt of *Jarad*, nor *Lamech* the firſt-born of *Methuſalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many ſons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though theſe three were only named, and ſurviving, and which by God were reſerved to be the fathers of mankind after the flood; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threeſcore and ten years who was the firſt ſon of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methuſalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187th year of his life, the difference ſeemeth ſtrange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldeſt. But *Moſes* rejecteth all the other ſons of *Methuſalem* but *Lamech* only, becauſe he was the father of *Noah* as aforeſaid. Of this St. *Auguſtine* hath ſomewhat elſe in his 20th and 21ſt chapters *de civitate Dei.*

But as *Moſes* counted the generations of the firſt age, and ſo to *Abraham*, and the children of the promiſe after him; ſo doth St. *Matthew* recite the genealogy of *Chriſt*, not by the eldeſt ſons, but from thoſe whom God had choſen and bleſſed, without reſpect of the firſt-born, who have hereby the prerogative in eſtates, worldly and tranſitory only; and therefore the [b] *Evangeliſt* nameth *Iſaac* and not *Iſmael*, tho' *Iſmael* were firſt in time: ſo doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Eſau* the elder; neither is *Chriſt* derived from any of the three eldeſt *patriarchs*, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth brother, and ſo from *David* a younger ſon of *Jeſſai*; and laſtly we find, that the kingdom it ſelf of *Juda* was not given to the heir in nature, but to the heir of grace, namely [c] *Solomon.*

SECT. V.

Of the long lives of the patriarchs: and ſome of late memory.

THE third objection is, that the great difference of years between thoſe of the firſt age, whereof ſome of them had well near ſeen a thouſand years, makes it diſputed, whether the account of times were of the ſame meaſure is in after-ages, ſeeing that ſoon after the flood men lived not a third part of that time, and in ſucceeding ages and to this day not the tenth.

[d] They that have hereon reſolved that thoſe years were but Lunary years (to wit) of a month or thereabouts, or *Egyptian* years, are eaſily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enos* in the year of his life one hundred and five, if thoſe years be taken but for months, then had *Seth* lived but eight years and one month when he begat *Enos:* and if the time of *Enos* have the ſame allowance, when he begat *Cainan*, then could *Enos* at that time have been but ſix years and forty-eight weeks old; and ſo it may be gathered of the reſt excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the trees in their kind, bearing fruit and ſeed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at ſix, ſeven or eight years, agreeth with the ſhort lives of the pigmies, and not with the conſtitutions of our firſt fathers, who being deſcended from *Adam*, the workmanſhip of God's hands, and begotten and born in the ſtrong youth of the world, had length of days and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that thoſe which lived longeſt, and upwards of nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of fourſcore and ten and odd years; which were not only leſs by far than the patriarchs lived after the flood, but ſhort of many mens lives in this decrepit age of the world, wherein many exceed fourſcore, and ſome an hundred years. Further (if need be) to diſprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen.* xxv. that *Abraham* died in a good age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former account were of Lunary years) makes but ſeventeen and an half of our years.

[a] Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22. [b] Mat. 1. 2. [c] 1 Kings 2. [d] Solin. Pol. hiſt. c. 3. Macrob. Saturn. l. 1. c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

And if we ſeek for a cauſe of this long life in nature, then is it reaſonable, that the firſt man, created in higheſt perfection, ſhould alſo beget children of equal ſtrength or little differing: for of the firſt and pureſt ſeed there muſt of neceſſity ſpring up the faireſt and fruitfulleſt plants. Secondly, the earth it ſelf was then much leſs corrupt, which yielded her increaſe, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any ſuch mixture of harmful quality, as ſince that time the curſe of God for the cruelty of man's heart brought on it and mankind: neither had the waters of the flood infuſed ſuch an impurity, as thereby the natural and powerful operation of all plants, herbs, and fruits upon the earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the ſun have one time of ſtrength, and another of weakneſs, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: ſo time it ſelf (under the deathful ſhade of whoſe wings all things decay and wither) hath waſted and worn out that lively virtue of nature in man, and beaſts, and plants, yea the heavens themſelves being of a moſt pure and cleanſed matter ſhall [a] wax old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative virtue from the ſuperiour.

But beſides the old age of the world, how far doth our education and ſimplicity of living differ from that old time? the tender bringing up of children, firſt fed and nouriſhed with the milk of a ſtrange dug; an unnatural curioſity having taught all women (but the begger) to find out nurſes, which neceſſity only ought to commend unto them: the haſty marriages in tender years, wherein, nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her, and replant her branches, while her ſelf hath not yet any root ſufficient to maintain her own top; and ſuch half-ripe ſeeds (for the moſt part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their infancy. But above all things the exceeding luxurioufneſs of this gluttonous age, wherein we preſs nature with overweighty burdens, and finding her ſtrength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of ſtrong waters, hot ſpices, and provoking ſauces; of which *Lucan* hath theſe elegant verſes:

[b] —— *O prodiga rerum*
Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu:
Et quæſitorum terra pelagoque ciborum
Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſæ,
Diſcite quam parvo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrrhaque bibunt: ſed gurgite puro
Vita redit: ſatis eſt populis fluviuſque cereſque.

O waſtful riot, never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of cates by land and ſea far fetcht and ſent:
Vain glory of a table ſumptuous,
Learn with how little life may be preſerved.
In gold and myrrh they need not to carouſe,
But with the brook the people's thirſt is ſerved:
Who fed with bread and water are not ſtarved.

The [c] *Ægyptians* affirm, that the longeſt time of man's life is an hundred years, becauſe the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to ſtrength fifty years, and afterwards by the ſame degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his philoſophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Beroſus* to a hundred and ſeventeen years. Theſe opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the laſt taxation, number and review of the eighth region of *Italy*, there were found in the roll (ſaith [d] *Pliny*) fifty-four perſons of an hundred years of age: fifty-ſeven of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred twenty-five: four, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and thirty-five, or an hundred and thirty-ſeven years old: and laſt of all, three men of an hundred and forty: and this ſearch was made in the times of *Veſpaſian* the father and the ſon.

The ſimple diet and temperate life of the [e] *Eſſæans* gave them long account of many years: ſo did it to the ſecretaries of *Egypian* ceremonies, to the [f] *Perſian Magicians* and *Indian Brachmans*. The *Greeks* affirm out of *Homer*, that *Neſtor* lived three ages, and *Tireſias* ſix, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the leſs *Aſia*, little leſs: alſo *Maſiniſſa* of *Numidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the kings of *Arcadia* many lived three hundred years (ſaith *Ephorus*) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that ſome of them live full two hundred years: and ſo doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*: and that theſe reports are not fabulous, *Joſephus* bringeth many witneſſes with himſelf, as *Marethon*, *Beroſus*, *Mochus*, *Eſtius*, *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, *Hecatæus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an hiſtorian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an *Indian* preſented to *Solyman*, general of the *Turks* army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my ſelf knew the old counteſs of *Deſmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munſter*, who lived in the year 1589, and many years ſince, who was married in *Edward* the fourth's time, and held her jointure from all the earls of *Deſmond* ſince then; and that this is true, all the noblemen and gentlemen of *Munſter* can witneſs. *Strozzius Cicogna*, out of *Torquemada Maffæus*, and the like authors, telleth of ſome that have not only far exceeded the term preſcribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered eſtate of decrepit age to freſh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in thoſe days wherein *Galen* the phyſician lived, it may eaſily prove unto us what reeds we are in reſpect of thoſe cedars of the firſt age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let blood ſix pound weight, whereas we (for the moſt part) ſtop at ſix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting conſtellations) which are the natural cauſes of a long and healthful life (to wit) ſtrong parents, a pure and thin air, and temperate uſe of diet, pleaſure, and reſt: for thoſe which are built of rotten timber, or mouldering ſtone, cannot ſtand long upright; on air we feed always and in every inſtant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppreſs and overcharge nature, maketh her to ſink unawares in the midway; and therefore with a good conſtitution, a pure air, and a temperate uſe of thoſe things which nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

SECT. VI.

Of the patriarchs delivering their knowledge by tradition: and that Enoch *writ before the flood.*

A Fourth ſcruple hath been made, how the certain knowledge of the creation came to *Moſes*, ſeeing there was no ſtory thereof written, and if any ſuch had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of antiquity periſhed in the univerſal flood.

But if we conſider the curioſity and policy of elder ages, we ſhall find that knowledge was the great-

[a] Pſ. 102. 26. [b] Pharſal. l. 4. [c] Pier. Hierog. l. 2. [d] Plin. l. 7. c. 29. [e] Joſeph. antiq. l. 13. c. 8. [f] Plin. l. 7. c. 43.

eſt

eſt treaſure that men ſought for, and which they alſo covered and hid from the vulgar ſort, as jewels of ineſtimable price, fearing the irreverent conſtruction of the ignorant and irreligious: ſo as whatſoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in nature, the ſame was not left to publick diſpute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wiſe men to poſterity equally zealous, [a] *Ex animo in animum ſine literis, medio intercedente verbo*; From mind to mind without letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by *Eſdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius* (as [b] *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moſes* did not only upon the mount receive the law from God, but withal *ſecretiorem & veram legis enarrationem*, a more ſecret and true explanation of the law, which (ſaith he out of the ſame authors) he delivered by mouth to *Joſhua*, and *Joſhua* to the elders: for to teach theſe myſteries, which he called *ſecretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quam dare ſanctum canibus, & inter porcos ſpargere margaritas*, than to give holy things to dogs, and to caſt pearls before ſwine. In ſucceeding times this underſtanding and wiſdom began to be written in ciphers, and characters, and letters bearing the form of beaſts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught only to ſuch, as ſerved in their temples, and to their kings and prieſts. Of the firſt the *Cabala* of the *Jews* was an imitation: the invention of the other is inſcribed to *Zoroaſter*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falſly.

This [c] *Cabala* importeth a law received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in *Hebrew* is *receptio* in *Latin*, and a *receiving* in *Engliſh*. And this cuſtom was alſo held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our ancient *Britons*, and of later times by the *Iriſh chroniclers* called *rymers*. If then ſuch as would ſeem wiſeſt in the uſe of reaſon, will not acknowledge, that the ſtory of the creation or beginning of all things was written by inſpiration, the Holy Ghoſt guiding the hand of *Moſes*; yet it is manifeſt, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then uſed) be delivered unto him by a more certain preſumption, than any or all the teſtimonies which prophane antiquity had preſerved and left to their ſucceſſors: which their wiſe men (as they term them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* inſtructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and ſucceſſors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifeſt, that *Methuſalem* lived together with *Adam* himſelf two hundred forty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methuſalem* no leſs than five hundred years: and before *Noah* died *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old; from whence this knowledge, by an eaſy and ordinary way, might come to *Iſrael*, and ſo to *Moſes*.

But beſides this tradition, it is queſtionleſs, that the uſe of letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by thoſe prophecies written on pillars of ſtone and brick by *Enoch*: of which [d] *Joſephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike ſome ruin or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are aſcribed to *Seth*. But of theſe prophecies of *Enoch* [e] St. *Jude* teſtifieth; and ſome part of his books (which contained the courſe of the ſtars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix* in the dominion of the queen *Saba* (ſaith [f] *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that he had ſeen and read ſome whole pages. It is not therefore ſtrange, that *Moſes* came to the knowledge of the creation and ſtory of the firſt age, ſeeing he might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the ſpirit of God inſtructed and inſpired him as he did: which alſo his many and ſtrange miracles (performed before he wrote the ſcriptures) make more manifeſt.

Now for the books of *Enoch*, howſoever ſome men make queſtion of them, ſure I am that *Tertullian*, [g] *Origen*, *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazeus*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten traditions, alledgeth that *pope Gelaſius* among other the *Apocryphal* ſcriptures (which he rejecteth) named not theſe of *Enoch*; but that whatſoever was remembred out of them, the ſame was delivered by tradition from the *Jews*. But I rather think with *Pererius* that ſuch a book there was, and that the ſame was corrupted after the death of the apoſtles, and many things added thereunto by hereticks, who took occaſion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the devil about the body of *Moſes*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greateſt arguments againſt theſe books, is that neither *Philo*, nor *Joſephus* (the moſt diligent ſearchers of antiquity) make mention thereof. But againſt it I will ſet this opinion of St. *Auguſtine*, *Scripſiſſe quidem nonnulla divina* Enoch *illum ſeptimum ab* Adam *negare non poſſumus*; That *Enoch* the ſeventh from *Adam* did write divers divine things we cannot deny. Now his writings, which came afterwards to light, were ſuſpected becauſe of the antiquity, and of fables of giants ſuppoſed to be begotten of angels, and others; and by ſo much the more, becauſe no ſuch book was found among thoſe canonical ſcriptures, kept by the diligence of the *Hebrew* prieſts in *Armario Judaico* (ſaith [h] *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this might be preſerved by *Noah*. Surely that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembred by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to poſterity I know not, whether by the *Jews Cabala*, or by what other means, the ſame is but man's conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge aſcribed to *Noah* of the motions of the heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the ſtars; and afterwards to ſome of his ſons, to *Zoroaſter*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had ſeen and might preſerve this book. For it is not likely, that ſo exquiſite knowledge therein (as theſe men had) was ſuddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been ſaid before. And therefore if letters and arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methuſalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*: it is not ſtrange (I ſay) to conceive how *Moſes* came to the knowledge of the firſt age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and tradition, had the undoubted word of God need of any other proof than ſelf-authority.

SECT. VII.

Of the men of renown before the flood.

NOW let us conſider the relation of *Moſes*, who named ſeven deſcents of *Cain*'s children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being given by God inſtead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enoch* begotten, in whoſe time men began to profeſs religion, and to offer ſacrifice in publick. For altho' *Adam* inſtructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the ſacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it ſeemeth that after the birth of *Enoch*, men began publickly to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they ſerved and praiſed God by communion and in publick manner, or calling up-

[a] Dion. Areop. [b] Fol. 18. [c] Cabala eſt ſcientia Theologiæ non revelata. P. M. 82. Mirand. 110. fol. [d] Joſ. l. 1. [e] Jud. Pp. ver. 14. [f] Origen. Homil. 1. in Num. [g] Orig. Homil. 28. in Num. & Comment. in Evang. Johan. Gelaſ. diſt. 15. [h] Tertul. de habit. mulierum.

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on the name of the Lord, and thereby were the ſons of God or the godly diſtinguiſhed from the wicked. From the birth of *Enos* the ſon of *Seth*, to the time of *Enoch* the ſon of *Jarad*, there is nothing remembered by *Moſes*, but their own births, the births of their ſons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Enoch* it is written, [a] *that he walked with God, and he was no more ſeen:* for God took him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a juſt and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obey'd God. For the ſame phraſe *Moſes* uſeth of *Noah*. [b] *Noah was a juſt and upright man in his time, and Noah walked with God.* The *Seventy* convert it, *Enoch placuit Deo*; *Enoch* pleaſed God. And altho' *Aben-Ezra* and others underſtand this place [*tulit eum Deus*] *ſcilicet, mortuus eſt*, God took him away (that is) he died, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phraſe of the ſcripture, and with our manner of ſpeech to this day, to ſay, God took him away, when he died; yet the difference which *Moſes* maketh between the piety of *Enoch* and the reſt of the *patriarchs*, and by omitting the word [death] which he uſeth to all elſe, makes it manifeſt, that *Enoch* was not diſſolved as the reſt. For to all the reſt of the *patriarchs*, *Moſes* uſeth theſe words, *and he died*; but of *Enoch* he ſpake otherwiſe, ſaying only, *he was miſſing*, or *he was not ſeen. Et non inveniebatur* (ſaith the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *quia Deus eum tranſtulit*; And he was not found, for the Lord took him away. In the ſame place it is expreſly added, *that he ſaw not death.*

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the ſame kind of changing, which St. *Paul* promiſeth when he ſaith, that [c] *when the end ſhall come, we ſhall not all die, but all ſhall be changed*, I leave it to the learned divines.

After *Enoch*, *Moſes* paſſeth over to *Methuſalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the reſt) the times of their birth and death: ſaving that *Lamech* propheſied of his ſon *Noah*, ſaying, [d] *This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning our work, and ſorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath curſed.* Of *Noah*, *Moſes* writeth more amply, than of any of the reſt of *Adam*'s children by [e] *Seth*, being the laſt of the ten generations of the firſt age, whom God (with his family) preſerved, becauſe he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the war, peace, government, and policy of theſe ſtrong and mighty men, ſo able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining, whoſe ſtories if they had been preſerved, and what elſe was then performed in that newneſs of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been left to poſterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their ſtrength of body and natural wits had the experience added of eight hundred and nine hundred years) how much of neceſſity muſt the ſame add of wiſdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatſoever can be told of after-times, eſpecially in reſpect of this old age of the world, when we no ſooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Hippocrates*, [f] *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus præceps* (which is) life is ſhort, art is long, and time is headlong. And that thoſe people of the firſt age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of theſe words of *Moſes*, [g] *Theſe were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown.* But theſe men of renown (whom the ſcripture afterwards calleth giants, both for ſtrength of body and cruelty of mind) truſted ſo much to their own abilities, as they forgot altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the ways wherein *Enoch* walked: [h] *for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evil, and continually evil.* And this wickedneſs was not only found in the iſſues of *Cain*, but it was then univerſal, when the children and ſons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and miſled by their idolatrous wives, the daughters of *Cain*, or of thoſe other men loving themſelves and the world only.

That theſe [i] *ſons of God* were angels, which being taken with the beauty of women accompanied them and begat giants, ſome of the fathers ſuppoſed, namely, *Lactantius* and *Euſebius* miſled by *Joſephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterwards changed their former opinions. And of this miſtaking many writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themſelves with large anſwers and very needleſs: the queſtion being uncapable of diſpute, eſpecially ſince St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Auguſtine* have anſwered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of God's children, it doth every where appear in the ſcripture; and on the contrary, to think that angels, who (as *Chriſt* witneſſeth) behold the face of God (that is) always attend his commandments, ſhould, after a ſeparation from the reſt which fell with *Lucifer*, forſake the glorious preſence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to nature and grace, were more than madneſs to imagine.

SECT. VIII.

That the giants, by Moſes *ſo called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as alſo divers in latter times.*

OF theſe giants which *Moſes* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antwerpian* (who thought his own wit more gigantical than the bodies of *Nimrod* and *Hercules*) hath written a large diſcourſe, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and ſtrained his brains to prove, that there were never any ſuch men: his reaſons (whoſoever deſires to loſe time) he may find them in the treatiſes before named. It is true, that *Cyrillus* reproves the *Grecian* poets for their monſtrous fictions: who affirm ſhameleſly, that the giants have in elder times not only caſt up mountains upon mountains, but removed iſlands out of the ſea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of caſting up hills, and making war with the gods, no doubt but that the ſame was borrowed out of the ſtory of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this ſcripture, that the ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men, of whom the firſt giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Heſiodus*, that giants were the ſons of the heaven and the earth; meaning by the heavens the ſons of God, and by the earth the daughters of men: which verſes of *Orpheus* are by *John Caſſam* (who hath written a witty diſcourſe of this ſubject) thus changed into *Latin:*

Nomine cœleſtes illos dixere gigantes,
Orti quod terra fuerint & ſanguine cœli.

From the earth, and from thy blood, O heaven they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did giants name.

But what will not opiniators and ſelf-believing men diſpute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the firſt age ſuch kind of men; and of which there have been in all times ſince? ſeeing the ſcriptures avow the one manifeſtly, and common experience the other?

[a] Gen. 5. 24. [b] Gen. 6. 9. [c] 1 Cor. 15. 51. [d] Gen. 5. 29. [e] Gen. 6. 9. [f] Aphor. 1. [g] Gen. 6. 4. [h] Gen. 6. 5. [i] Gen. 6. 4.

And

And for that ſuperlative ſtraining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of giants was given to oppreſſors and tyrants, and not to ſtrength of body and eminent ſtature: ſuch men might with better reaſon call them oppreſſors becauſe they were giants, and therefore had ability to oppreſs, than ſay, that they were called giants only becauſe oppreſſors. For firſt *Moſes* himſelf calleth them *mighty men*; which ſheweth a ſtrength ſurpaſſing others: and afterwards, men of renown (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous action. And if the ſame ſtature of body, and ability had not been found among divers nations after the general flood, then might this place of *Moſes* have more willingly hearkened to a diſpute, and yielded to interpretation.

But beſides all theſe famous giants found in prophane hiſtories (which I will reſerve to accompany the giants of *Albion* in the ſtory of *Britany*) the ſcriptures do clearly and without all allegorical conſtruction avow, that, beſides *Nimrod*, there were found of theſe giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Joſhua*, and of *David*; namely, the [a] *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth*; the *Zuzæi* or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims*, which dwelt anciently in the land of *Moab*: whom *Moſes* (for ſtature) compareth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they alſo were taken for giants as the *Anakims*: likewiſe where *Moſes* ſpeaketh of the land of *Ammon*, he uſeth theſe words, [b] *That alſo was taken for a land of giants, for giants dwelt therein aforetimes*: and *whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And theſe giants called *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth* and *Kernaim*, and the *Zuzæi* or *Zanzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* overthrew, aſſiſted by other kings his aſſociates. Alſo the prophet [c] *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* men of giant-like ſtature, whom he compareth to the cedar, and whoſe ſtrength to the oaks; and the prophet [d] *Baruch*, *Theſe were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature, and ſo expert in war.* Particularly it is written of [e] *Og*, king of *Baſan*, that his bed of iron was nine cubits long, and four cubits broad: for only *Og* king of *Baſan* remained of the remnant of the giants, who commanded the kingdom of *Baſan*, four hundred years after the expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover thoſe diſcoverers and ſearchers of the land of promiſe (ſent by *Moſes* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their return of the great ſtature of thoſe people in general, and eſpecially of the ſons of *Anak*, in theſe words. [f] *All the people which we ſaw in it are men of great ſtature: for there we ſaw giants, the ſons of Anak which come of the giants, ſo that we ſeemed in our ſights like graſs-hoppers, and ſo we were in their ſight* (that is) the ſearchers found in their own judgments a marvellous difference between the *Anakims* and themſelves: inſomuch that the *Iſraelites* were ſo ſtricken with fear, as they rather ſought and deſired to return again into [g] *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former ſlavery, than to fall by the ſtrokes of thoſe fearful nations. Furthermore the ſcriptures put us out of doubt, that [h] *Goliah* the *Philiſtine* of *Gath* was a giant of ſix cubits and a ſpan long: the armour which he wore weighed five thouſand ſheckles of braſs: the ſhaft of his ſpear was like a weavers beam, and his ſpear-head weighed ſix hundred ſheckles of iron. Alſo in [i] *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliah* ſirnamed *Getheus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*: and of three other giants; of which the firſt was ſlain by [k] *Jehonathan*, *David*'s nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great ſtature, and his fingers were by ſixes, even four and twenty.

Alſo that [l] *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength no man doubteth, who tore a lion as it had been a kid, and after [m] ſlew thirty of the *Philiſtines*, and (after that) a thouſand more of them with a jaw-bone of an aſs; and laſtly he took the [n] gates of *Azzah*, and the two poſts, and lifted them away with the bars, and put them upon his ſhoulders, and carried them to the top of the mountain before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both nature and the heavens wax old, and that the great age of time hath (with it ſelf) infeebled and almoſt worn out the virtue of all things; then I ſay, that as in all other kinds the earth (before that ſin had increaſed the curſe and corruption) brought forth her young ones more ſtrong and beautiful than it did in after-ages: ſo alſo thoſe giants, thoſe mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature and ſtrength of thoſe giants remembred by *Moſes* of his own time, and after him their ſucceſſors, as the ordinary proportion of all men in general, ſoon after the flood and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born in the withered quarter and winter of the world: If therefore giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the firſt flouriſhing youth and newneſs of the world.

But the wickedneſs (eſpecially in cruelty and oppreſſion) of theſe men was ſuch, as God therefore by the flood gave end to all fleſh, but to the juſt *Noah* and his family. [o] *And God repented him that he had made man*; which St. *Auguſtine* thus expoundeth: [p] *Neque enim ſicut hominem, ita Deum facti ſui pœnitet, cujus eſt de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa ſententia, quam certa præſcientia. Sed ſi non utatur ſcriptura talibus verbis, non ſe quodammodo familiarius inſinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult eſſe conſultum: ut & perterreat ſuperbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes.* God (ſaith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men uſe to do:) but if the ſcripture did not uſe thoſe words, or the like, it ſhould not (in a ſort) inſinuate it ſelf familiarly to all ſorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrify the proud, ſtir up the negligent, exerciſe the ſearchers of truth, and nouriſh thoſe that underſtand.

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly riſing, and hardly at length vaniſhing in the world: and of the reliques of truth touching theſe ancient times, obſcurely appearing in fables and old legends.

SECT. I.

That in old corruptions we may find ſome ſigns of more ancient truth.

HERE before we proceed any further, the occaſion offereth it ſelf for us to conſider, how the *Greeks* and other more ancient nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the ſtory of the creation, and by delivering it over in a myſtical ſenſe, wrapping it up mixed with

[a] Gen. 14. 5. [b] Deut. 2. 20, 21. [c] Amos c. 1. [d] Bar. 3. 26. [e] Deut. 3. 11. [f] Numb. 13. 34. [g] Numb. 14. 4. [h] 1 Sam. 17. 4. [i] 2 Sam. 21. 19. [k] 1 Chron. 20. 7. [l] Judg. 14. 6. [m] Judg. 14. 19. [n] Judg. 16. 3. [o] Gen. 6. 6. [p] De Civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 15.

other their own trumpery, have ſought to obſcure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive thoſe intermix'd diſcourſes of God and nature for the inventions of poets and philoſophers, and not as any thing borrowed or ſtolen out of the books of God. But as a skilful and learned *Chymiſt* can as well by ſeparation of viſible elements draw helpful medicines out of poiſon, as poiſon of the moſt healthful herbs and plants (all things having in themſelves both life and death) ſo, contrary to the purpoſes and hopes of the heathen, may thoſe which ſeek after God and truth find out every where, and in all the ancient poets and philoſophers, the ſtory of the firſt age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively expreſs'd.

SECT. II.

That the corruptions themſelves were very ancient: as in the family of Noah, *and in the old* Egyptians.

BUT this defection and falling away from God, which was firſt found in angels, and afterwards in men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning mankind it took ſuch effect, that thereby (the liberal grace of God being withdrawn) all the poſterity of our firſt parents were afterwards born and bred in the world, ſuffering a perpetual eclipſe of ſpiritual light. Hence it was that it produced plants of ſuch imperfection and harmful quality, as the waters of the general flood could not ſo waſh out or depure, but that the ſame defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, even among the few ſons of *Noah* there were found ſtrong effects of the former poiſon. For as the children of *Shem* did inherit the virtues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; ſo the ſons of *Cham* did poſſeſs the vices of the ſons of *Cain*, and of thoſe wicked giants of the firſt age. Whence the *Chaldeans* began ſoon after the flood to aſcribe divine power and honour to the creature, which was only due to the Creator. Firſt, they worſhipped the ſun, and then the fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians* did not only learn to leave the true God, but created twelve ſeveral gods, and divine powers, whom they worſhipped; and unto whom they built altars and temples. For *Herodotus* ſaith, [a] *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Egyptios in uſu habuiſſe, atque Græcos ab illis cepiſſe mutuatos, eoſque prius aras, & imagines & templa Diis ſibi erexiſſe.* The *Egyptians* (ſaith he) firſt deviſed the names of the twelve gods, which the *Greeks* received from them, who firſt erected unto themſelves altars, images, and temples for the gods.

SECT. III.

That in proceſs of time theſe leſſer errors drew on greater: as appeareth in the groſs ſuperſtitions of the Egyptians.

BUT as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: ſo did theſe groſs and blind idolaters every age after other deſcend lower and lower, and ſhrink and ſlide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby err in worſhipping mortal men only, but they gave divine reverence, and had the ſame reſpect to beaſts, birds, fiſhes, fowls, winds, earth, water, air, fire, to the morning, to the evening, to the plants, trees and roots, to paſſions and affections of the mind, to paleneſs, ſickneſs, ſorrows, yea to the moſt unworthy and baſeſt of all theſe. Which barbarous blaſphemy *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner.

[b] *Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem.*
Tu maximum anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obſoniorum credidi ſuaviſſimum,
Carnes ſuillas tu caves, at gaudeo
Hijs maxime: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obſonium.

I ſacrifice to God the beef, which you adore:
I broil the *Egyptian* eels, which you (as God) implore:
You fear to eat the fleſh of ſwine, I find it ſweet.
You worſhip dogs, to beat them I think meet,
When they my ſtore devour.

And in this manner *Juvenal.*

[c] *Porrum aut cæpe nefas violare aut frangere morſu:*
O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina!

The *Egyptians* think it ſin to root up, or to bite
Their leeks or onions, which they ſerve with holy rite:
O happy nations, which of their own ſowing
Have ſtore of gods in every garden growing.

SECT. IV.

That from the reliques of ancient records among the Egyptians *and others, the firſt idols and fables were invented: and that the firſt* Jupiter *was* Cain, Vulcan, Tubalcain, *&c.*

BUT in ſo great a confuſion of vanities, where among the heathens themſelves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of theſe inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain, that the *Egyptians* had knowledge of the firſt age, and of whatſoever was done therein; partly from ſome inſcriptions upon ſtone or metal remaining after the flood; and partly from *Mizraim* the ſon of *Cham*, who had learnt the ſame of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his father *Noah*. For all that the *Egyptians* write of their ancient kings and date of times cannot be feigned. And tho' other nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* alſo, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the reſt which [d] St. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*; *Euſebius* out of many prophane hiſtories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have obſerved, to wit, the *Phenicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretans*, *Greeks*, and other nations; yet was *Cain* the ſon of *Adam* (as ſome very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the firſt and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the firſt *Saturn*: for *Jupiter* was ſaid to have invented the founding of cities; and the firſt city of the world was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Enochii* before remembred. And ſo much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which alſo *Higinus* in his 275th chapter confirmeth. For beſides that many cities were founded by divers men, *Tamen primam latiſſimam a primo & antiquiſſimo Jove ædificatam*; yet the firſt and largeſt was built by the firſt and moſt ancient *Jupiter*, ſeated in the eaſt parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moſes*: [e] *And Cain dwelt towards the eaſt ſide of Eden*, &c. where alſo the *Enochii* were found after the flood. And

[a] Herod. in Euterpe. [b] Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7. [c] Sat. 15. 2. 9. [d] Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De Civit. Dei. Euſeb. l. 1. Præp. Evang. c. 7. & l. 2. c. 23. Cic. l. 3. de Nat. Deorum. Arnob. 4. cont. Gent. [e] Gen. 4. 16.

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therefore was *Jupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*, a founder of cities, and *Herceios*, an incloſer or ſtrengthner of cities; (ſay [a] *Phornutus* and *Pauſanias*;) and that to *Jupiter Herceios* there were in very many places altars and temples erected. And that there were cities built before the flood, *Plato* alſo witneſſeth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that ſoon after mankind began to increaſe, they built many cities; which as his meaning he delivereth in plain terms, in his third book of laws: for he ſaith, that cities were built an exceeding ſpace of time before the deſtruction by the great flood.

This *Jupiter* of the *Ethnicks* was then the ſame *Cain*, the ſon of *Adam*, who marrying his own ſiſter (as alſo *Jupiter* is ſaid to have done) inhabited the eaſt, where *Stephanus de urbibus* placeth the city *Henochia*. And beſides this city of *Henoch*, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built ſix others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jeſeta*, *Selet* and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now as *Cain* was the firſt *Jupiter*, and from whom alſo the *Ethnicks* had the invention of ſacrifice: ſo were [b] *Jubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubalcain* (inventors of paſtorage, ſmiths-craft, and muſick) the ſame, which were called by the ancient prophane writers [c] *Mercurius*, *Vulcan* and *Apollo*: and as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*; ſo doth *Auguſtine* expound the name of *Noema* or *Naamah*, the ſiſter of *Tubalcain*, to ſignify *Venuſta*, or beautiful, *voluptas*, or pleaſure: as the wife of *Vulcan* is ſaid to be *Venus*, the lady of pleaſure and beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and firſt *Saturn*, *Cain* the eldeſt *Jupiter*, *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Noema* or *Naamah* the firſt *Venus*: ſo did the fable of the dividing of the world between the three brethren the ſons of *Saturn* ariſe, from the true ſtory of the dividing of the earth between the three brethren the ſons of *Noah*: ſo alſo was the fiction of thoſe golden apples kept by a dragon taken from the ſerpent, which tempted *Evah*: ſo was *Paradiſe* it ſelf tranſported out of *Aſia* into *Africa*, and made the garden of the *Heſperides*: the prophecies, that *Chriſt* ſhould break the ſerpent's head, and conquer the power of hell, occaſioned the fables of *Hercules* killing the ſerpent of *Heſperides*, and deſcending into hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: ſo out of the taking up of *Enoch* by God was borrowed the converſion of their *Heroes* (the inventors of religion and ſuch arts as the life of man had profit by) into ſtars and heavenly ſigns, and (withal) that leaving of the world, and aſcenſion of *Aſtrea*; of which *Ovid*.

[d] *Ultima cœleſtum terras Aſtræa reliquit.*

Aſtrea laſt of heavenly wights the earth did leave.

For altho' thereby the [e] *Ethnicks* would underſtand juſtice it ſelf to have failed, as it is a virtue abſtract, and may be conſidered without a perſon; yet as it is uſual among the ancient poets to deſcribe virtues and vices by the perſons of men and women, as deſire by *Cupid*, valour by *Mars*, beauty or luſt by *Venus*, ſo do they alſo the perſons of men by like virtues and vices; and therefore by juſtice and *Aſtrea*, *Enoch*: the juſtice and piety of *Enoch* being in the ſame manner expreſt, as that of *Noah* was by *Moſes*, for *Noah* was ſaid to be a juſt man; [f] *And Noah walked with God.* And of *Enoch* it is written, [g] *that he walked with God, and he was no more ſeen: for God took him away.*

From this ſtory alſo of the firſt age, and from that part where *Moſes* remembreth the giants begotten by the ſons of good men upon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moſes* calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they ſteal thoſe wondrous great acts of their ancient kings, and powerful giants and again their war undertaken againſt the Gods, from the building of the tower of *Babel* by the giant *Nimrod*, as [h] St. *Auguſtine* termeth him. Which war of their giants *Cornelius Severus* thus deſcribeth:

Tentavêre (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Jovis *transferre gigantes:*
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.

The giants did advance their wicked hand
Againſt the ſtars, to thruſt them headling down;
And robbing *Jove* of his impartial crown,
On conquered heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purpoſed to raiſe the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the ſtars, ſhould bury them under the moiſture of a ſecond flood, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the law to heaven it ſelf. Alſo the making of leagues, peace and covenants among heathen nations and kings, confirmed by ſacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneids* hath a touch, was as it ſeemeth borrowed from *Moſes*, *Exod.* 24. Who, when he read the book of the covenant, ſprinkled the people with blood.

[i] We find alſo many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternal anceſtor of *Enoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the ſame king of *Egypt*, which reigned at ſuch time as *Moſes* carried thence the children of *Iſrael* (as of late ſome learned men, miſtaking his time, ſuppoſed) called his ſon and ſucceſſor *Setho*, of *Seth*, and of the ſame *Seth* (as many men of good judgment have granted) were the princes of *Thrace* called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. [k] But herein was the memory of *Seth* moſt manifeſtly preſerved, that the *Egyptians* worſhipped *Seth*, as their moſt ancient parent, and of the firſt tradition, in honour of whom they called a principal province *Setheitica*. [l] We alſo find in *Bithynia* the city of *Sethia*, and others of the ſame name elſewhere. And ſure from the *Egyptians* did the *Grecians* borrow this kind of theology, tho' they ſcorned to acknowledge any antiquity preceding their own; and that they might not ſeem to learn elſewhere, they gave the ſame names to their own idols which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

SECT. V.

Of the three chiefeſt Jupiters; *and the ſtrange ſtory of the third.*

BUT of all thoſe armies of *Jupiters* remembred by the ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, becauſe thoſe were of moſt fame: which other writers have alſo done, who ſought out, and laboured in their originals.

The firſt was *Jupiter*, the ſon of *Æther* and *Dies*, ſo called, becauſe the one had reference to his celeſtial conditions (for *Æther* is as much as ſhining or pure fire) the other diſcovered his natural virtues, which days and times make more perfect, and are the witneſſes of mens actions.

The ſecond was ſaid to be the ſon of *Cœlum* or heaven, for the ſame former reſpect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and king of *Athens*.

[a] Phorn. l. de natura Deorum. Pauſan. l. 4, 5, & 10. in Protag. [b] Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22. [c] Lact. l. 4. c. 27. [d] Ov. Met. l. 1. [e] Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 2. [f] Gen. 7. [g] Gen. 5. 22, 24. [h] Lib. de Civitate Dei. [i] Joſeph. l. 1. contra Appian. [k] Plut. in Iſid. [l] Strabo, l. 17.

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The third, of whom all the *Grecian* fables were deviſed, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*) the ſon of *Saturn* and *Ops*. The name derived from the *Latin* is taken of *Juvans Pater*, from the *Greek* word *Zeus*, it ſignifieth life, but ſomewhat ſtrained. *Boccas* in his genealogy of the Gods conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the planet; but whether that ſtar had ſuch a name, before the ſame was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moiſt, temperate, modeſt, honeſt, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving, and faithful (that is) giving theſe inclinations. And therefore thoſe ancient kings beautified with theſe conditions, might be called there after *Jupiter*; but howſoever they were, or were not with thoſe virtues enriched, yet, by imitation, all kings in the eldeſt times aſſumed thoſe titles and ſurnames: great princes affecting as high titles of honour and reputation of the world (howſoever deſerved) as the worthieſt, that ever were, acquired by their well-deſervings. *Joves omnes reges vocarunt antiqui*; The ancients called all kings *Jupiters*, as *Tzetzes* in his *varia hiſtoria* confirmeth: *Reges olim Joves vocarunt omnes:* In old time all nations called their kings *Jupiters*. But where this laſt and moſt remembred *Jupiter* was born it is uncertain. [a] Some there are that make him of *Crete:* others, that he was but ſent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be foſtered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his uncle: becauſe it was conditioned between *Saturn* and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger brother, and reigning (for his own life) by *Titan*'s permiſſion, he ſhould put to death all his male children, leſt the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their ſucceſſion; which agreement becauſe *Saturn* performed in his firſt born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into *Latin*.

Haud ſit pinguior,
Crudis ſepulchrum quod ſit ipſe filiis.

Saturn to be the fatter is not known,
By being the grave and burial of his own.

This compoſition between *Titan* and *Saturn*, *Sibylla* alſo witneſſeth in theſe:

Conceptis verbis; Titan *jurare coegit*
Saturnum, *de ſe natum ne nutriat ullum,*
Quo poſſint regnare ſenis poſt fata nepotes.

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturn* ſwear,
No ſon to nouriſh; which by reigning might
Uſurp the right of *Titan*'s lawful heir.

But *Opis*, the mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conveyed *Jupiter* (firſt called *Lyſanias*) into *Crete*, as ſhe did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnoſſus*, the chief city of that iſland, by [b] *Creſta* the king, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes*, and a *Theban:* others call him an *Arcadian:* others make him of *Meſſena*. The like contention is found among the *Greeks* touching his education and firſt foſtering. Some affirm, that he was fed by honey-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and ſkins into yellow; a reward well fitting ſuch a God: others, that he was nouriſhed by bears: others, by goats: and of all theſe the idle *Greeks* have many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturn* had broken his faith, he ſet on him, and took him and his wife priſoners, whom *Jupiter* again reſcued and delivered.

But laſtly, the father and the ſon equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the leſs powerful fled into *Italy*, and left his kingdoms in *Greece* to his ſon. And altho' this prince at the firſt purchaſed great honour, and for his many virtues the name of *Jupiter* was given him; yet, after he was once ſettled and became potent, he gave himſelf over wholly to palliardiſe and adultery, without all reſpect of honour, law, or religion. And it is reported by ſuch, as do aſcribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith ſatisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the ſin of *Sodom* with *Ganymedes* and others; and did not only begin with inceſt, marrying his own ſiſter *Juno*, but he raviſhed, betrayed, ſtole away, and took by ſtrong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom theſe hereafter written were of greateſt fame, *Niobe*, *Laodemia* and *Alcmena* the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom he had *Pelaſgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus* and *Hercules:* by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the mountain *Taygetus* took name, with another ſon called *Saon*, of whom *Savona:* by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus:* by *Leda*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Helen* and *Clytemneſtra:* by *Danaë Perſeus:* by *Jordana Deucalion:* by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis:* by *Protogenia* he had *Athlius* the father of *Endymion*; and by *Io* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt:* which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that country took name, for ſo the *Greeks* afterwards called *Africa*. He raviſhed *Ægina*, the daughter of *Æſopus*, and carried her into the iſland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterwards called *Ægina*, on whom he begat *Æacus:* by *Torhebia* he had *Archeſilaus* and *Carbius:* by *Ora Colaxes:* he had alſo *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterwards *Ilium* and *Troy*. He begat the brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis Hiarbas*. He had beſides theſe (if they belie not their chief God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inventors of bakers craft, and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all theſe, who were born in ages ſo far differing. And of theſe his ſeveral raviſhments, betrayings, ſtealing away of mens wives, daughters and ſons, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all thoſe ancient fables of his transformations into ſhowers of gold, eagles, bulls, birds, and beaſts, and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Grecian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this monſter, *Optimus Maximus*, tho' *Cicero* in his ſecond book *de natura deorum* affirms, that he deſerv'd nothing leſs: And in his oration *pro domo ſua* reproacheth *Clodius* for his inceſt, by the name of *Jupiter*. His burial was in *Crete* (ſaith *Lucian*) [c] *Cretenſes non ſolum natum apud ſe & ſepultum* Jovem *teſtantur, ſed etiam ſepulchrum ejus oſtendunt.* The *Cretans* or *Candians* do not only avow that *Jupiter* was born and buried among them, but they ſhew his grave and ſepulchre: which *Epiphanius* alſo confirmeth, for in his time there remained the monuments of his tomb in the mountain *Jaſius*. This *Callimachus* in his hymns alſo witneſſeth, but as offended thereat, ſaith thus:

The *Cretans* ever liars were, they care not what they ſay:
For they a tomb have built for thee, O king, that [liv'ſt alway.

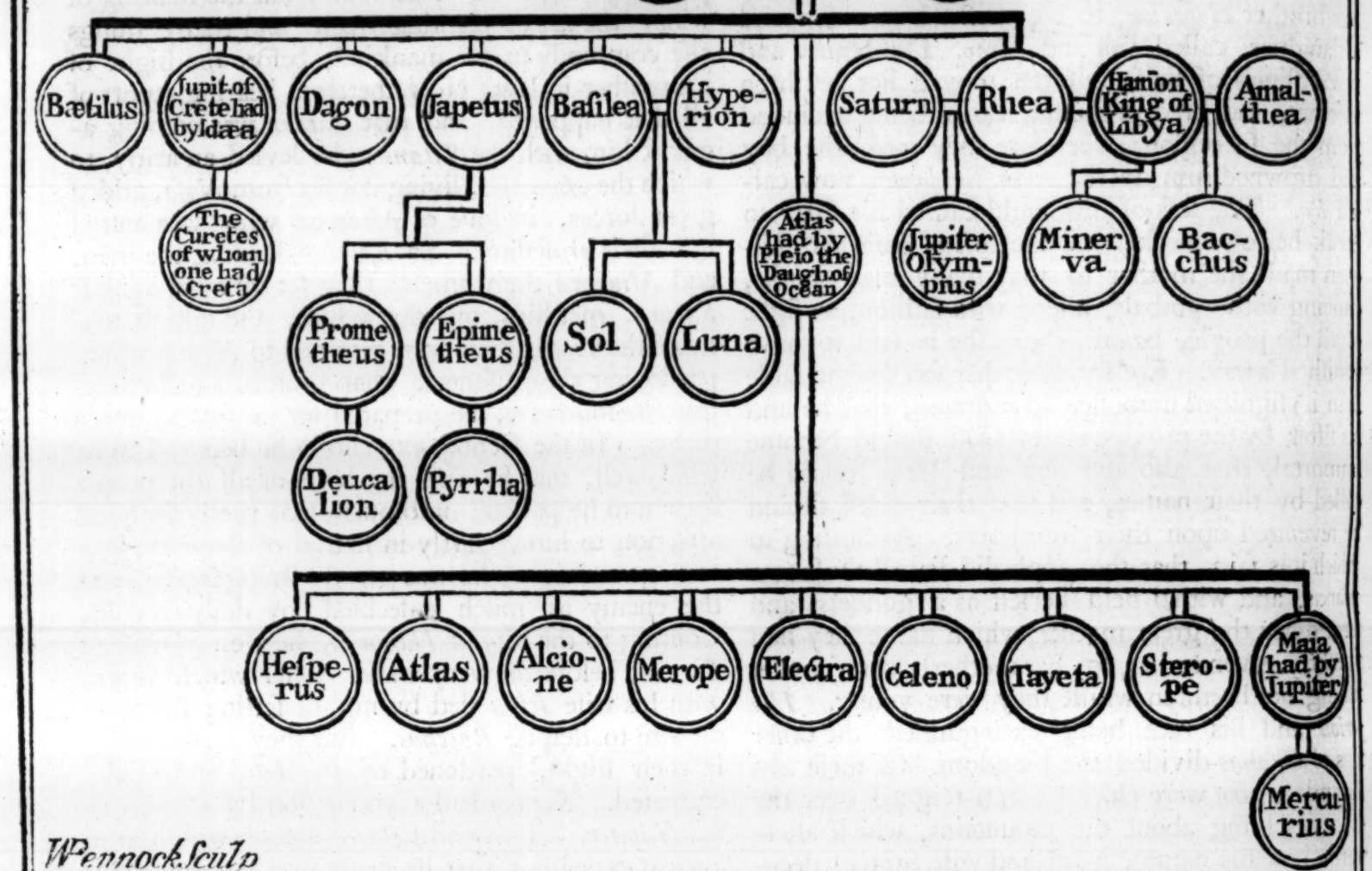
[d] *Diodorus Siculus* tells by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as he ſaith) by ſome *Greek* writers, that the original of theſe gods was from the

[a] Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7. [b] Euſeb. in Temp. [c] Luc. in Sacrif. [d] Diod. l. 2. c. 5.

weſtern

weſtern parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* reigned one *Uranus* (which ſignifieth heaven) called ſo for his great skill in *Aſtrology*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many wives, forty-five ſons; but by his principal wife *Titea* he had ſeventeen ſons and two daughters, all which were called after their mother's name *Titanes*. Of *Titea* likewiſe it is ſaid, that ſhe for her goodneſs was canonized as a goddeſs, being dead, and called the *Earth*, as her husband was ſtiled *Heaven*. But of all the children of *Titea*, her daughter *Baſilea* (which name ſounding as queen in *Engliſh*, ſhe is by the *Latin* tranſlator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the reſt as far in virtue as in years, was by general conſent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as queen after her father's death, being as yet a virgin. She took to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom ſhe bare a ſon and a daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardlineſs of theſe children moved her brethren to envy, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the ſucceſſion: wherefore they took the boy and drowned him in the river *Eridanus*, now called *Po*. The loſs of this child cauſed his ſiſter to break her own neck; and the loſs of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with cymbals, after a wild faſhion, in ſight of all the people, before whom ſhe is ſaid to have vaniſhed away. Ere ſhe died, her ſon (as the fable hath it) ſignified unto her in a dream, that he and his ſiſter by the providence of God ſhould become immortal, that alſo the *Sun* and *Moon* ſhould be called by their names, and that their death ſhould be revenged upon their murderers. According to which it is ſaid, that the people did ſo call thoſe two planets, and withal held herſelf as a goddeſs, and termed her the great mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cheriſhing her brethren whilſt they were young. *Hyperion* and his race being extinguiſhed, the other ſons of *Uranus* divided the kingdom. Of theſe *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the countries lying about the mountains, which afterwards bare his name; a juſt and wiſe prince, deeply ſkilful in *Aſtrology*, and for invention of the *ſphere* ſaid to have ſupported heaven. He had many ſons, but the principal of them, called *Heſperus*, being of his father's qualities and ſtudies, was ſaid to have been carried away by the wind, from the top of an high hill in the midſt of his contemplations, and his name, in honour of him, impoſed by the people upon the morning ſtar. The ſeven daughters of *Atlas* were alſo ſaid to have been excellent ladies, who accompanying ſuch as came to be deified, or regiſtred among the worthies, brought forth children, anſwerable in quality to thoſe that begat them. Of theſe it is held, that the ſeven ſtars called *Pleiades* took name. *Saturn* the brother of *Atlas* reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the ſons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*, who had ten ſons which he called *Curetes*; he called that iſland after his wife's name *Idea*; in which iſle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* muſt not have been that great one, but uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if theſe fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturn* (as theſe *Libyans* tell the tale) was a great tyrant, and fortified ſtrong places, the better to keep his people in ſubjection. His ſiſter *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in ſome part of *Africk*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerva*, near to the river *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He alſo begat on *Amalthea* a ſon called *Bacchus*, whom he cauſed ſecretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up at *Nyſa*, an iſland in the river *Triton*, under the tuition of his daughter *Minerva*, and certain nymphs. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly country, that lay on the ſea coaſt, bending in form of a horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea*'s plentiful horn, famous among the poets. When *Rhea* heard this news, ſhe fled from her husband to her brother *Saturn*, who not only entertained her as a ſiſter, but took her to wife, and at her inſtigation made war upon *Hammond*, vanquiſhed him by the aſſiſtance of the *Titans*, and made him fly into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter*'s children before-mentioned, held the iſland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the king's daughter, whom he took to wife, and had with her (women as may ſeem being very gracious in thoſe times) the kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of wine, the art of planting trees, and many things elſe commodious for mankind, before the flight of his mother-in-law. Now therefore hearing report of all that happened, and that *Saturn* was coming againſt him with the *Titans*; he levied an army, to which the *Amazons*, living not far from *Nyſa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva* who was entred into their profeſſion. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they ſet forward againſt *Saturn*, met him, overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* priſoners, returned to *Nyſa*; where pardoning the priſoners, that promiſed to become his true followers, he prepared for a ſecond expedition. In the ſecond expedition he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he won the love of all the people by whom he paſſed; inſomuch, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn*'s rigorous government, he was greatly ſtrengthened, and the enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the city of *Hammon*, he won a battle of *Saturn*, before the very walls. After which *Saturn* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, ſetting the town on fire to deſpite *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturn* had a young ſon by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* took with him in a great expedition that he made into the eaſt countries; and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a boy, governor of the country; but appointed unto him as an overſeer, one *Olympius*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympius*. Whilſt *Bacchus* travelled thro' all nations, as far as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titans* had found out his father *Hammond* in *Crete*, and began to war upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*; with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his ſiſter *Minerva*, together with the reſt that afterwards were held as gods, joining all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titans*, chaſed them, took, and ſlew them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammond* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deify'd; and the great *Jupiter* the ſon of *Saturn* ſucceeding them, reigned lord alone over all the world, having none of the *Titans* left alive, nor any other to diſturb him. Between this tale of the *Libyan* gods, and the *Egyptian* fables of *Oſiris*, there is a rude reſemblance, that may cauſe them both to be taken for the crooked images of ſome one true hiſtory. For the expeditions of *Oſiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the wars of the giants in the one ſtory, of the *Titans* in the other; the kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules Libycus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Iſis*, and the cymbals of *Baſilea*, with many petty circumſtances, nearly enough reſemble each other, howſoever not alike fitted to the right perſons. *Sanchoniato*

choniato (as [a] *Euſebius* cites him) would have all theſe to be *Phenicians*, and is earneſt in ſaying, that it is a true ſtory, and no allegory. Yet he makes it ſeem the more allegorical, by giving to *Uranus* or heaven for daughters, *Fate* and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, tho' *Diodorus* have enough. To the genealogy he adds *Elius* or the *Sun*, as father of *Uranus*; and among the children of *Uranus*, *Japetus*, *Bætilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withal to *Uranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*. The pedigree of them is this.



SECT. VI.

Of Cham, *and other wicked ones, whereof ſome got, ſome affected the name of gods.*

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the ſon of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwiſe *Nimrod*, it ſeemeth that *Cicero* had not heard (at leaſt by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after theſe times were the *Greeks* but ſalvages, if they ſeek no farther off for their gods.

But the *Egyptians*, even after the flood, began (ſomewhat before this *Chaldean Jupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their own *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the etymology of this word [*Hammon*] which the *Greeks* deduce *ab arenis*, from the ſands, is ridiculous (ſaith [b] *Peucer*) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which ſignifieth heat: becauſe the ſaid temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was ſeated in *Libya*, where the air is exceeding hot and ſcorching. And as for the antiquity of the latter *Jupiter* (among the *Greeks* and *Romans* the moſt renowned) it is certain that he was born not long before the war of *Troy*, as by many of his ſons is made manifeſt; namely, *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom, *Troy* was deſtroyed.

Now ſeeing that mortal men, and the moſt wicked, were eſteemed immortal among the heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others ſought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monſters as the reſt: For by what reaſon could the ſame deity be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was given to *Venus*? ſeeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as ſhe was.

SECT. VII.

That the wiſer of the ancient heathen had far better opinions of God.

BUT that ever *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of theſe fooleries, it cannot be ſuſpected, tho' ſome of them (over-buſily) have mixed their own inventions with the ſcriptures: for, in puniſhment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Heſiod* in hell, where he

[a] Euſeb. l. 2. c. 7.

[b] Peucer de Oracul.

feigned

feigned that they were perpetually ſtung and pinched with ſerpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the books of *Moſes*, as by places ſtolen thence almoſt word for word, may appear; of which *Juſtin Martyr* remembreth many in that treatiſe converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, tho' he diſſembled in ſome things, for fear of the inquiſition of the *Areopagites*, yet St. *Auguſtine* hath already anſwered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirifice iis delectatus eſt, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, ſaith *Juſtin Martyr*. Now however *Lactantius* pleaſed to reprehend *Plato*, becauſe (ſaith he) *Plato* ſought knowledge from the *Egyptians* and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the *Jews* and books of *Moſes*: [a] *Euſebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reaſon to believe the contrary, thinking that from thence he took the grounds of all by him written of God, or ſavouring of divinity: and the ſame opinion had St. *Ambroſe* of *Pythagoras*.

But whether it were out of the ſame vanity, which poſſeſs'd all thoſe learned philoſophers and poets, that *Plato* alſo publiſh'd (not under the right authors names) thoſe things which he had read in the ſcriptures; or fearing the ſeverity of the [b] *Areopagites*, and the example of his maſter *Socrates*, by them put to death by poiſon, I cannot judge. *Juſtin Martyr* (as it ſeemeth) aſcribeth it wholly to *Plato*'s fear, whoſe words among many other of the ſame effect, are theſe, [c] *Plato Moſis mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum ſolumque Deum docuerat, ſibi apud Athenienſes tutum non putavit, veritus Areopagum*; *Plato* fearing the *Areopagites* thought it not ſafe for him among the *Athenians* to make mention of *Moſes*, that he taught that there is but one God. But for that divinity which he hath written in *Timæo*; *Id ipſum de Deo diſſeruit quod & Moſes*; He diſcourſed and taught the ſame of God (ſaith *Juſtin Martyr*) which *Moſes* did. For where it pleaſed God by his angel to anſwer *Moſes*, *Ego ſum exiſtens* (which is) [d] *I am*; and *exiſtens miſit me ad vos*, I am hath ſent me unto you; herein did *Plato* (ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*) no otherwiſe differ than that *Moſes* uſed the word [*qui*] and *Plato* the word [*quod*:] Moſes *enim qui exiſtit* (*inquit*,) Plato *quod exiſtit*. For *Moſes* ſaith, *He who is*; *Plato*, *That which is*. Now of God's incomprehenſible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or expreſs the ſame, he giveth this teſtimony: [e] *Genitorem univerſitatis tam difficile eſt invenire, quam inventum impoſſibile digne profari*; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the univerſal, as it is impoſſible, if he were found, to ſpeak of him worthily. And what can be more agreeable to the majeſty of God's nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? [f] *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus cauſa bonorum; malorum autem omnium non cauſa*; God is abſolutely good, and ſo (aſſuredly) the cauſe of all that is good; but of any thing that is evil he is no cauſe at all: and again, *Charitas Dei fuit cauſa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum*; The love of God was the cauſe of the world's creating, and the original of all things. *Apuleius* the *Platoniſt*, *Summus Deus infinitus eſt, non ſolum loci excluſione, ſed etiam naturæ dignitate: & nihil eſt Deo ſimilius & gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus*; The moſt high God is alſo an infinite God, not only by excluſion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God, than a man of a perfect heart. [g] *Thales* affirmed, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the moſt ancient, *quia nunquam eſſe cœpit*, becauſe he never had any beginning: *Zeno*, that God beheld even the thoughts of Men: *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be careful in the actions of their life, becauſe God was every where preſent, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moſes*'s ſtory of the creation, than this opinion and deſcription of the world's beginning in *Euripides*, ſcholar of *Anaxagoras*?

Cœlum terraque unius formæ fuit:
Sed cum fuiſſent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emerſit omnis in lucem res progenita,
Arbores, aves, feræ, quaſque affert mare,
Genuſque mortalium.

Heaven and earth one form did bear:
But when disjoined once they were
From mutual embraces.
All things to light appeared then,
Of trees, birds, beaſts, fiſhes, and men
The ſtill remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: ſo we find the ſame excellent underſtanding in *Orpheus*, who every where expreſſed the infinite and ſole power of one God, tho' he uſes the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoid the envy and danger of the time; but that he could attribute thoſe things to the ſons of men and mortal creatures, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (ſaith *Mirandula*) *quos Orpheus canit, non decipientium dæmonum, a quibus malum & non bonum provenit; ſed naturalium virtutum divinarumque ſunt nomina*; The names of thoſe gods whom *Orpheus* doth ſing, are not of deceiving devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodneſs; but they are the names of natural and divine virtues. Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and ſpeaketh of God himſelf, this his inſtruction to *Muſæus*, and the hymn following teach us. *Reſpiciens vero ad divinum hunc ſermonem ei diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem aſcende viam, & ſolum aſpice mundi regem. Unus eſt ex ſe genitus, ex eo omnia nata ſunt: ipſe vero in illis verſatur, nec quiſquam eum intueri poteſt mortalium, ſed ipſe nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my ſacred ſpeech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reaſon's ſphere, and the right way aſcend,
And ſee the world's ſole king. Firſt, he is ſimply one
Begotten of himſelf, from whom is born alone
All elſe; in which he's ſtill, nor could it ere befall
A mortal eye to ſee him once, yet he ſees all.

And again the ſame author.

Jupiter omnipotens, & primus, & ultimus idem;
Jupiter eſt caput & medium: Jovis omnia munus.
Jupiter eſt fundamen humi & ſtellantis Olympi.
Jupiter & mas eſt, & fœmina neſcia mortis.
Spiritus eſt cunctis, validi vis Jupiter ignis.
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna eſt Jupiter ipſe.
Rex, & origo ſimul rerum eſt, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit, magno poſt numine, ſacrum
Cor reſerans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

[a] Euſeb. præp. evang. l. 11. Cyril. cont. Julian. Origen. cont. Celſum. Ambr. ad Iren. ep. 6. l. 1. [b] Areogagus, *or* domus ſeu mons Martis, Mars's *hill: a houſe wherein capital matters were tried: ſo called at firſt, becauſe* Mars *therein firſt pleaded his cauſe for the murder of* Hulirrothos. Pauſan. in Attic. Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 7. [c] Juſt. Mar. adm. ad gent. fol. 8. 14. ut ſup. [d] Exod. 3. 14. [e] In Timæo. [f] De Legib. 1. 10. [g] Laertius.

The firſt of all is God, and the ſame laſt is he.
God is the head and midſt, yea from him all things be.
God is the baſe of earth, and of the ſtarred ſky.
He is the male and female too, ſhall never die.
The ſpirit of all is God, the ſun, and moon, and what is higher.
The king, th' original of all, of all the end.
For cloſe in holy breaſt he all did comprehend,
Whence all to bleſſed light, his wondrous power did ſend.

Now beſides theſe former teſtimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not ſo ſtupid and ignorant, as the *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, and other nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the reader to thoſe large and learned collections of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Pleſſis*, *Danæus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, deſcrib'd him by theſe attributes and properties, *Bonus, juſtus, ſanctus, ſeipſum poſſidens, utilis, ſpecioſus, optimus, ſeverus, liber, ſemper commodus, tutus, glorioſus, charitas, &c.* Good, juſt, holy, poſſeſſing himſelf, profitable, beautiful, beſt, ſevere, free, always doing good, ſafe without fear, glorious, and ſelf-charity. *Epicharmus* affirm'd, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus*. *Rex omnium ipſe ſolus*; He is the only King of all kings; and with *Pindarus* the poet, *Deus unus, Pater, Creator ſummus, atque optimus Artifex, qui progreſſus ſingulis diverſos ſecundum merita præbet*; One God, the Father, the moſt high Creator, and beſt Artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deſerts. This God (ſaith *Antiſthenes*) cannot be reſembled to any thing, and therefore not elſewhere known; *Niſi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes*; Save only in that everlaſting country, whoſe image thou haſt none at all. Hereof alſo *Xenophanes Colophonius*, *Unus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus ſimilis*; There is one God among Gods and men moſt powerful, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals: and *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quieſcere facit, magnus potenſque, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma ſit, nemini patet, niſi ipſi ſoli, qui luce ſua omnia perluſtrat*; God who ſhaketh all things, and ſetteth all thing at reſt, is great and mighty, as is manifeſt to all: but of what form he is, it is manifeſt to none, ſave only to himſelf, who illuminateth all things with his own light. Finally, *Plato* ſaith, *Totius rerum naturæ Cauſa, & Ratio, & Origo Deus, ſummus animi Genitor, æternus animantium Soſpitator, aſſiduus mundi ſui Opifex, ſine propagatione Genitor, neque loco neque tempore ullo comprehenſus*; *eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis*; God is the Cauſe, Ground, and Original of the whole nature of things, the moſt high Father of the ſoul, the eternal Preſerver of living creatures, the continual Framer of his world, a Begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expreſs what he is. Therefore was it ſaid by St. *Jerome*, [a] *Si enim cunctos philoſophorum revolvas libros, neceſſe eſt ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vaſorum Dei, ut apud Platonem, Fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud Zenonem Stoicorum principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c.* If thou conſider all the books of the philoſophers, thou canſt not but find in them ſome part of the veſſels of God, as in *Plato*, God the Creator of the world: in *Zeno* prince of the *Stoicks*, Hell and immortal ſouls. And this is certain, that if we look into the wiſdom of all ages, we ſhall find, that there never was man of ſolid underſtanding or excellent judgment; never any man whoſe mind the art of education hath not bended; whoſe eyes a fooliſh ſuperſtition hath not afterwards blinded; whoſe apprehenſions are ſober, and by a penſive inſpection advis'd; but that he hath found by an irreſiſtible neceſſity, one true God, and everlaſting Being, all for ever cauſing, and all for ever ſuſtaining; which no man among the heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expreſs'd, than that *Egyptian Hermes*, howſoever it failed afterwards in his poſterity: all being at length by deviliſh policy of the *Egyptian* prieſts purpoſely obſcur'd; who invented new Gods, and thoſe innumerable, beſt ſorting (as the devil perſuaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fitteſt to keep in awe and order their common people.

SECT. VIII.

That Heatheniſm and Judaiſm, after many wounds, were at length about the ſame time under Julian *miraculouſly confounded.*

BUT all theſe are again vaniſhed: for the inventions of mortal men are no leſs mortal than themſelves. The fire, which the *Chaldeans* worſhipped for a God, is crept into every man's chimney, which the lack of fuel ſtarveth, water quencheth, and want of air ſuffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Juno*'s jealouſies; death hath perſuaded him to chaſtity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it ſelf, hath alſo eaten up both the bodies and images of him and his: yea, their ſtately temples of ſtone and dureful marble. The houſes and ſumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious temple conſecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phenicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Libya*, *Creta*, *Theſſalia*, or elſewhere, that can aſk counſel or help from *Jupiter*. The great God *Pan* hath broken his pipes; *Apollo*'s prieſts are become ſpeechleſs; and the trade of riddles in oracles, with the devil's telling mens fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit *Egyptians*, and cozening aſtrologers.

But it was long ere the devil gave way to theſe his overthrows and diſhonours: for after the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief manſions) was many times robbed, burnt, and deſtroyed; yet by his diligence the ſame was often enrich'd, repair'd, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himſelf it received the laſt and utter ſubverſion. For it was firſt robbed of all the idols and ornaments therein by the *Eubean* pirates; ſecondly, By the *Phlegians* utterly ſack'd: thirdly, By *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*: fourthly, By the army of *Xerxes*: fifthly, By the captains of the *Phocenſes*: ſixthly, By *Nero*, who carried thence five hundred brazen images: all which were new made, and therein again ſet up at the common charge. But whatſoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Conſtantine*, the Chriſtian army made ſpoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithſtanding all this it was again glorioufly rebuilt, and ſo remain'd till ſuch time as *Julian* the *Apoſtate* ſent thither to know the ſuc-

[a] Hieron. in Com. in Dan. in princip.

ceſs

ceſs of his *Parthian* enterpriſe, at which time it was utterly burnt and conſumed with fire from heaven; and the image of *Apollo* himſelf, and all the reſt of the idols therein molten down and loſt in the earth.

The like ſucceſs had the *Jews* in the ſame *Julian*'s time, when by his permiſſion they aſſembled themſelves to rebuild the temple of *Jeruſalem*: for while they were buſied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrown by an earthquake, and many thouſands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the ruins, and others ſlain, and ſcattered by tempeſt and thunder: though [a] *Am. Marcellinus* reports it more favourably for the *Jews*, aſcribing this to the nature of that element. For, ſaith he, *Alypius* and the ruler of the province of *Judea*, being by *Julian* buſied in the re-edifying of this temple, flaming balls of fire iſſuing near the foundation, and oft conſuming the workmen, made the enterprize fruſtrate.

SECT. IX.

Of the laſt refuges of the devil to maintain his kingdom.

NOW the devil, becauſe he cannot play upon the open ſtage of this world (as in thoſe days) and being ſtill as induſtrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men; and inhabiting in the temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himſelf than ever. For whereas he firſt taught them to ſacrifice to monſters, to dead ſtones cut into faces of beaſts, birds, and other mix'd natures; he now ſets before them the high and ſhining idol of glory, the all-commanding image of bright gold. He tells them that truth is the goddeſs of dangers and oppreſſions; that chaſtity is the enemy of nature: and laſtly, that as all virtue (in general) is without taſte: ſo pleaſure ſatisfieth and delighteth every ſenſe: for true wiſdom (ſaith he) is exerciſed in nothing elſe, than in the obtaining of power to oppreſs, and of riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-politician* find in his pupils any remorſe, any feeling or fear of God's future judgment, he perſuades them that God hath ſo great need of mens ſouls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timeful return towards God, by laying thoſe great blocks of rugged poverty, and deſpiſed contempt in the narrow paſſage leading to his Divine Preſence. But as the mind of man hath two ports, the one always frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other deſolate and overgrown with graſs, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: ſo hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miſery paſſing by the one, worldly proſperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our ſufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our cruelties, covetouſneſs, licentiouſneſs, injuſtice, and oppreſſions (the harbingers of moſt fearful and terrible ſorrow) ſtaying for us. And as the devil, our moſt induſtrious enemy was ever moſt diligent: ſo he is now more laborious than ever: the long day of mankind drawing faſt towards an evening, and the world's tragedy and time near at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of NOAH's *flood.*

SECT. I.

Of God's fore-warning: and ſome human teſtimonies: and ſome doubting touching the truth of Noah's *flood.*

OF this deſtruction it pleaſed God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (ſaith [b] *Joſephus*) fearing to periſh among the reſt, *Secedens cum ſuis, in aliam regionem migravit*; He departwith his children, and travelled into another region. And of theſe giants, from whom *Noah* withdrew himſelf, *Beroſus* writeth in this manner: *That they exceeded in all ſorts of inhuman and unnatural wickedneſs*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & Deorum*; Contemners of religion and of the Gods: among which mighty men (ſaith *Beroſus*) *Unus erat qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat Noah*; There was one more wiſe and reverencing the Gods than the reſt, whoſe name was *Noah*: who with his three ſons *Sem*, *Japhet* and *Cham*, and with their wives, and the wife of *Noah* (namely *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preſerved themſelves in the *ark*. This *ark* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: [c] *And God ſaid unto Noah, make thee an ark of pine-trees: thou ſhalt make cabins in the ark, and ſhalt pitch it within, and without, with pitch.* For God made [d] *Noah* to know that an end of all fleſh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel generations were already faſhion'd in the clouds, which ſoon after ſhould ſwallow up and cover all living creatures, which breathed in the air: *Noah* and his family excepted.

But this univerſal grave of waters, and general deluge, hath not been received by all: for divine teſtimonies do not perſuade all natural men to thoſe things, to which their own reaſon cannot reach: [e] *Dum obvoluta in obſcuro veritas latet*; Whilſt the truth lieth wrapp'd up in obſcurity. Many there are who have diſputed againſt the univerſality of this overflowing, and have judged that this flood of *Noah* fell but in ſome particular places and kingdoms: moved ſo to think, becauſe in elder ages there have been many other floods (as they ſuppoſe) of that nature. Hereof *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Joſephus*, [f] *Eſt ſuper Minyadam excelſus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes ſermo eſt diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam ſimul in arca devectum in hujus vertice hæſiſſe, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore conſervatas, qui fortaſſe is fuit, de quo etiam Moſes Judæorum legiſlator ſcribit*: thus far this author. *There is* (ſaith he) *above* Minyada (or the country of *Minyæ*) *an exceeding high mountain in* Armenia, *called* Baris; *on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were ſaved in the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an ark, and reſted upon the top of the mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof*; *and this might be the ſame, of which* Moſes *the law-giver of the* Jews *maketh mention.* And of this opinion were the *Thalmudiſts* (ſaith *Annius*) that many giants ſaved themſelves upon mount *Sion.*

But *Beroſus* (who after *Moſes* was one of the moſt ancient, howſoever he have been ſince deformed

[a] Am. Mar. l. 23. cap. 1. [b] Joſeph. l. 1. cap. 4. [c] Gen. 6. 14. [d] Gen. 6. 13. [e] Lact. in Præf. de falſa relig. [f] Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. Euſeb. de præp. l. 9. c. 4.

and corrupted) doth in the ſubſtance of all agree with *Moſes* as touching the general flood, taking from thence the beginning of his hiſtory in theſe words: *Ante aquarum cladem famoſam, qua univerſus periit orbis, &c.* Before that famous deſtruction of waters, by which the world univerſal periſhed: witneſſing withal, that *Noah*, with his wife *Titea*, and his three ſons, with their wives (in all eight perſons) were only ſaved.

SECT. II.

Of the flood in the time of Ogyges: *and that this was not* Noah's *flood.*

BUT from the vanity of the *Greeks*, the corrupters of all truth (ſaith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their antiquity, came the error firſt of all: who therein flattering themſelves alſo, ſought to perſuade the world, that there was no flood preceded the flood of *Ogyges*, king of the *Thebans* in *Bœotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore ſaith *Rhodoginus*, [a] *Ogygium id appellant poëtæ tanquam pervetus dixeris, ab Ogyge vetuſtiſſimo*; The poets gave the name of *Ogygia* to things exceeding ancient, as of *Ogyges* the moſt ancient.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as thoſe men can make him, yet it is manifeſt, that he lived but in *Jacob*'s time (tho' [b] *Euſebius* makes him later, and in *Moſes*'s time) and was born 67 years after him.

There is alſo an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he far later) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth book of his antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnaſſe autument hunc; unde ſit* Cadmus *qui in* Græciam *profectus* Thebas *condidit, à bove jugulato ſic nuncupatas; quoniam* Syrorum *lingua bos dicitur* Thebe. There are (*ſaith he*) who think that this *Ogyges* did reign in *Egypt*, whereby he ſhould be *Cadmus*, who travelling into *Greece* built *Thebes*, ſo named of a beef ſlain: becauſe in the *Syrian* language a beef is called *Thebe.*

But this flood of *Ogyges* fell in the year of the world 3440, according to *Euſebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the flood of *Noah* in the year 2242, after the ſame account; and ſo there came 1200 years between theſe floods, wanting but two, though herein *Euſebius* was much miſtaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronology*. Now although the very year and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not preciſely ſet down, but that there is a great difference among writers, yet whoſoever makes it moſt ancient, finds above 500 years difference between that and the general flood.

For [c] *Paulus Oroſius* affirms, that this tempeſt fell upon the *Athenians* but 1040 years before *Rome* was built. *Bucholzerus* ſaith it was 1043 elder than *Rome*; which was founded (according to the ſame *Bucholzerus*) in the world's year 3219, tho' after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reaſons in the ſtory of *Abraham*) it was built in the world's year 3280. Now the general flood preceded the building of *Rome* (ſaith *Bucholzerus*) 1563 years: and the flood of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by eaſy calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between theſe two floods muſt be 520 years, to which we (allowing 60 more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the ſame of *Noah* (except we call *Noah Ogyges priſcus*, [d] as ſome do) it appears by this, that the flood of *Ogyges* then king of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it ſelf any farther than the banks of *Archipelago*, or *Ægean* ſea. For whereas [e] *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witneſs, that the city of *Joppe* in *Judea* was founded before the flood; and that (notwithſtanding the weight of waters) their remained on certain altars of ſtone the title of the king, and of his brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their religion: ſure, it is no where found among prophane hiſtorians, nor in the ſcriptures, that ever the flood of *Ogyges* ſpread it ſelf over any part of *Syria*, much leſs over all the earth. But that it drown'd both the regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponneſus*, it is very probable. For it ſeemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were ſwallowed up (cities ſeated on the north part of *Peloponneſus*) of which *Ovid.*

[f] *Si quæras Helicen, & Buran, Achaidos urbes, Invenies ſub aquis.*

Bura and *Helice* on *Achaian* ground
Are ſought in vain, but under ſea are found.

Of this flood of *Ogyges* was invented the fable of [g] *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Cœus*, the ſon of *Titan*, being beloved and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they ſay) no part of the earth to be delivered on; and withal cauſed the monſtrous ſerpent *Python* to follow and affright her, whereſoever ſhe travelled, till at length arriving at the iſle of *Ortygia* ſhe was there received: in which ſhe was delivered, firſt of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this expoſition: That at ſuch time as the deluge (which happened in *Ogyges*'s reign) ceaſed, out of the abundant moiſture of the earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mix'd) there were exhaled ſuch thick miſts and fogs, that in *Attica*, and along the coaſts of the *Ægean* ſea, neither the beams of the ſun by day, nor of the moon by night, could pierce the air, or be perceived by the inhabitants: ſo as when at length (the earth being dried, and theſe vapours diſſipated) the air began to be clear, the people of [h] *Ortygia* eſpied the light of the moon ſomewhat before day, and in the ſame morning the ſun alſo appeared: fabulouſly (becauſe *Diana* repreſented the moon, and *Apollo* the ſun) they were reported to be born in the iſle of *Ortygia* thereof afterwards called *Delos*, which ſignifieth manifeſtation.

And ſurely it is not improbable, that the flood of *Ogyges*, being ſo great as hiſtories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the air ſenſibly diſcerned in thoſe parts, and ſome unuſual face of the ſkies. *Varro* in his books *De gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by [i] St. *Auguſtine*) reporteth out of *Caſtor*, that ſo great a miracle happened in the ſtar of *Venus*, as never was ſeen before, nor in after-times: for the colour, the greatneſs, the figure, and the courſe of it, were changed. This fell out as *Adraſtus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous *Mathematicians*, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges.*

Now concerning the courſe of that or any planet, I do not remember, that I have any where read of ſo good *aſtrologers* flouriſhing among the *Greeks*, or elſewhere, in thoſe days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the *planets* ſo exact, that it ſhould need no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude. I ſee no reaſon why the difference found in the ſtar of *Venus* ſhould be held miraculous; conſidering that leſſer miſts and

[a] Rhod. l. 15. c. 33. [b] Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. Ca. 22. [c] Lib. 1. c. 7. [d] Xenophon, Annianus. [e] Mela, l. 3. Plin. l. 5. Sol. c. 47. Joppe oppidum antiquiſſimum orbe toto, utpote ante inundationem terrarum conditum. Solin. ibid. [f] Ovid. Metam. l. 15. 303. [g] Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 6. [h] Plin. l. 4. c. 11. [i] Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 21. c. 8.

fogs,

fogs, than thoſe which covered *Greece* with ſo long darkneſs, do familiarly preſent our ſenſes with as great alterations in the *ſun* and *moon*. That the figure ſhould vary, queſtionleſs it was very ſtrange: yet I cannot hold it any prodigy; for it ſtands well with good reaſon, that the ſide of *Venus* which the *ſun* beholds, being enlightened by him, the oppoſite half ſhould remain ſhadowed; whereby that *planet* would, unto our eyes, deſcrying only that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the *moon* doth ſeem; if diſtance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehenſion of our ſenſes.

Galilæus, a worthy *Aſtrologer* now living, who by the help of perſpective glaſſes hath found in the ſtars many things unknown to the ancients, affirmeth ſo much to have been diſcovered in *Venus* by his late obſervations. Whether ſome watery diſpoſition of the air might preſent as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath ſeen thro' his inſtrument; I cannot tell: ſure I am, that the diſcovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince man of ignorance, than nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of St. *Auguſtine*) accompanied with ſuch unuſual (and therefore the more dreadful, tho' natural) ſigns teſtifying the concurrence of cauſes with effects in that inundation; whereas the flood of *Noah*, which was general and altogether miraculous, may ſeem to have had no other token, or foreſhewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himſelf, which was not regarded: [a] for they were eating and drinking, when the flood came ſuddenly, and took them all away.

SECT. III.

Of Deucalion's *flood: and that this was not* Noah's *flood: nor the* Umbri *in* Italy *a remnant of any univerſal flood.*

A Second flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Theſſalia*, of which St. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*. *His temporibus (ut Varro ſcribit) regnante Athenienſibus Cranao, ſucceſſore Cecropis (ut autem noſtri, Euſebius & Hieronymus) adhuc eodem Cecrope permanante, Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum eſt Deucalionis*; (that is) In theſe times (as *Varro* reporteth) *Cranaus* the ſucceſſor of *Cecrops* governing the *Athenians*, or (as our *Euſebius* and *Jerome* ſay) *Cecrops* yet living, that flood (called *Deucalion*'s) happened.

And in the beginning of the 11th chapter of the ſame 18th book, he uſeth theſe words. *Eduxit ergo Moſes ex Ægypto populum Dei noviſſimo tempore Cecropis Athenienſium regis, cum apud Aſſyrios regnaret Aſcatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus, apud Argivos Triopas. Moſes* led the people of God out of *Egypt* about the latter times of *Cecrops* king of the *Athenians*, *Aſcatades* reigning over the *Aſſyrians*, over the *Sicyonians Marathus*, and over the *Argives Triopas*: ſo as leaving the curioſity of a few years, more or leſs, it appeareth, that this flood of *Deucalion* was either at the egreſſion of the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, or near it: and then after *Noah* 753 years, according to *Funcius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the year of the world 2409, or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739 years after *Noah*, and in the year of the world 2395. But if *Deucalion* were born in the age of the world 2356, according to *Codoman*; then giving unto *Deucalion* 40 years of age when this flood happen'd, it falleth within one year of *Mercator*'s account. But *Deucalion* by all approved hiſtorians is ſaid to have been 82 years old at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this flood of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaëton*'s time, by the reign of *Crotopus* king of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived king of the *Argives* 6 years after *Iſrael* departed *Egypt*, which makes 20 years difference according to *Funcius*, who will have this flood and burning to have fallen 14 years before *Moſes* left *Egypt*: for he gave of the world's years to the flood and burning the year 2440, and to *Moſes*'s egreſſion the year 2454. And yet [b] *Cedrenus* thinks that *Moſes* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the flood of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, preceded the flood of *Ogyges*, which is deny'd by all: for that of *Theſſaly* (called *Deucalion*'s) follow'd that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at leaſt 250 years, or thereabouts. *Euſebius*, in his *Chronology*, makes it 230 years, and ſo doth *P. Oroſius*: *Euſebius* about the 50th year of *Moſes*'s life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67th, and both after *Noah*'s flood 770 years: for theſe be *Clemens Alexandrinus*'s words: [c] *Fuit autem in Græcia tempore quidem Phoronei, qui fuit poſt Inachum, inundatio quæ fuit tempore Ogygis*; There happened in *Greece* in the time of *Phoroneus*, who lived after *Inachus* the flood of *Ogyges*. Now if the flood of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020 or 1016 years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius* and *Oroſius* (as before) then is it manifeſt, that taking 763 out of this number of 1020, it falls out that *Ogyges*'s flood happened before the *Hebrews* left *Egypt* 250 years, or 260 years, according to the difference between the opinions of [d] *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*. And for my ſelf (who rather follow thoſe *Chronologers*, which give 60 years more to *Abraham* after the flood, than the reſt) I reckon the times which come between theſe floods in this ſort. The general flood was in the year of the world 1656. *Jacob* was born in the year of the world 2169, ſo as from the beginning of the flood to *Jacob*'s birth, there were conſum'd 513 years. *Ogyges*'s flood happened 100 years after *Jacob* was born; and therefore after the general flood 613 years. Now *Deucalion* was born in the year of the world 2356, and had lived 82 years, when his kingdom of *Theſſaly* was overwhelmed (which added to 2356, make 2438) his flood was after *Noah*'s flood ended 782 years. And hereto *Annius*'s *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700 years between the general flood and *Deucalion*'s birth; to which add 82 years of his age (as before) and then the flood of *Theſſaly* followed the general 782 years. The words of that *Xenophon* are theſe: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, ſecundo anno Sphæri, ſeptingenti ſupputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Theſſaliam vidit inundatam*: From the drowning of the world to the birth of *Deucalion*, in the ſecond year of *Sphærus* are numbred 700 years, and when *Deucalion* was 82 years old, he ſaw *Theſſalia* drowned. This flood happened in the winter time about *Parnaſſus*: witneſs [e] *Ariſtotle* in the firſt of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom St. *Auguſtine* ſo often citeth for his excellent learning, eſpecially in antiquities) findeth this flood of *Deucalion* to have happened in the time of *Cranaus*, who ſucceeded *Cecrops*: *Oroſius* thinks it ſomewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*. Only this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not only over *Theſſaly* it ſelf, and the regions adjoining weſtward; but it covered the greateſt part of *Italy*: and either the ſame, or ſome other particular flood then happening oppreſs'd *Egypt*, ſaith *Euſebius*. And therefore did the *Greeks* either

[a] Luke 17. 27. [b] Cedr. l. 1. f. 34. [c] Clem. Alex. 1. ſtro. ex Cteſ. [d] Euſeb. in Chron. [e] Ariſt. c. 14.

think

think it, or feign it to be univerſal; and *Deucalion*, then king, ſaving himſelf and ſome others on the mountain of *Theſſaly* (of all other the higheſt, ſaith [a] *Solinus*) was by reaſon thereof (as [a] *Strabo* witneſſeth) ſaid to be the preſerver of mankind. That this flood covered a great part of *Italy*, [a] *Pliny* and *Solinus* make it probable: who affirm that the people then inhabiting *Italy* were therefore called Ὄμβριοι, *quia ab imbribus diluvii ſuperfuiſſent*; and therefore alſo were they eſteemed the moſt ancient nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his firſt book, and *Trezenius* in his ſecond: which *Umbri* theſe authors make the parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and all others inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterranean* ſea. But that theſe *Umbri* were not the inhabitaints of *Italy* before the flood of *Noah*, and ſo took name by ſaving themſelves upon the *Apennine* mountains, the ſcriptures teach us: ſhewing who, and who only, then were preſerved, which is ſufficient. [b] Report hath adventured further, telling us that the firſt people, which after the general flood inhabited *Italy*, were the *Cameſenes* (ſo named from *Cameſe*, whom *Cato in originibus*, another of *Annius*'s authors, names for a conſort of *Janus*) which people lived altogether a ſavage life; till ſuch time as *Saturn* arriving on thoſe coaſts, deviſed laws to govern them by; the memory of whoſe acts in that region *Diodore* and *Thallus* among the *Greeks*, *Nepos*, *Caſſius* and *Varro* among the *Latins* have preſerved; and of whom *Virgil*;

[c] *Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo,*
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis.
Is genus indocile, ac diſperſum montibus altis
Compoſuit, legeſque dedit, Latiumque vocari
Maluit.

Saturn deſcended from the heavens high,
Fearing the arms of *Jupiter* his ſon,
His kingdom loſt, and baniſh'd thence doth fly.
Rude people on the mountain tops he won
To live together, and by laws: which done,
He choſe to call it *Latium*.

And afterwards in the verſes following he ſpeaketh of the *Auſones*, and after them of the *Sicani*: nations, which again ſought to diſplant the ancient inhabiters:

[d] *Tum manus Auſonia, & gentes venêre Sicani.*

Then came th'*Auſonian* bands, and the *Sicanian* tribes.

Of theſe *Sicani* (which left *Spain* and ſat down in *Italy*) [e] *Thucydides* and *Pliny* give teſtimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligii*, ſaith *Thucydides*. After all theſe plantations and replantations came the *Umbri*, deſcended of the *Gauls* (ſaith [f] *Annius*) not of thoſe *Gauls* of *France*, but of thoſe of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hetruria* and *Campania*, as [g] *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Dionyſius*, have aſſured us; and therefore this flood of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah*. For all thoſe nations were planted in *Italy*, and diſpoſſeſs'd of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that kingdom was firſt called *Camaſene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Auſonia*, then *Sicania*, before the *Umbri* (in whoſe time *Deucalion*'s flood happened) poſſeſs'd the ſame, about 306 years before the war of *Troy*: *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia*; who being the father of twenty-two ſons, the youngeſt, called [h] *Oenotrius*, invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held until *Italus* of the ſame nation chang'd it into *Italy*, after his own name, about [i] 250 years before the fall of *Troy*. After theſe came the *Pelaſgi*, of whom *Pliny* in his 3d book and 5th chapter; and *Strabo* in his 5th; *Thucydides* in his 6th ſpeaks at large: and after them the *Lydi* under *Tyrrhenus* their captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who caſting thence the *Umbri*, took from them three hundred caſtles, and built therein twelve cities; to which (after they had poſſeſs'd and paſs'd over the *Apennine* mountains) they added divers others, whereof *Telſina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently ſuch a nation, as theſe *Umbri*, in thoſe parts, I do not affirm: having reſpect to the teſtimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the *Greek* word *Ombros*; but that theſe *Umbri* of *Italy* were deſcended of the nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

SECT. IV.

Of ſome other records teſtifying the univerſal flood: and of two ancient deluges in Egypt: *and of ſome elſewhere.*

ST. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greeks* and *Latins* made not any mention of the univerſal flood, becauſe they had nothing of antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus* before remembred) were all things among the *Greeks* (which antiquity had worn out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *Engliſh* commonly call worm-eaten, or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the earth were ſucceſſively planted and peopled; and as all nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the inſtant: ſo did every family which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of divine letters was not received, find no parent of more antiquity, than ſuch as they had themſelves, nor allow of any before their own; and as the *Grecians*, ſo did others vaunt themſelves to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the earth, or invent ſome other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certain knowledge of *Noah*'s flood, as *Beroſus* witneſſeth; and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforeſaid) tho' he alſo affirm by hearſay, that ſome giants ſaved themſelves upon the mountains *Baris* in *Armenia*, but ſpeaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: uſing the word *ſermo eſt*, that ſuch a ſpeech there was. And [k] *Euſebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient hiſtorian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Siſſithrus*, to preſerve himſelf from a flood foretold him by *Saturnus*, fled to the hills of *Armenia* by ſhip, *ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) ſent forth birds, that finding no land to reſt on, returned again; which he alſo did a ſecond time, but at the third return the birds feet were covered with mud and ſlime. To this effect are *Euſebius*'s words out of *Abydenus*, which may ſeem a true deſcription (tho' in other terms) of *Noah*'s flood.

Cyrillus alſo affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhiſtor* maketh mention of this general flood. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* prieſt, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy books of *Egypt*, the ſtory of the flood univerſal, which (ſaith he) happened long before the *Grecian* inundations. Frier *Annius*'s

[a] Solin. l. 14. Strabo, l. 9. Plin. l. 3. c. 14. Sol. c. 7. Plin. ibid. [b] Athenæus Dipnoſoph. l. 15. *out of* Draco Corcyræus, *ſaith that* Cameſe *was the wife and ſiſter of* Janus. Lact. l. 1. c. 13. [c] Æn. l. 8. 319. [d] Virg. l. 8. Æn. [e] Thucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. [f] Annius ex Samuele Thalmudiſta. [g] Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. & 2. [h] Pauſan. Arcad. l. 8. [i] Ariſt. pol. 7. c. 10. [k] Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Xenophon

Xenophon remembreth a flood, which alſo [a] *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, ſomewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the general flood for the firſt, which happened (ſaith he) under the old *Ogyges*, *ſub priſco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the ſecond *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living 44 years before that of *Attica*, in the 34th year of *Belochus* king of the *Aſſyrians*, tho' I do not believe him as touching the time. But this flood covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, eſpecially all that region ſubject to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus*'s liver, afterward ſlain by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* deliver-eth in theſe words: [b] *Fluvium propter curſus velocitatem profunditatemque aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum, Herculem cum conſilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt e veſtigio compreſſiſſe, & aquarum impetum ad priorem curſum convertiſſe: unde & Græci quidam poetæ rem geſtam in fabulam vertentes, Herculem tradunt aquilam Promethei jecur depaſcentem occidiſſe.* This flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the ſwiftneſs of his courſe, as alſo for the depth, was in thoſe days called the *Eagle*: but *Hercules* by his great judgment and virtue did again compreſs and ſtrengthen this river, ſo far extended and overſpread, turning it into the old channels: whence certain *Greek* poets (converting this labour and work of *Hercules* into a fable) deviſed that *Hercules* ſlew the eagle, which fed on *Prometheus*'s liver; meaning, that he delivered *Prometheus* of that ſorrow and torment, which for the loſs of his people and country (by the waters deſtroy'd and cover'd over) he ſuffered.

A fourth flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brief ſort writeth of all theſe inundations; [c] *Inundationes plures fuêre: prima novimeſtris inundatio terrarum ſub priſco Ogyge: ſecunda Niliaca, &c.* There were many inundations (ſaith the ſame *Xenophon*) the firſt which was univerſal of nine months, and this happened under the firſt *Ogyges*: the ſecond was *Niliaca*, and of one month's continuance in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians*: a third of two months under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three months in *Theſſalia* under *Deucalion*; and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helen*'s rape. *Diodorus* in his 5th book and 11th chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his authors, remembreth a flood in *Aſia* the leſs, and elſewhere, of no leſs deſtruction than any of the other particular inundations, ſaying, that the ſame happened before that of *Deucalion*: the ſea of *Pontus* and *Helleſpont* breaking in over the land.

But there have been many floods in divers times and ages, not inferiour to any of theſe two laſt remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the year of our redemption 590, when, in *October* of the ſame year, *Gregory* then being biſhop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous overflowing in *Italy*, and eſpecially in the *Venetian* territory, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a moſt fearful ſtorm of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at *Rome*, by reaſon of the many dead ſerpents caſt up and left upon the land, after the waters decreaſed and returned. And in the year 1446, there periſhed 10000 people by the breaking in of the ſea at [d] *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that flood to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and the year 1283, [e] *Trithemius* ſpeaketh of an earthquake which ſwallowed many thouſands: and after that of a flood in *Frieſland*, in which there periſhed 100000 perſons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an inundation in *Italy*, in the time of *pope Damaſus*, in which alſo many cities of *Sicily* were ſwallowed: another in the *papacy* of *Alexander* the ſixth: alſo in the year 1515, *Maximilian* being emperor. He alſo remembreth a perilous overflowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people periſhed. Likewiſe *Viginier*, a *French* hiſtorian ſpeaketh of a great flood in the ſouth part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the year of our Lord 1557, with ſo dreadful a tempeſt, as all the people attended therein the very end of the world and judgment day; ſaying, that by the violent deſcent of the waters from the mountains, about *Niſmes*, there were removed divers old heaps and mountures of ground, and many other places torn up and rent: by which accident there was found both coin of ſilver and gold, divers pieces of plate, and veſſels of other metal, ſuppoſed to be hidden at ſuch time as the *Goths* invaded that province, in the year 1156.

SECT. V.

That the flood of Noah *was ſupernatural, tho' ſome ſay it might have been foreſeen by the ſtars.*

NOW howſoever all theſe floods and many other, which have covered at ſeveral times ſeveral regions, not only in theſe parts of the world, but in *America* alſo (as I have learned of ſome ancient ſoothſayers among them) may be aſcribed to natural cauſes and accidents; yet that univerſal flood (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the earth by a power above nature, and by the ſpecial commandment of God himſelf, who at that time gave ſtrength of influence to the ſtars, and abundance to the fountains of the deep: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, than any ability of nature could effect, or any ſecond cauſes by whatſoever union could perform, without receiving from the fountain of all power, ſtrength, and faculties ſupernatural. *Henricus Meclinienſis*, a ſcholar of *Albertus Magnus*, in his commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Maſar*, obſerveth, that before the flood of *Noah*, the like conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* happened in the laſt degree of *Cancer*, againſt that conſtellation ſince called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the flood of *Noah* might be foretold, becauſe *Cancer* is both a watery ſign, and the houſe of the moon, which is the lady of the ſea, and of moiſture, according to the rules of *aſtronomy*, and common experience. And this opinion [f] *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Geneſis* confirmeth, affirming, that altho' *Noah* did well know this flood by divine revelation, yet (this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the ſecond cauſes thereof: for thoſe were not only ſigns, but alſo working cauſes, by ſtrength received from the firſt cauſe, which is God himſelf: and further, that by [g] *Catarractæ cœli* (*Engliſhed* the windows of heaven) *Moſes* meant this great and watery conjunction; the word [*Catarractæ*] ſignifying flowing down or coming down. Now (ſaith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleaſed God to ordain by the courſe of the heavens ſuch a conſtellation, by which all men might behold therein their deſtruction towards, and

[a] Diod. l. 1. [b] Nat. Com. l. 4. c. 6. [c] Xenoph. de æquiv. Comm. per Annium, fol. 37. [d] Munſter. [e] Eclipſis, & terræmotus continui multa hominum millia oppreſſerunt. Friſia quoque per maritimos fluctus tota pæne ſubmerſa fuit, & perierunt pluſquam 100000. [f] *Alſo* de Concordia Theolog. & Aſtrolog. Gen. 7. 11. [g] *The word* καταῤῥάκτης *properly ſignifieth any place of ſtoppage, againſt which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, daſheth and breaketh; of* ἀράσσω allido, *or* frango. *Hence becauſe windows do not only open but alſo ſhut, the word hath been expounded* (windows) *for bars and flood-gates.*

thereby forſake thoſe wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Of this judgment was *Gul. Pariſienſis*, who underſtood that the words *Catarractæ cœli*, or windows of heaven, were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for theſe watery ſigns, *Cancer*, *Piſces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades* and *Orion*, and of the planets, *Mars*, *Venus* and the *Moon:* which are the forcible cauſes of the greateſt inundations. His own words are theſe, *Nondum intelligo prophetam Hebræorum catarractas cœli vocâſſe, niſi partes illas cœli, quæ generativæ ſunt pluviarum & inundationum aquarum, quales ſunt ſigna aquatica, ut Cancer, &c.* as aforeſaid. As yet (ſaith he) I perceive not what the prophet of the *Hebrews* meaneth by thoſe words [*Catarractæ cœli*, or windows of heaven] unleſs he thereby underſtands thoſe celeſtial powers, by whoſe influences are engendered the rain, and inundations of waters, ſuch as are the watery ſigns of *Cancer*, *&c.*

But in a word, as it might pleaſe God, that in the courſe of his unſearchable wiſdom this conjunction ſhould at ſuch time be: ſo did he (as aforeſaid) add vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increaſe of virtues, violent eruptions to ſprings and fountains, commanding them to caſt out the whole treaſure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condenſing air into water by the miniſtry of his angels, or howſoever elſe beſt pleaſed his all-powerfulneſs.

SECT. VI.

That there was no need of any new creation of matter to make the univerſal flood; and what are Catarractæ cœli, *Gen.* vii. 11.

NOW if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new (for God reſteth the ſeventh day, that is, he did not then after create any new *ſpecies)* which granted, it may ſeem that then all the earth and air had not waters ſufficient to cover the habitable world fifteen cubits above the higheſt mountains. Of this propoſition, whether God hath ſo reſtrained himſelf or no, I will not diſpute; but for the conſequent (which is) that the world had want of water to overcover the higheſt mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and fooliſh: for it is written, that *the fountains of the great deep were broken up*, that is, the waters forſook the very bowels of the earth; and all whatſoever was diſperſed therein, pierced and broke thro' the face thereof. Then let us conſider that the earth had above twenty-one thouſand miles: the diameter of the earth according to that circle ſeven thouſand miles; and then from the ſuperficies to the center ſome three thouſand five hundred miles: take then the higheſt mountain of the world, *Caucaſus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all others the higheſt) in *Tennerif*, and I do not find, that he who looketh higheſt, ſtretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impoſſible, anſwering reaſon with reaſon, that all thoſe waters mixed within the earth three thouſand five hundred miles deep ſhould not well help to cover the ſpace of thirty miles in height, this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the earth one hundred and ſixteen times: for the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly, If we conſider what proportion the earth beareth to the extenſion of the air over and above it, we ſhall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleaſed God to condenſe but ſo much of this air as every where compaſſeth and embraceth the earth, which condenſation is a converſion of air into water, a change familiar in thoſe elements, it will not ſeem ſtrange to men of judgment, yea but of ordinary underſtanding, that the earth (God ſo pleaſing) was covered over with waters without any new creation.

Laſtly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Pariſienſis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may add *Beroſus* and others, that ſuch a conjunction there was, foreſhewing that deſtruction by waters which followed; and that by the words *Catarractæ cœli*, or windows of heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other anſwer than that obſervation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth that by the graveſt *aſtrologers* it was obſerved, that in the Year 1524, there ſhould happen the like conjunction, as at *Noah's* flood, than which (ſaith he) there was never a more fair, dry, and ſeaſonable year: the like deſtruction was propheſied of the year 1588. But *Picus* earl of *Mirandula* proveth that there could not be any ſuch conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other myſtery in the words *Catarractæ cœli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moſes* uſing the word *windows of heaven* (if that be the ſenſe of the words) to expreſs the violence of the rains, and pouring down of waters. For whoſoever hath ſeen thoſe fallings of water, which ſometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the ſpouts (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a reſiſtleſs violence in one body) may properly uſe that manner of ſpeech which *Moſes* did; that the windows or flood-gates of heaven opened: (which is) that waters fell contrary to cuſtom and that order which we call natural. God then looſened the power retentive in the uppermoſt air; and the waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (ſaith [a] *Job*) *he which holdeth the waters, and they dry up*; or better in *Latin*, *Et omnia ſiccantur*; And all things are dried up; *but when he ſendeth them out, they deſtroy the earth:* and in the 26th chapter, *he bindeth the waters in the clouds*; but theſe bonds God looſed at that time of the general flood, and called up the waters which ſlept in the great deep: and theſe joining together covered the earth, till they had performed the work of his will: which done, [b] he then commanded them to return into their dark and vaſt caves, and the reſt (by a wind) rarified again into air, formerly condenſed into drops.

SECT. VII.

Of ſome remainder of the memory of Noah *among the heathen.*

NOAH commanded by God, before the fall of thoſe waters, entred the ark which he had built, with his own wife, and his ſons, and his ſons wives, taking with them of every creature, which took life by generation, ſeven of the clean, and of the unclean two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, ſignifieth quietneſs: after others, and according to the prophecy of his father *Lamech*, ceſſation; to whom after-times gave many names anſwering his antiquity, zeal, virtue and other qualities: as, *the firſt Ogyges*, becauſe in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges* there was alſo a great flood of *Achaia: Saturn* they called him, becauſe he was the father of nations: others gave him the name of *Prometheus*, who was ſaid to ſteal away *Jupiter's* fire; fire in that place being taken and underſtood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others think, that he was ſo called for his excellent wiſdom and foreſight. He had alſo the name of *Janus* (*id eſt*) *vinoſus*, becauſe *Jain* ſignifieth wine in the *Hebrew*. And ſo *Tertullian* finds him written *in libris rituali-*

[a] Job 12. 15. [b] Gen. 8. 1.

bus,

libus, in the books of ceremonies, preceding both *Saturn*, *Uranus* and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancienteſt feigned gods. And this name *Jain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latin*; for it was in uſe before there was any *Latin* nation, or any kingdom by that name known. Of the antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this teſtimony. *Jani ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæſerat ulla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & far primus populos docuit Janus ad ſacrificia: primus enim aras & pomœria & ſacra docuit*; In the time of *Janus* (ſaith he) there was no monarchy: for the deſire of rule had not folded it ſelf about the hearts of men. *Janus* firſt taught the people to ſacrifice wine and meal: he firſt ſet up altars, inſtituted gardens and ſolitary groves, wherein they uſed to pray; with other holy rites and ceremonies. A greater teſtimony than this there cannot be found among the heathen, which in all agreeth ſo well with the ſcriptures. For firſt, whilſt *Noah* flouriſhed, there was not any king or monarch: *Nimrod* being the firſt that took on him, ſoveraign authority. Secondly, [a] *Noah* after the flood was the firſt that planted the vine, and became a husbandman; and therefore offered the firſt-fruits of both (to wit) wine and meal. Thirdly, He was the firſt that raiſed an altar, and offered [b] ſacrifice to God, a thankſgiving for his merciful goodneſs towards him. *Noah* was alſo ſignified in the name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) becauſe he beheld the times both before and after the flood, [c] *Quia præterita noverit, & futura proſpexerit*, ſaith *Arnobius*. *Becauſe he knew what was paſt, and provided for what was to come.* He was alſo in the perſon of *Janus* ſhadowed by the name of *Chaos*, and *ſemen orbis*, The ſeed of the world; becauſe as out of that confuſed heap was drawn all kinds of beaſts and plants: ſo from *Noah* came all mankind: whereof *Ovid* in the perſon of *Janus*:

[d] *Me Chaos antiqui (nam ſum res priſca) vocabant,*
Aſpice quam longi temporis acta cano.

The ancients called me *Chaos*: my great years
By thoſe old times, of which I ſing, appears.

He was alſo entituled *Cœlum & Sol*, Heaven and the Sun, for his excellent knowledge in aſtronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus* and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus*, and *Alexander Aphrodiſeus* ſo call, becauſe he was the reſtorer of the *Greeks* to their former liberty, but in reſpect of the flood. For the *Greeks* called *Liber* ῦς, and his nurſes *Hyades*, of rain, becauſe *Noah* entered the ark, when the ſun join'd with the ſtars *Hyades*, a conſtellation in the brow or neck of *Taurus*, and ever after a monument of *Noah*'s flood. He was alſo by others ſurnamed *Triton*, a marine god, the ſon of *Neptune*: beceauſe he lived in ſafety on the waters. So was he known by the name of [e] *Dionyſus, quaſi* Διανύσσων, *mentem pungens*, bite-brain or wit-ſtinger, tho' *Diodorus* conceives otherwiſe, and derives that name *à patre & loco*, of his father and the place of his birth (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Nyſa*, a town of *Arabia Fœlix*, ſaith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had alſo the by-name of [f] *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; becauſe he firſt yoked oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of *Moſes*; [g] *And Noah became an husbandman.* Now howſoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwiſe *Dionyſus*) it is certain that the name was borrowed, and the invention ſtolen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boachus*, was taken (ſaith [h] *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus* [*N*] being chang'd into [*B*]; and it is the more probable, becauſe it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the firſt planter of the vine after the flood: and of *Noah* (the firſt and ancient *Bacchus*) were all thoſe fables deviſed, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth book and fifth chapter. This firſt *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah* was ſurnamed *Nyſius* of the mountain *Nyſa* in *India*, where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatſoever themſelves feign of his enterprizes; and theſe mountains of *Nyſa* join with thoſe of *Paropaniſus*, and thoſe other eaſtern mountains, on which the ark of *Noah* reſted after the flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this ſecond parent of mankind might the better be preſerved, there were founded by his iſſues many great cities which bare his name; with many rivers and mountains: which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, becauſe the many names given him brought the ſame confuſion to places as to himſelf. Notwithſtanding all which, we find the city of *Noah* upon the banks of the Red-ſea and elſewhere: the river of [i] *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolemy*, *Danus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the name.

SECT. VIII.

Of ſundry particulars touching the ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, faſhion and name.

NOW in what part of the world *Noah* built the ark, it doth not appear in the ſcriptures, neither do I find any approved author that hath written thereof; only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his ark near the mountains of *Caucaſus*, becauſe on thoſe hills are found the goodlieſt cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the war among a people called *Nyſæi*, inhabiting the other ſide of *Caucaſus*, he found all their burials and ſepulchres wrought over with cedar. To this place (ſaith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to ſeparate himſelf from the reprobate giants, who rebelled againſt God and nature, as alſo becauſe he would not be interrupted in the building of the ark; to which alſo he addeth the conveniency of rivers, to tranſport the timber which he uſed, without troubling any other carriages.

Only this we are ſure of, that the ark was built in ſome part of the eaſtern world; and, to my underſtanding, not far from the place where it reſted after the flood. For *Noah* did not uſe any maſt or ſail (as in other ſhips) and therefore did the ark no otherwiſe move than the hulk or body of a ſhip doth in a calm ſea. Alſo becauſe it is not probable, that during theſe continual and downright rains there were any winds at all, therefore was the ark little moved from the place where it was faſhioned and ſet together. For it is written; [k] *God made a wind to paſs upon the earth, and the waters ceaſed*; and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the waters, there was not any ſtorm or forcible wind at all, which could drive the ark any great diſtance from the place where it was firſt by the waters lifted up. This is alſo the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the ark had *fundum planum*; A flat bottom, and not rais'd in form of a ſhip with a ſharpneſs forward, to cut the waves for the better ſpeed.

This kind of veſſel the *Hebrews* call *Thebet*, and the *Greeks Larnax*, for ſo they termed *Deucalion's*

[a] Gen. 9. 20. [b] Gen. 8. 20. [c] Arn. cont. Gent. l. 6. [d] Ovid de faſtis, l. 1. [e] Nat. Com. l. 5. c. 13. [f] Cœlius. [g] Gen. 9. 20. [h] Stuck. in libris convivalibus, & Danæus de prima mundi ætate. [i] Plin. l. 6. Steph. de Urb. Herod. l. 4. Strabo, l. 7. [k] Gen. 8. 1.

ſhip:

ſhip: and ſome ſay, that the hill *Parnaſſus*, to which in eight days he arrived, was firſt called *Larnaſſus*, and by the change of [*L*] into [*P*] *Parnaſſus*; but [a] *Pauſanias* thinks that it took name of a ſon of the nymph *Cleodoræ*, called *Parnaſſus*, the inventor of *auguration*.

[b] *Peuceros* finds the word [*Parnaſſus*] to have no affinity with the *Greek*, but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which ſignifieth *auguration* and *divination:* or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his chapter of oracles in the leaf before cited.

[c] *Joſephus* calls the ark *Machina*, by the general name of a huge frame: and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew Aron*; but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thevet*, that *Aron* ſignifieth properly the ark of the ſanctuary, but *Thevet* ſuch a veſſel as ſwimmeth, and beareth it ſelf upon the waters.

Laſtly, this ark of *Noah* differed from the faſhion of a ſhip in this, that it had a cover and roof, with a creſt in the midſt thereof, and the ſides declining like the roof of an houſe; to the end, both to caſt off the waters, and that thereunder [d] *Noah* himſelf and his children might ſhelter and ſeparate themſelves from the noiſomeneſs of the many beaſts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the ark.

Of what wood the ark was built it is uncertain. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher*, once, and in this place only, uſed, is diverſly underſtood; and tho' the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, that the *Geneva* tranſlation calls it pine-tree; the *Rabbine*, cedar; the *Seventy*, ſquare timber; the *Latin*, ſmooth timber. Others will have it cypreſs-trees, as dedicated to the dead, becauſe cypreſs is worn at funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* ſignify any ſpecial kind of timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promiſe of God, and his grace and mercy for his defence. For with *Noah* God promiſed [e] *to eſtabliſh his covenant*. [f] *Pliny* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the uſe to build ſhips of cedar, which the worms eat not; and he avoweth, that he ſaw in *Utica*, in the temple of *Apollo*, cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the city, and that they were ſtill found in his time, which was above 1188 years after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not ſubject to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is eaſy to cut, light to carry, and of a ſweet ſavour, laſting alſo better than any other wood, and becauſe near the place where the ark reſted, there are found great ſtore of theſe cedar-trees, as alſo in all the mountains of the eaſt, beſides thoſe of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the ark might be of that wood: which hath beſides the other commodities the greateſt length of timber, and therefore fitteſt to build ſhips withal. *Pererius* conceiveth that the ark had divers ſorts of timber, and that the bottom had of one ſort, the deck and partition of another; all which may be true or falſe, if *Gopher* may be taken for timber in general. True it is, that cedar will ſerve for all parts of a ſhip, as well for the body, as for maſts and yards. But *Noah* had moſt reſpect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the ark; and to pitch it, and to divide it into cabins, thereby to ſever the clean beaſts from the unclean, and to preſerve their ſeveral ſorts of food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he caſt his confidence wholly on God, who by his angels ſteered this ſhip without a rudder, and directed it without the help of a compaſs or the north-ſtar. The pitch which *Noah* uſed, is by ſome ſuppoſed to have been a kind of *bitumen*, whereof there is great quantity about the valley of [g] *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, now the dead ſea or *Aſphaltes:* and in the region of *Babylon*, and in the *Weſt-Indies:* and herein it exceedeth other pitch, that it melts not with the ſun, but by the fire only, after the manner of hard wax.

SECT. IX.

That the ark was of ſufficient capacity.

THE ark, according to God's commandment, had of length three hundred cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high: by which proportion it had ſix parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which St. *Auguſtine*, [h] *Proculdudio figura eſt peregrinantis in hoc ſæculo civitatis Dei (hoc eſt) Eccleſiæ, quæ fit ſalva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Chriſtus Jeſus: nam & menſura ipſa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudiniſque ejus ſignificat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus eſt venturus, & venit, &c.* Without doubt (ſaith he) it is a figure of the city of God, travelling in this world as a ſtranger (that is) of the Church, ſaved by the tree whereupon the Mediator between God and man, the man *Jeſus Chriſt* did hang: for even the very meaſure of the length, height, and breadth, anſwereth the ſhape of man's body, in the truth whereof the coming of Chriſt was foretold and performed.

By what kind of cubit the ark was meaſured, it hath been a diſputed queſtion among the fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect theſe: the firſt kind of cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a half, meaſured from the ſharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The ſecond (the palm cubit) which taketh one handful more than the common. The third is called *Regius cubitus*, or the *Perſian* cubit, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the ſacred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Laſtly, there is a fifth cubit, called geometrical, which containeth ſix common cubits. But of all theſe ſorts, which were commonly meaſured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens ſtatures hath made the difference. For as there is now a leſs proportion of bodies: ſo is the common cubit, from the ſharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of leſs length than it was in elder times.

St. *Auguſtine* conſidering the many ſorts of beaſts and birds which the ark held, with their food and water, was ſometimes of opinion, that the ark had proportion after the geometrical cubit, which containeth almoſt ſix of the common. For [i] meaſuring the ark by the vulgar cubit, it did not exceed the capacity of that veſſel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuſe*, or the ſhip of *Ptolemy Philo-pater*. But St. *Auguſtine* (who at the firſt was led by *Origen*) changed his judgment as touching the geometrical cubit; and found upon better conſideration, that there needed not ſo huge a body to preſerve all ſorts of creatures by God appointed to he reſerved. For it was not needful to take any kinds of fiſhes into the ark, becauſe they were kept living (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) in their own element. [k] *Non fuit neceſſe conſervare*

[a] Steph. de Urb. fol. 227. [b] De Oracul. fol. 94. [c] Epiph. in Ancor. [d] Gen 6. 16. [e] Gen 6. 18. [f] Plin. l. 16. c. 40. [g] Pererius. [h] De Civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 26. [i] Athen. dipnoſop. l. 4. Plutarch. in vita Demetrii. [k] Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 27.

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in arca quæ poſſent in aquis vivere ; non ſolum merſa ſicut piſces, verum ſupernatantia ſicut multæ alites ; It was not needful to conſerve thoſe creatures in the ark, which could live in the waters ; and not only fiſhes, which can live under water, but alſo thoſe fowls which ſit and ſwim on them. And again, *Terra, non aqua, maledicta ; quia Adam non hujus, ſed illius fructum vetitum comedit* ; It was the earth, and not the waters, which God curſed: for of the forbidden fruit of the earth, and not of the ſea, did *Adam* eat ; ſo as St. *Auguſtine* gathereth hereupon (as aforeſaid) that ſo huge a frame needed not.

And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we ſhall find nothing monſtrous therein ; altho' the imaginations of men, who (for the moſt part) have more of miſchief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reaſon, find many impoſſibilities in this work of God. But it is manifeſt, and undoubtedly true, that many of the ſpecies, which now ſeem differing and of ſeveral kinds, were not then *in rerum natura*. For thoſe beaſts which are of mix'd natures, either they were not in that age, or elſe it was not needful to preſerve them : ſeeing they might be generated again by others, as the mules, the hyena's, and the like : the one begotten by aſſes and mares, the other by foxes and wolves. And whereas by diſcovering of ſtrange lands, wherein there are found divers beaſts and birds, differing in colour or ſtature from thoſe of theſe nothern parts, it may be ſuppoſed by a ſuperficial conſideration, that all thoſe which wear red and pyed ſkins, or feathers, are differing from thoſe that are leſs painted and wear plain ruſſet or black : they are much miſtaken that ſo think. And for my own opinion, I find no difference, but only in magnitude, between the cat of *Europe*, and the ounce of *India* ; and even thoſe dogs which are become wild in *Hiſpagniola*, with which the *Spaniards* uſed to devour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to wolves, and begin to deſtroy the breed of their cattle, and do alſo oftentimes tear aſunder their own children. [a]The common crow and rook of *India* is full of red feathers in the drown'd and low iſlands of *Caribana* ; and the black-bird and thruſh hath his feathers mix'd with black and carnation, in the north parts of *Virginia*. The dog-fiſh of *England* is the ſhark of the ſouth ocean : for if colour or magnitude made a difference of ſpecies, then were the negroes, which we call the black-mores, *non animalia rationalia*, not men, but ſome kind of ſtrange beaſts : and ſo the giants of the ſouth *America* ſhould be of another kind, than the people of this part of the world. We alſo ſee it daily that the natures of fruits are changed by tranſplantation, ſome to better, ſome to worſe, eſpecially with the change of climate. Crabs may be made good fruit by often grafting, and the beſt melons will change in a year or two to common cucumbers by being ſet in a barren ſoil. Therefore taking the kinds preciſely of all creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the earth by his ordinance produced ; the ark, after the meaſure of the common cubit, was ſufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed : for if we add but half a foot of meaſure to the common cubit, which had a foot and a half of giantly ſtature (and leſs allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the ark contain 600 foot in length, and 100 foot in breadth, and 60 foot in depth.

But firſt of all, to make it manifeſt that the geometrical cubit is not uſed in the ſcripture, the ſtature of the giants therein named may ſuffice. For if the bed of [b] *Og* king of *Baſhan* had been nine geometrical cubits long, it had taken 54 cubits of the common, which make 80 foot : and [c]*Goliah*, who had the length of 6 cubits and a handful (which makes nine foot and a handful, a proportion credible) if theſe cubits had been geometrical, then had been 54 foot in height and upwards, which were monſtrous and moſt incredible : for (according to this proportion) the head of *Goliah* had been nine foot long, and far weightier and bigger than all *David*'s body, who carried it away.

Again, If the geometrical cubit had been uſed for a meaſure in the ſcripture, as many commentators have obſerved, then would the altar (appointed to contain five cubits of length, five of breadth and three of height) have reached the length of 27 foot upright, and ſo muſt their prieſts have aſcended by ſteps or ladders to have performed their ſacrifices thereon, which was contrary to God's commandment given in theſe words : [d]*Thou ſhalt not go up with ſteps unto mine altar, that thy ſhame be not diſcovered thereon* ; and therefore was the altar but three common cubits high, which make four foot, that their prieſts ſtanding thereby might execute their office : wherefore I may conclude, that the cubit mentioned in the ſcriptures was not the geometrical, but the ordinary cubit of one foot and a half, according to the meaſure of giantly ſtature ; which meaſure (doubtleſs) might give much the more capacity to the ark, altho' it be alſo probable, that as the men were, ſo were the horſes whereon they rode, and all other creatures, of a correſpondent ſize. And yet, as I take it, tho' by this means there were not any whit the more room in the ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the diſtinct ſpecies of animals, whoſe lives cannot be preſerved in the waters, might according to their preſent quantities be contained in a veſſel of thoſe dimenſions which the ark had ; allowing to the cubit one foot and a half of our now uſual meaſure : whence it followeth of neceſſity, that thoſe large bodies which were in the days of *Noah* might have room ſufficient in the ark, which was meaſured by a cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures, to be ſaved, that is, ſeven of the clean, two of the unclean (with neceſſary food) might have place in the ark, *Butæo* hath very learnedly declared : the brief ſum of whoſe diſcourſe to that purpoſe is this : *The length of the ark was three hundred cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty cubits, and the product by the height of thirty cubits, ſheweth the whole concavity to have been* 450000. Now whereas the poſts, walls, and other partitions of lodgings may ſeem to have taken up a great part of the hollow : the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500 cubical cubes, was a ſufficient recompence : if therefore in a ſhip of ſuch greatneſs we ſeek room for 89 diſtinct ſpecies of beaſts, or (leſt any ſhould be omitted) for 100 ſeveral kinds, we ſhall eaſily find place both for them, and for the birds, which in bigneſs are no way anſwerable to them, and for meat to ſuſtain them all. For there are three ſorts of beaſts, whoſe bodies are of a quantity beſt known ; the beef, the ſheep, and the wolf : to which the reſt may be reduc'd, by ſaying (according to *Ariſtotle*) that one elephant is anſwerable to four beeves, one lyon to two wolves, and ſo of the reſt. Of beaſts, ſome feed on vegetables, others on fleſh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater ſort, feeding on vegetables : of which number, only three are clean,

[a] Acoſt. hiſt. Indiæ. [b] Deut. 3. 11. [c] 1 Sam. 17. 4. [d] Exod. 20. 26.

according to the law of *Moſes*, whereof ſeven of a kind entered into the ark, namely, three couples for breed, and one odd for ſacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind; ſo that in all there were in the ark one and twenty great beaſts clean, and ſix and fifty unclean, eſtimable for largeneſs as 91 beeves; yet for a ſupplement (leſt perhaps any *ſpecies* be omitted) let them be valued, as 120 beeves. Of the leſſer ſort, feeding on vegetables, were in the ark ſix and twenty kinds, eſtimable with good allowance for ſupply, as fourſcore ſheep. Of thoſe which devour fleſh, were two and thirty kinds, anſwerable to threeſcore and four wolves. All theſe 280 beaſts might be kept in one ſtory or room of the ark in their ſeveral cabins; their meat in a ſecond: the birds and their proviſion in a third, with place to ſpare for *Noah* and his family, and all their neceſſaries.

SECT. X.

That the ark reſted upon part of the hill Taurus (*or* Caucaſus) *between the* Eaſt-Indies *and* Scythia.

† I.

A preterition of ſome queſtions leſs material: with a note of the uſe of this queſtion, to find out the Metropolis *of nations.*

WHAT time *Noah* took to build the ark, I leave to others to diſpute; but he received the commandment from God 100 years before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leiſure ſufficient. As for the number of decks and partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, St. *Auguſtine* into three, I will not trouble the reader with the controverſy: or whether thoſe creatures, which ſometimes reſt on the land, other times in the waters, as the crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the ſea-cows or ſea-horſes, were kept in the ark, or no, I think it a needleſs curioſity; and yet to this ſaith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a fiſh-pool might be made as well within the ark, as in *Hiero*'s ſhip of *Syracuſe*. Laſtly, to conſider or labour to diſprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who ſuppoſe that the ark was lightened by a carbuncle, or had windows of cryſtal to receive in light, and keep out water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I ſeek moſt to ſatisfy my ſelf and others in, is in what part of the world the ark reſted after the flood: becauſe the true underſtanding of ſome of theſe places (as the ſeat of the terreſtrial *paradiſe*, and the reſting of the ark) do only and truly teach the world's plantation, and the beginning of nations, before and after the flood; and all ſtory, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better underſtood.

† II.

A propoſal of the common opinion, that the ark reſted upon ſome of the hills of Armenia.

AND firſt, for the true place where the ark reſted after the flood, and from what part of the world the children of *Noah* travelled to their firſt ſettlement and plantation, I am reſolved (without any preſumption) that therein the moſt writers were utterly miſtaken. And I am not led ſo to think out of my humour or newneſs of opinion, or ſingularity; but do herein ground my ſelf on the original and firſt truth, which is the word of God; and after that, upon reaſon, and the moſt probable circumſtances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, [a] *that the ark ſtayed upon one of the mountains of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean* paraphraſt hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordæi* or *Gordiæi* in *Armenia* the greater (as the words *Gordæi* and *Kardu* ſeem to be one and the ſame) of which opinion alſo the moſt of our interpreters are; I find neither ſcripture nor reaſon which teacheth any ſuch thing: to wit, that it reſted on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. [b] *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* calls this mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the ſame which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountain the frier *Annius* (citing this place out of *Joſephus*) makes him find another adjoining, called *Ocila*, and to ſay that the ark (of which *Moſes* the law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did firſt take ground on this *Ocila*. But I do not find any ſuch mountain in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Joſephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a promontory in *Arabia Fœlix*, of that name, and *Pliny* finds a mart-town ſo called in the ſame, which *Ptolemy* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damaſcenus*, or rather of *Annius*, ſeemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* mountains. *Beroſus* calleth thoſe mountains of *Armenia Gordiæi*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolemy Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*; of which the country next adjoining is by this *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as [c] *Becanus* conjectures) for *Myliada* or rather *Minni*; which word is uſed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* ſeems to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we ſhould ſay *Minni* of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* alſo was a part of *Syria*, [d] *Pliny* witneſſeth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about theſe mountains, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The mountains are ſeated apart from all other to the north of that ledge of the mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates*, in the plains of *Armenia* the great, near the lake of *Thoſpitis*: whence the river of *Tigris* floweth in 75 degrees of longitude, and 41 and 42 degrees of latitude. One of the mountains *Gordiæi* (that which ſurmounteth the reſt) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* ſignifieth a place of deſcent: but this out of [e] *Joſephus*; which name (ſaith *Junius*) was of the event, becauſe of *Noah*'s coming down with his children. But this alſo I take to be a ſuppoſed event; ſeeing any hill, from whence on every ſide we muſt deſcend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Joſephus* Ἀδάρις (*Kubaris.*) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, becauſe *Joſeph. l.* 1. *c.* 4. ſays, the place is called Ἀποβατήριον (as it were the deſcent or coming down) and *Epiphan. l.* 1. *cont. Hæreſ.* calls it Λόχαρ: which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* tongue ſignifieth deſcent, of *Lubar*, which is to deſcend; whence alſo *Lubra* is a *ſynagogue*, becauſe it was commonly built on ſome high place: whereof alſo the *Latin Delubrum* may ſeem to be derived; and *Acts* vi. 9. they that belonged to the *ſynagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath been embraced from age to age: receiving a habit of ſtrength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; altho' the name of *Lubar* might otherwiſe rightly be given, eſpecially to that mountain, by reaſon that the paſſage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the reſt adjoining.

[a] Gen. 8. 4. [b] *See* c. 7. §. 1. [c] Hieron. 51. 27. [d] Nat. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 12. [e] Joſeph. de Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

† III. *The*

† III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, *would have come sooner, had they come from so near a place as* Armenia.

BUT there are many arguments to perſuade me, that the ark of *Noah* did not reſt it ſelf in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountain *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* mountains.

For firſt, it is agreed by all who follow [a] *Beroſus*, that it was in the 130th year, or in the year 131 after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinaar*, which valley was afterwards called *Babylonia*, *Cuſh* and *Chaldea*. If then the ark had firſt found land in *Armenia*, it is very improbable, that the children of *Noah*, which came into that valley, could have ſpent ſo many years in ſo ſhort a paſſage: ſeeing the region of *Meſopotamia* was only interjacent, which might by eaſy journeys have been paſſed over in twenty days; and to haſten and help which paſſage the navigable river of *Tigris* offered it ſelf, which is every where tranſpaſſable by boats of great burden: ſo as where the deſart on the one ſide reſiſted their expedition, the river on the contrary ſide ſerved to advance it; the river riſing out of the ſame ledge of mountains, or at the foot of them, where the ark of *Noah* was firſt ſuppoſed to ſettle it ſelf; then, if the nations which followed *Nimrod* ſtill doubted the ſurpriſe of a ſecond flood (according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it ſoundeth ill to the ear of reaſon, that they would have ſpent many years in that low and overflown valley of *Meſopotamia*, ſo called of the many rivers which imbroider or compaſs it: for the effects witneſſed their affections, and the works, which they undertook, their unbelief; being no ſooner arrived in *Shinaar*, but they began to provide themſelves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) againſt any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his kingdom, the firſt known city of the world founded after the flood, about 131 years, or (as others ſuppoſe) ten years later: though (for my ſelf) I rather think, that they undertook that work in two reſpects, firſt, to make themſelves famous, [b] *To get us a name* (ſaith the text:) Secondly, thereby to uſurp dominion over the reſt.

† IV.

The ſecond argument, that the eaſtern people were moſt ancient in populoſity, and in all human glory.

FOR a ſecond argument: the civility, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the eaſt parts of the world firſt abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be ſaid for *Armenia*, and for *Noah*'s taking land there. And that this is true, the uſe of printing and artillery (among many other things which the eaſt had) may eaſily perſuade us, that thoſe ſun-riſing nations were the moſt ancient. The certainty of this report, that the *Eaſt Indians* (time out of mind) have had guns and ordnance of battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, makes us now to underſtand, that the place of *Philoſtratus in vita Apollonii Tianæi*, *l.* 2. *c.* 14. is no fable, tho' expreſs'd in fabulous words: when he ſaith, that the wiſe men, which dwell between *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, uſe not themſelves to go forth into battel: but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning ſent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is ſaid, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, joining their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there caſt away his golden ſhield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly aſcribed to *Cadmus*, becauſe he brought them firſt into *Greece*: of which the people (then rude and ſavage) had reaſon to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no leſs ancient than *Seth* or *Enoch* were: for they are ſaid to have written on pillars of ſtone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the eaſtern world it was that *John Cuthenberg*, a *German*, brought the device of printing: by whom *Conradus* being inſtructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that, *Nicolaus Gerſon*, a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and invention. And, notwithſtanding that this myſtery was then ſuppoſed to be but newly born, the *Chinaos* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians*; and alſo the art of printing, when as the *Greeks* had neither any civil knowledge, or any letters among them.

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witneſſed, who about an hundred years ſince diſcovered thoſe kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinaos* account all other nations but ſavages in reſpect of themſelves.

And to add ſtrength to this argument, the conqueſt and ſtory of *Alex. Macedon* may juſtly be called to witneſs, who found more cities and ſumptuoſity in that little kingdom of *Porus*, which lay ſide by ſide to the *Eaſt India*, than in all his other travels and undertakings. For in *Alexander*'s time, learning and greatneſs had not travelled ſo far to the weſt as *Rome*: *Alexander* eſteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous country, and of *Rome* as of a village. But it was *Babylon* that ſtood in his eye, and the fame of the eaſt pierced his ears. And if we look as far as the ſun-riſing, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermoſt angle and iſland thereof, we ſhall find that thoſe nations have ſent out, and not received, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the weſt. For the farther eaſt (to this day) the more civil, the farther weſt the more ſavage. And of the iſle of *Japan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report. *Incolæ religioni, literis, & ſapientiæ ſunt addictiſſimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more noſtro) ſacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoſcunt principem, unum Deum adorant.* The iſlanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters and philoſophy, and moſt diligent ſearchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they uſe in their churches after the manner of Chriſtians. They acknowledge one king, and worſhip one God. The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, ſumptuous buildings, and policy in government, is reported to be ſuch by thoſe who have been employ'd into thoſe parts, as it ſeemeth to exceed (in thoſe formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other kingdoms of the world.

† V.

The third argument, from the wonderful reſiſtance which Semiramis *found in the* Eaſt Indies.

BUT for a third argument, and alſo of a treble ſtrength to the reſt, I lay the invaſion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and adviſed reader: who may conſider in what age ſhe lived, and how ſoon after the world's new birth ſhe gathered her army (as *Diodorus Sioulus* out of *Cteſias* reporteth) of more than three millions to invade *India*, to which

[a] Beroſ. l. 1. [b] Gen. 10. 10. Beroſ. l. 1.

he

he joineth alſo 500000 horſe, and 100000 waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it ſhall ſuffice to prove that *India* was the firſt planted and peopled country after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein ſhe lived: all hiſtorians conſent, that ſhe was the wife of *Ninus*; and the moſt approved writers agree, that *Ninus* was the ſon of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the ſon of *Cuſh*, *Cuſh* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at ſuch time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great nation, as by the building of the city and tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then ſo multiplied and increaſed, the two deſcents caſt between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time thoſe multitudes, whereof her army was compoſed. Let us then ſee with whom ſhe encountered in that war with this her powerful army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equaling her own, conducted by *Staurobates* king of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whoſe multitudes this is the witneſs of *Diodor. Siculus. Staurobates, avitis majoribus, quam quæ erant Semiramidis, copiis*; *Staurobates* gathering together greater troops than thoſe of *Semiramis*. If then theſe numbers of *Indians* had been encreaſed but by a colony ſent out from *Shinaar* (and that alſo after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took ſome time in the performance) this encreaſe in the eaſt, and this army of *Staurobates* muſt have been made of ſtone, or ſomewhat elſe by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might eaſily grow up in that time from ſo great a troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as ſhall be demonſtrated hereafter in the ſtory of *Iſrael*) ſo could not any ſuch time, by any multiplication natural, produce ſo many bodies of men, as were in the *Indian* Army victorious over *Semiramis*, if the colonies ſent thither had been ſo late as *Babel* overturned, and the confuſion of languages. For if we allow 65 years time after the flood, before *Nimrod* was born: of which 30 years to *Cuſh*, ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had [a] *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then 30 years to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five years to his five elder brothers, which make 65, and then twice 30 years for two generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their ſons, and that a third generation might grow up, which makes in all 125 years, there will then remain ſix years to have been ſpent in travelling from the eaſt, ere they arrived in *Shinaar* in the year after the flood 131. And ſo the followers of *Nimrod* might be of ſufficient multitude. But as for thoſe which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the year 101: and the confuſion to have been at *Peleg*'s birth, theſe men do all by miracle: they beget whole nations without the help of time, and build *Nimrod*'s tower in the air; and not on thoſe low and marſhy grounds (which require ſound foundations) in the plains of *Shinaar*. For except that huge tower were built in a day, there could be no confuſion in that year 101, or at *Peleg*'s birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* uſurped regal authority in the 131ſt year after the flood (according to *Beroſus*) and that the work of *Babel* laſted forty years (according to *Glycas*) [b] *hominibus in ea perficienda totis* 40 *annis incaſſum laborantibus*; Men labouring in vain 40 years to finiſh it. By which account it falls out, that it was 170 years after the flood, ere a colony were ſent into *Eaſt India*; which granted (the one being the main body, and the other but a troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed, that *Staurobates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then empreſs of all that part of the world, gathered the moſt of nations into one body.

† VI.

The fourth argument from divers conſiderations in the perſon of Noah.

FOurthly, It is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, and had lived therein the long time of 600 years, was all that ſpace, 130 years after the flood, without any certain habitation: no, it will fall out, and better agree with reaſon, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of thoſe people, by *Noah* deſtined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the weſtern world (which travels *Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himſelf, then covered with many years, planted himſelf in the ſame place which God had aſſigned him: which was where he firſt came down out of the ark from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the ark he planted a vineyard, and became a husbandman: whoſe buſineſs was to dreſs and manure the earth, and not to range over ſo many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia Fœlix*, where he ſhould (if the tradition be found) have left certain colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spain*, where they ſay he ſettled other companies; and built cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his ſons wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they ſay he found his ſon *Cham* the *Saturn* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and ſubjects of *Gomer* in his abſence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the ſtory) had patience for three years; but then finding no amendment, they ſay, he baniſhed him out of *Italy*. Theſe be but the fancies of *Beroſus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the *Grecian* fables. For let every reaſonable man conceive, what it was to travel far in ſuch a foreſt as the world was, when after ſo great a rotting of the earth by the flood, the ſame lay waſte and overgrown for 130 or 140 years, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or paſſage through which men were able to creep, for woods, buſhes and briars that in thoſe years were grown up.

And there are ſo many reaſons, proving that *Noah* never came into the valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not ſuſpect his paſſage into *Italy* or *Spain*: for *Noah*, who was father of all thoſe nations, a man reverenced both for his authority, knowledge, experience and piety, would never have permitted his children and iſſues to have undertaken that unbelieving preſumptuous work of *Babel*. Rather by his preſence and prevalent perſuaſions he would have bound their hands from ſo vain labours, and, by the authority which he received even from God himſelf, he would have held them in that awful ſubjection, as whatſoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durſt not have diſobey'd the perſonal commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of regal authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former deſtruction of mankind was by themſelves purchaſed through cruelty and diſobedience; and that to diſtruſt God, and to raiſe up building againſt his Almighty power, was, as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay on them the ſame, if not a more ſharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came ſo far weſt as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he ſent thoſe numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greateſt troop,

[a] Gen. 10. 7. [b] Glyc. in Gen. & de Turris exſtructione, fol. 173.

becauſe

becauſe they had the greateſt part of the world to plant) under *Nimrod*, or thoſe upon whom he uſurped. *Nauclerus* and *Cæleſtinus* take the teſtimony of *Methodius* biſhop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three leaders of the people after their encreaſe (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene* and *Joktan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the iſſues of *Cham*, *Joktan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, altho' I will not doubt, but that ſo great a work as the world's plantation could not be affected without order and conduction.

Of the ſons of *Sem*: *Joktan*, *Havila* and *Ophir*, are eſpecially noted to have dwelt in the *Eaſt-Indies*. The reſt of *Sem*'s iſſues had alſo the regions of *Perſia* and the other adjoining to *Indus*, and held alſo a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were the ſons of *Joktan*, or of all the reſt a certain number (*Cham* and his iſſue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himſelf, it cannot be known. Of which plantation I ſhall ſpeak at large in the chapter following.

Now another reaſon which moves me to believe that *Noah* ſtayed in the eaſt, far away from all thoſe that came into *Shinaar*, is that *Moſes* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the ſtory of the *Hebrews*, or among any of thoſe nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the father of all mankind, and the choſen ſervant of God, was too principal a perſon, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in reſpect of his age and wearieſome experience of the world) withdrawn himſelf, and reſted apart with his beſt beloved, giving himſelf to the ſervice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their deſtin'd portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile ſoil, where he planted his vineyard, and dreſs'd the earth; after which, and his thankſgiving to God by ſacrifice, he is not remembred in the ſcriptures, becauſe he was ſo far away from thoſe nations of which *Moſes* wrote: which were the *Hebrews* chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

† VII.

Of the ſenſeleſs opinion of Annius *the commentator upon* Beroſus; *who finds divers places where the ark reſted; as the* Caſpian *and* Gordiæan *hills, which are three hundred miles aſunder; and alſo ſome place of* Scythia.

IT remaineth now that we examine the arguments and authorities of frier *Annius*, who in his commentaries upon *Beroſus* and others, laboureth marvellouſly to prove, that the ark of *Noah* reſted upon the *Armenian* mountains called *Caſpii*; which mountains ſeparate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And becauſe all his authors ſpeak of the mountains *Gordiæi*, he hath no other ſhift to unite theſe opinions, but by uniting thoſe far diſtant mountains together. To effect which he hath found no other invention, than to charge thoſe men with error which have carefully overſeen, printed, and publiſhed [a] *Ptolemy*'s geography, in which they were altogether diſſevered: for that laſt edition of *Mercator*'s ſets theſe hills five degrees (which makes three hundred *Engliſh* miles) aſunder. And certainly, if we look into thoſe more ancient copies of *Villanovanus* and others, we ſhall find nothing in them to help *Annius* withal: for in thoſe the mountains *Caſpii* ſtand ſeven degrees to the eaſt of the *Gordiæi*, which make 420 miles. And for thoſe authors, by whoſe authority *Annius* ſtrengthneth himſelf, *Diodorus*, whom he ſo much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like diſpute. [b] *Aberrârunt vero omnes, non negligentiâ, ſed regnorum ſitus ignorantiâ*; They have all erred *(ſaith he)* not through negligence, but through ignorance of the ſituation of kingdoms. But for an induction, to prove that the ark of *Noah* ſtood on the mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to prove the ſame, he citeth [c] *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth, that 250 years before *Ninus* the earth was overflown with waters; *Et in Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*; And that in *Scythia Saga* the ſtock of mortal men was renewed. The ſame author alſo teacheth that the *Umbri* before remembred (who were ſo called, becauſe ſaved from *Deucalion*'s flood) were the ſons of the *Galli*, a nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his veniſſe Janum cum Dyrim & Gallis progenitoribus Umbrorum*; From theſe *Scythians*, he ſaith, that *Janus* came with *Dyrim* and with the *Galli* the progenitors of the *Umbri*; and again, *Equidem principatus originis ſemper Scythis tribuitur*; Certainly the prime antiquity of off-ſpring is always given to the *Scythians*. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that thoſe regions called *Scythia* and now *Tartaria*, and by ſome writers *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, were among the firſt peopled: and they held the greateſt part of *Aſia* under tribute till *Ninus*'s time. Alſo [d] *Pliny* calleth the *Umbri*, which long ſince inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquiſſima*; A moſt ancient nation, who deſcended of theſe *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that theſe ancient *Scythians* (meaning the nephews of *Noah*) did firſt inhabit that region of the mountains, on which the ark reſted; and confeſſing that this great ſhip was grounded in *Armenia*, he feigned a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the mountain *Ararat*, near the river of *Araxes*. And becauſe his author *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, that in *Scythia* mankind was reſtored after the great flood, 250 years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly deſtroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*; In *Scythia Saga* mankind was reſtor'd: he therefore in the *Proem* of his commentary upon [e] *Beroſus*, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repitition of *Cato*'s words, and writes, [f] *Homines in Scythia ſalvatos*. For *Scythia Saga* or *Sacæ* is undoubtedly under the mountains of *Paropaniſus*, on which, or near which, it is moſt probable that the *ark* firſt took ground; and from thoſe eaſt parts (according to [g] *Moſes*) came all thoſe companies which erected the tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the beſt authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *a Scytha rege eorum*, from *Scytha* their king. But (in a word) we may ſee his vanity, or rather indeed his falſhood, in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a moſt approved and diligent author, begineth in that place with theſe words, *Fabulantur Scythæ*; The *Scythians* fable: and his interpreter in the table of that work, giveth this title to that very chapter. *Scytharum origo & ſucceſſus, fabula*; The original and ſucceſs of the *Scythians*, a fable. And indeed there needs no great diſproof hereof, ſince *Ptolemy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, and ſets them in 130 degrees of longitude: and the *Perſians* (ſaith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians Sacæ*, which *Pliny* confirmeth: for in reſpect that theſe *Sacæ* (ſaith [h] *Pliny*) are the next

[a] Ptol. Aſiæ Tab. 3. Tab. 7. [b] Diod. l. c. 3. [c] Cato de orig. pars prima. [d] Plin. l. 3. c. 14. [e] Beroſ. l. 1. [f] Ptol. Aſiæ [g] Gen. 11. 2. [h] Lib. 6. c. 17.

Scythians to the *Perſians*, therefore they give all the reſt that name. Now that any nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Perſians*, there is no man believeth. But this ſuppoſed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lieth in 78 degrees of longitude (that is) 42 degrees diſtant from the *Sacæ*; and the country about *Araxes*, *Ptolemy* calleth *Colthene* and *Soducene* and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all thoſe which are or were reputed *Scythians*, either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100 ſeveral nations, are by [a] *Ptolemy* preciſely ſet down.

But to come to thoſe later authors, whereof ſome have written, others have ſeen a great part of thoſe north-eaſt regions, and ſearched their antiquities with great diligence: firſt, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without theſe mountains is alſo beyond our purpoſe.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ea eſt, quæ proprio vocabulo Gaſſaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab occaſu Sarmatia Aſiatica: ab oriente Imao monte: a ſeptentrione Terra incognita: à meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, uſque ad oſtia Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; et parte ipſius maris hinc uſque ad Rha fluminis oſtia terminatur: Scythia* within the mountain *Imaus* is that part of the world, which in their own ſpeech is at this time called *Gaſſaria*; and the ſame is bounded on the weſt-ſide by *Sarmatia Aſiatica* (or of *Aſia*) on the eaſt by the *Imaan* mountains: on the north by unknown lands: on the ſouth by *Saccæ* (which are the *Sacæ*) the *Sogdiani*, and the *Margiani*, to the mouth of *Oxus*, falling into the *Hyrcan* ſea, and by a part of the ſame ſea, as far as the mouth of *Rha*.[b]

Now if *Niger* ſets all *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, to the weſt of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* ([c] *quæ magna ſanè regio eſt, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur*; Which is a great region, comprehending innumerable nations (ſaith *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth ſufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plain, he diſſevereth *Sarmatia* it ſelf from any part of *Armenia*, by the regions of [d] *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania* which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the weſt bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian*, or *Scythian* nations; neither doth his fellow frier *John Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his deſcription of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* born, of the blood of thoſe kings (tho' afterwards a monk) ever acknowledge himſelf for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* races deſcended: tho' he writes that ſtory at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandment of pope *Clement* V.) in the year 1307 publiſhed.

Neither doth *Matthias à Michon* (a canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travelled a great part of *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, find *Armenia* any way within the compaſs of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whoſe travels are extant) hath obſerved ſo much of thoſe regions as he hath done: proving and diſproving many things, heretofore ſubject to diſpute. And among others he burieth that ancient and received opinion, that out of the mountains *Riphæi* and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, ſpring the rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by unanſwerable experience, that there are no ſuch mountains *in rerum natura*; and indeed the heads and fountains of thoſe famous rivers, are now by the trade of *Muſcovia* known to every merchant, and that they ariſe out of lakes, low, woody, and marſhy grounds. The river of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariſeth to the ſouth of the city *Tulla*, ſome twenty *Engliſh* miles, out of a lake called *Iwanoweſero* in the great wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Jepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riſeth out of a lake called *Fronow*, in the great wood *Vodkonzki*: from which lake the two other famous rivers flow of *Boryſthenes* (now *Nyeper*) and *Dſuina* or *Dividna*. And this learned [e] *Polonian* doth in this ſort bound the *European Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia* of *Europe* are the regions of *Ruſſians*, *Lithuanians*, *Muſcovians*, and thoſe adjoining, bounded on the weſt by the river of [f] *Viſſa*, the name perchance miſprinted *Viſſa* for *Viſtula*, a river which parts *Germany* and *Sarmatia*: and for the eaſt border he nameth *Tanais* or *Don*. *Sarmatia Aſiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the ſame river *Tanais*, and the *Caſpian* ſea, to with-hold it from ſtretching farther eaſt: this *Aſian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolemy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*; *Scythia* within the mountain *Imaus*. And the ſame *Matthias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Aſiatica* it ſelf, above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: theſe be his words. *Conſtat eam eſſe gentem novam, & adventitiam a partibus orientis (mutatis ſedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Aſiæ Sarmatiam ingreſſam*: It is manifeſt (ſaith he, ſpeaking of the *Scythian* nation) that this is a late planted nation, come from the coaſts of the eaſt; from whence they entered into *Aſia*, and gat new ſeats a little more than three hundred years ſince: For indeed before that time the *Goths* or *Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia Aſiatica*. And this *Matthias* lived in the year 1511, and this his diſcourſe of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Auguſta* in the year 1506, as *Bucholzerus* in his *chronology* witneſſeth. Now theſe *Scythians* (ſaith he) came from the eaſt; for in the eaſt it was that the ark of *Noah* reſted; and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were thoſe people which lived at the north foot of thoſe mountains of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mix themſelves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other teſtimony than the general deſcription of the earth now extant, and the witneſs of *Ptolemy*, it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, there are not only thoſe three regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caſpian* ſea: on the eaſt ſhore of which ſea, but not on the weſt, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*; there are indeed a nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) between *Jaxartus* and *Jactus*; but what are theſe *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of *Europe*.

† VIII.

The fifth argument: The vine muſt grow naturally near the place where the ark reſted.

TO this if we add the conſideration of this part of the text, [g] *That Noah planted a vineyard*, we ſhall find that the fruit of the vine or raiſin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this reſting of the ark was ſuppoſed: for if the vine was a ſtranger in *Italy* and *France*, and brought from other countries thither, it is not pro-

[a] Tab. Aſiæ 7 & 8. [b] Rha *now* Wolga. [c] Com. 2. Aſiæ, fol. 472. [d] Ad meridem flexo Boſphoro pars ſeptentrionalis ponte Euxini uſque in oſtium Coracis fluvii: unde relictis a parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albaniſque in Littus Hyrcani maris provenit. Spec. hiſt. l. 30. [e] Sig. Herberſtein. [f] Cranzeus *calleth this river* Wiſlaus, Niger Dravamanza. Pom. Mela Viſula, & Plin. Viſtillus. [g] Gen. 9. 20.

bable

bable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a far colder country. For *Tyrrhenus* firſt brought vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at ſuch time as [a] *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy* there were few or no vines in *France*. For (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gauls* remained between the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alps*, near unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunk wine, which was firſt brought them out of *Italy*; and after they taſted thereof they haſted to inhabit that country, which brought forth ſuch pleaſant fruit: ſo as it appeared, that the plant of the vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Saturn* from elſewhere into *Italy*.

Now it is manifeſt that *Noah* travelled not far to ſeek out the vine. For the plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counſel how to diſpoſe of the world among his children: and the firſt thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a vineyard, after his ſacrifice and thankſgiving to God; and whereſoever the ark reſted, there did the vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear that he travelled far: for the ſcriptures teach us, that he was a huſbandman, and not a wanderer.

† IX.

Anſwer to an objection out of the words of the text: The Lord ſcattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appear, ſaving that it may be inferred out of theſe words [*from thence*] becauſe it is written: *So that the Lord ſcattered them from thence upon all the earth*; which hath no other ſenſe, but that the Lord ſcattered them (to wit) thoſe that built this tower: for thoſe were from thence diſperſed into all the regions of the north and ſouth, and to the weſtward. And by theſe words of *Sibylla* (as they are converted) it ſeemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*, for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificârunt altiſſimam, quaſi per eam cœlum eſſent aſcenſuri*; Certain of them built a moſt high tower, as if they meant thereby to have ſcaled the heavens.

† X.

An anſwer to the objection of the name of Ararat, *taken for* Armenia: *and the height of the hills there.*

BUT before I conclude this part, it is neceſſary to ſee and conſider, what part of ſcripture, and what reaſon may be found out to make it true or probable, that the *ark* of *Noah* was forſaken by the waters on the mountains of *Armenia*. For the text hath only theſe words: [b] *The ark reſted on* (or *upon*) *the mountains of Ararat* or *Armenia*, ſaith the marginal note of the *Geneva*, the *Chaldean Paraphriſt* calls it *Kardu*; of which the higheſt hath the name of *Lubar*, ſaith [c] *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keep the ſame word) is taken to be a mountain of *Armenia*, becauſe *Armenia* it ſelf had anciently that name: ſo as firſt out of the name, and ſecondly out of the height (which they ſuppoſe exceeded all others) is the opinion taken, that the ark firſt ſat thereon.

But theſe ſuppoſitions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of thoſe mountains, of equal ſtature to many other mountains of the world; and yet it doth not follow, that the ark found the higheſt mountain of all others to reſt on: for the plains were alſo uncovered, before *Noah* came out of the ark. Now if there were any agreement among writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the books of the *Sibyls* it is written, that the mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was ſuppoſed that the ark ſtay'd after the flood. And the better to particularize the place and ſeat of theſe mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the city of *Cœlenes* was afterwards built. Likewiſe in the ſame deſcription ſhe maketh mention of *Marſyas*, a river which runneth through part of *Phrygia*, and afterwards joineth it ſelf with the river *Mæander*: which is far from the *Gordiean* mountains in *Armenia*. We may alſo find a great miſtaking in *Joſephus* (tho' out of *Beroſus*, who is in effect the father of this opinion) that *Joſephus* ſets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, towards *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withal, that in the province of *Curon*, by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, ſo called by reaſon that the waters have from thence no deſcent, nor iſſue out, the people vaunt that they had in thoſe days reſerved ſome pieces of *Noah*'s ark. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a province of *Aſſyria*: ſo that all *Media* and a part of *Aſſyria* is between *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the diſcovery of the mountains *Cordiæi* was firſt borrowed out of *Beroſus* by *Joſephus*; yet the text which *Joſephus* citeth out of *Beroſus*, differs far from the words of that *Beroſus*, which wandereth up and down in theſe days, ſet out by *Annius*. For *Beroſus* cited by *Joſephus* hath theſe words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia, apud montem Cordiæorum ſupereſſe, & quoſdam bitumen inde abraſum ſecum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti ſolent* (which is) It is reported alſo that a part of this ſhip is yet remaining in *Armenia* upon the *Cordiean* mountains; and that divers do ſcrape from it the bitumen or pitch, and carrying it with them, they uſe it inſtead of an amulet. But *Annius*'s edition of the fragment of *Beroſus* uſeth theſe words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiæi montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars eſſe, & homines ex illa bitumen tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem*; For the whole ark being lifted up by the waters, reſted on the top of the *Gordiean* mountains, of which it is reported that ſome parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the bitumen to purge by ſacrifice therewith. So as in theſe two texts (beſides the difference of words) the name is diverſly written: the ancient *Beroſus* writes *Cordiæi* with a [*C*] and the fragment *Gordiæi* with a [*G*:] the one that the bitumen is uſed for a preſervative againſt poiſon or inchantment; the other in ſacrifice; and if it be ſaid that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledge, nor from any approved author: for one of them uſeth the word [*fertur*;] the other [*dicitur*:] the one, that *ſo it is reported*; the other, that *ſo it is ſaid*: and both but by hearſay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is ſo infamous an hiſtorian, as wiſe men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, theſe mountains which *Ptolemy* calls *Gordiæi*, are not thoſe mountains which himſelf giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the mountains of *Armenia Moſchici*. Theſe be his own words: [d] *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ii, qui Moſchici appellantur,*

[a] Servius Æneid. Eutropius. [b] Gen. 8. 14. [c] Epiph. l. 1. cont. Hæreſ. [d] Ptol. Aſiæ Tab.

qui

qui protenduntur uſque ad ſuperjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The mountains of *Armenia* are they which are called *Moſchici*, which ſtretch along to the higher part of *Pontus* of the *Cappadocians*; alſo the hill which is called *Paryardes*; which mountains *Pliny* calleth [a] *Pariedri*, and both which lye to the north of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43 and 44 and a half; and the *Gordiæan* mountains in 39 and a half: from the northermoſt of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were firſt *Gordians* and then *Georgians*, who, amidſt all the ſtrength of the greateſt infidels of *Perſia* and *Turkey*, do ſtill remain *Chriſtians*. Concerning the other ſuppoſitions, that the mountains of *Gordiæi*, otherwiſe *Baris*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the higheſt of the world, the ſame is abſolutely falſe.

† XI.

Of Caucaſus, *and divers far higher hills than the* Armenian.

FOR the beſt *Coſmographers* with others, that have ſeen the mountains of *Armenia*, find them far inferiour, and under-ſet to divers other mountains even in that part of the world, and elſewhere: as the mountain *Athos* between *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacas* (ſaith *Caſtaldus*) is far ſurmounting any mountain that ever hath been ſeen in *Armenia:* for it caſteth ſhade three hundred furlongs, which is thirty-ſeven miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch*, [b] *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bovis*; *Athos* ſhadoweth the cow of *Lemnos*. Alſo the mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſaly* is ſaid to be of that height, as neither the winds, clouds, or rain overtop it. Again, the mountain of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not far from *Ida*, whence the river *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a far more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be ſeen from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* near the ſea, the famous mountains of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus*. *Extat in hoc mari mons, cui nomen Atlas, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non poſſint*; Upon this coaſt there is a mountain called *Atlas*, whoſe height is ſaid to be ſuch as the eye of no mortal man can diſcern the top thereof. And if we may believe *Ariſtotle*, then are all theſe inferiour to *Caucaſus*, which he maketh the moſt notorious both for breadth and height. [c] *Caucaſus mons omnium maximus, qui æſtivum ad ortum ſunt, acumine atque latitudine, cujus juga a ſole radiantur uſque ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occaſu. Caucaſus* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) is the greateſt mountain both for breadth and height of all thoſe in the north-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightned by the ſun beams, *uſque ad conticinium* (which is, ſaith *Macrobius*) between the firſt crowing after midnight and the break of day: others affirm, that the top of this mountain holds the ſun beams when it is dark in the valley; but I cannot believe either: for the higheſt mountain of the world known, is that of *Tenerif* in the *Canaries:* which although it hath nothing to the weſtward of it for 1000 leagues together but the ocean ſea, yet doth it not enjoy the ſun's company at any ſuch late hours. Beſides, theſe mountains which *Ariſtotle* calleth *Caucaſi*, are thoſe which ſeparate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucaſus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia* and *Albania*, from *Sarmatia:* for he acknowledgeth that the river of *Phaſis* riſeth in the ſame mountain, which himſelf calleth *Caucaſus*, and that *Phaſis* ſpringeth from thoſe hills which ſunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterwards into *Euxinus*: which river (it is manifeſt) yieldeth it ſelf to the ſea two degrees to the north of *Trapezus* (now *Trabeſunda*) howſoever *Mercator* brings it from *Paryardes*.

† XII.

Of divers incongruities, if in this ſtory we ſhould take Ararat *for* Armenia.

SO as it doth firſt appear, that there is no certainty what mountain *Ararat* was: for the books of the *Sibyls* ſet it in *Phrygia*; and *Beroſus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Beroſus*'s authority, thoſe men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, That *Baris* was the higheſt hill, and therefore moſt likely that the *ark* grounded thereon, the aſſertion and ſuppoſition have equal credit: for there are many hills which exceed all thoſe of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *ark* ſhould ſit on the higheſt.

Thirdly, It cannot be proved that there is any ſuch hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*; for *Baris* (ſaith *Jerome*) ſignifieth high towers: and ſo may all high hills be called indifferently; and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the hills of *Caucaſus* (out of which *Indus* riſeth) than to any hills of *Armenia*. For thoſe of *Caucaſus* in the eaſt, are undoubtedly the higheſt of *Aſia*.

Fourthly, The authors themſelves do not agree in what region the mountains *Gordiæi* ſtand: for *Ptolemy* diſtinguiſheth the mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordiean*, and calleth thoſe of *Armenia Moſchici* and *Paryardes*, as aforeſaid. Now *Paryardes* is ſeated near the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the weſt ſide riſeth *Euphrates*, and out of the eaſt ſide *Araxis:* and the mountains *Moſchici* are thoſe hills which disjoin *Colchis*, *Iberia* and *Albania* (now the country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

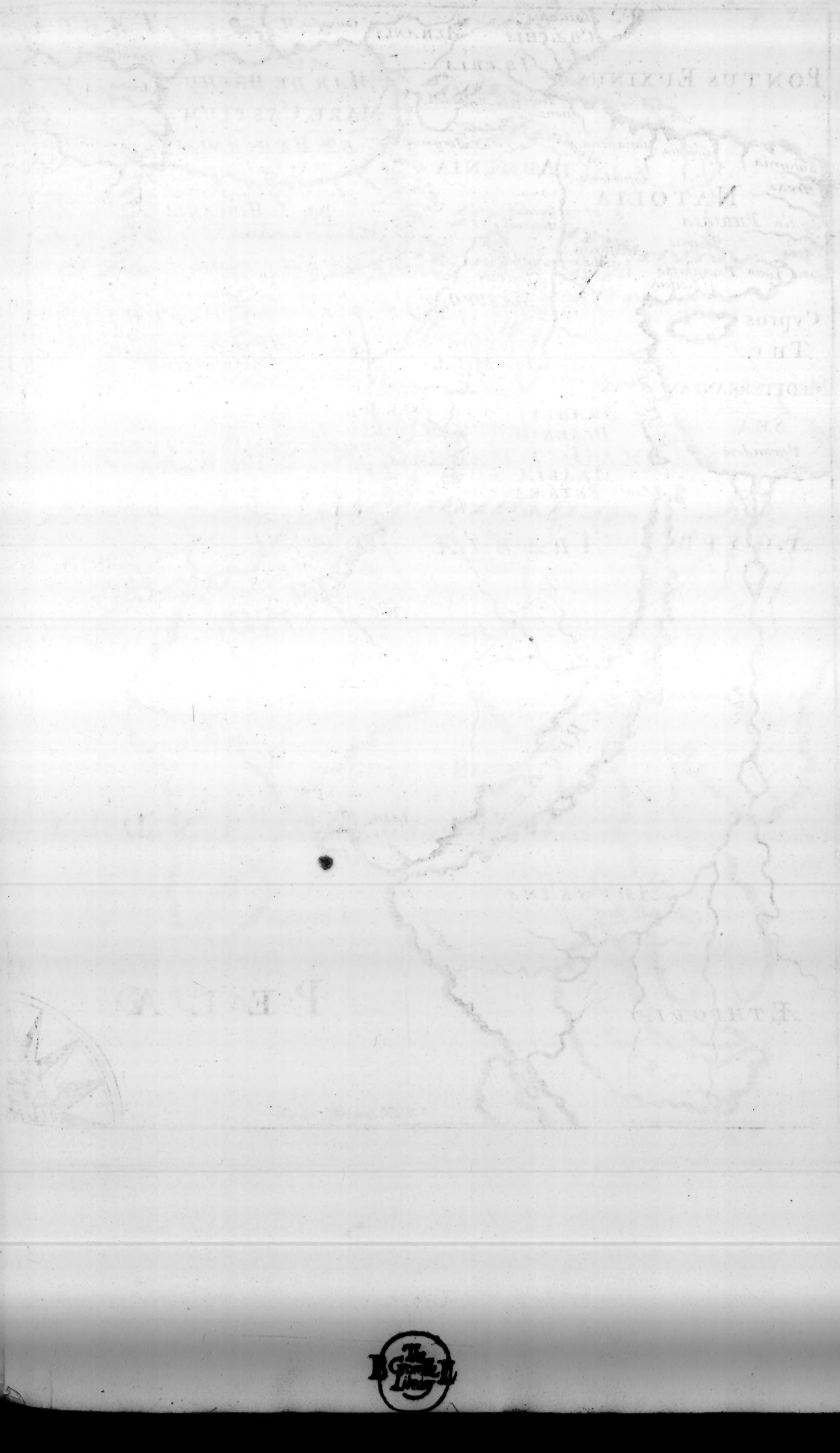
† XIII.

Of the contrary ſituation of Armenia *to the place noted in the text: and that it is no marvel that the ſame ledge of hills running from* Armenia *to* India, *ſhould keep the ſame name all along: and even in* India *be called* Ararat.

LAſtly, we muſt blow up this mountain *Ararat* it ſelf, or elſe we muſt dig it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*; or find it elſewhere, and in a warmer country, and (withal) ſet it eaſt from *Shinaar:* or elſe we ſhall wound the truth it ſelf with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the miſtaking open to every eye, we muſt underſtand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moſes*) is not any one hill, ſo called, no more than any one hill among thoſe mountains, which divide *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alps:* or any one among thoſe, which part *France* from *Spain*, is the *Pyrenean*; but as theſe being, continuations of many hills, keep one name in divers countries: ſo all that long ledge of mountains, which *Pliny* calleth by one name [d] *Taurus*, and *Ptolemy* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they encounter and croſs the mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the mountains of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, becauſe from thence or thereabouts they ſeem to ariſe. So all theſe mountains of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caſpii*, *Moſchici*, *Amazonici*, *Eniochi*, *Scythici* (thus diverſly called by *Pliny*, and others) *Ptolemy* calls by one name *Caucaſus*, lying between the ſeas *Caſpium* and *Euxinus*:

[a] Plin. l. 6. c. 9. [b] Plutar. Munſt. Coſm. [c] Ariſtot. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13. [d] Pliny *in his deſcription of* Lycia, l. 5. c. 27.



Caucasus
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
Caucasus M.
TARTA
Iaxartus
PONTUS EUXINUS
IBERIA
MAR DE BACHU
MARE CASPIUM
ET HYRCANUM
Ariaca
Ioctus f.
Trapezus
Moschia M.
pontus
Moschia
Paryardes
Bithynia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Moschici
ARMENIA
Oxus
Troas
Capadocia
NATOLIA
Caspy Mont
Gordai Mountains
HIRCANIA
Lydia
PHRIGIA
Taurus
Tauris or Erbatana
Aria
Armenia
Minor
Ararat
Araxes
Ararat
Nysa
Lycia
Pamphilia
Cilicia
Taurus
Taurus
Mazada
Taurus
Ararat
Taurus
Cyprus
THE
MESOPO
Euphrates
Tygris
PARTHIA
Taurus
The passage of Nimrod
TAMIA
ARIA
Alex
MEDITERRANEAN
Libanus
JUDEA
Babilon
SEA
ARABIA
DESERTA
Alexandria
CHALDEA
SUSIANA
PERSIA
peopled by
ELAM
CARMANIA
DESERTA
Sues
ARABIA
PETRÆA
ÆGYPT
ARABIA
Gulf of Persia
CARMANDA
Alexand
FÆLIX
Nilus
Suathen
THE RED SEA
Aden
INDIC
ABYSSINS
ÆTHIOPIA
PELA

TARTARIÆ PARS SIVE SCYTHIA INTRA IMAUM

SCYTHIA EXTRA IMAUM

Imaus

SOGDIANA

The Ark

Ararat

Taurus

CAUCASI

Delanover

Nagratot

Alex

Bucep

Paropanisus

The passage of Ophir & Havilah into India

Alexandria

INDIA INTRA GANGEM

INDIA EXTRA GANGEM

BENGALA

Ganges

GEDROSIA

CAMBAIA

NARSINGA

PEGU

BISINAGAR

Goa

GULF of BENGAL or SINUS GANGETICUS

Calecut

Zelon I.

MALACA

SUMATRA

GUS

Eman: Bowen Sculp.t

Euxinus: as all thoſe mountains which cut aſunder *America*, even from the new kingdom of *Granado*, to the ſtreight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as theſe mountains of *Ararat* run eaſt and weſt: ſo do thoſe marvellous mountains of *Imaus* ſtretch themſelves north and ſouth; and being of like extent, well near, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Pliny* calleth theſe former hills *Taurus*, and *Moſes* the hills of *Ararat*. The reaſon of ſeveral names given by *Ptolemy* was, thereby the better to diſtinguiſh the great regions and kingdoms, which theſe great mountains bound and diſſever; as *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Suſiana*, *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana* and *Paropaniſus:* having all theſe kingdoms either on the north or ſouth-ſide of them. For all the mountains of *Aſia* (both the leſs and the greater) have three general names (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus:* and they receive other titles, as they ſever and divide particular places and regions. For theſe mountains which ſunder *Cilicia* from the reſt of *Aſia* the leſs on the north-ſide, are called *Taurus*; and thoſe mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus:* the mountains called *Taurus* running eaſt and weſt, as *Imaus* doth north and ſouth. Though *Taurus* the river of *Euphrates* forceth her paſſage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the mountains on her weſt-bank; and on her eaſt-ſide the mountains are ſometimes known by the name of *Taurus* (as in *Ptolemy*'s three tables of *Aſia*) and ſometimes *Niphates* (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation ſo long as they bound *Armenia* from *Meſopotamia:* and after the the river of *Tigris* cutteth them aſunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, until they ſeparate *Aſſyria* and *Media*; but then they call themſelves *Coatras*, tho' between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether diſcontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the eaſtern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which region they call themſelves *Orontes*, and towards the eaſt-part *Coronus*; out of the ſouthern part whereof the river of *Bagradus* riſeth, which divideth the ancient *Perſia* from *Caramania:* and then continuing their courſe eaſtward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper countries. This done, they change themſelves into the mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riſeth the river *Margus*, afterwards yielding herſelf to *Oxus* (now *Abia*) and drawing now near their ways end, they firſt make themſelves the ſouth border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the title of *Paropaniſus*; and laſtly of *Caucaſia*, even where the famous river of *Indus* with his principal companions *Hydaſpis* and *Zarædrus* ſpring forth, and take beginning. And here do theſe mountains build themſelves exceeding high, to equal the ſtrong hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37 degrees of latitude, and in 140 of longitude: of the which the weſt parts are now called *Lelanguer*, and the reſt *Nagracot*; and theſe mountains in this place only are properly called *Caucaſi* (ſaith [a] *Ptolemy*) that is, between *Paropaniſus* and *Imaus:* and improperly, between the two ſeas of *Caſpium* and *Pontus*.

† XIV.

Of the beſt vine naturally growing on the ſouth ſide of the mountains Caucaſi, *and towards the* Eaſt-Indies: *and of other excellencies of the ſoil.*

NOW in this part of the world it is, where the mountain and river *Janus*, and the mountain *Niſeus* (ſo called of *Bacchus Niſeus* or *Noa*) are found: and on theſe higheſt mountains of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the ark of *Noah* grounded after the flood: of all his conjectures the moſt probable, and by beſt reaſon approved. In his *Indoſcythia* he hath many good arguments, tho' mix'd with other fantaſtical opinions of this ſubject. And as the ſame *Becanus* alſo noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the beſt vines: ſo it is as true, that in the ſame line, and in 34, 35, and 36 degrees of ſeptentrional latitude are the moſt delicate wines of the world, namely, in *Judea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece:* and likewiſe in this region of *Margiana*, and under theſe mountains, *Strabo* affirmeth that the moſt excellent vines of the world are found; the cluſters of grapes containing two cubits of length: and it is the more probable, becauſe this place agreeth in climate with that part of *Paleſtina*, where the ſearchers of the land by *Moſes*'s direction found bunches of equal bigneſs at [b] *Eſhcol*.

The fruitfulneſs of this place, to wit, on the ſouth bottom of theſe hills, *Curtius* witneſſeth. For in *Margiana*, near the mountains of *Meros*, did *Alexander* feaſt himſelf and his army ten days together, finding therein the moſt delicate wine of all other.

† XV.

The concluſion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that thoſe mountains do alſo traverſe *Armenia:* yea, and *Armenia* it ſelf ſometimes is known by the name of *Ararat*. But as [c] *Pliny* giveth to this ledge of high hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paropaniſus* and *Caucaſus*, the name of *Taurus:* and as the hills of *France* and *Germany* are called the *Alps:* and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenees:* and in *America* the continuation of hills for 3000 miles together, the *Andes:* ſo was *Ararat* the general name which *Moſes* gave them; the diverſity of appellations no otherwiſe growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers regions and divers countries. For in the like caſe do we call the ſea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterranean* and inland ſea; and yet where it waſheth the coaſts of *Carthage*, and over-againſt it, it is called *Tyrrhenum:* between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Ionium:* from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum:* between *Athens* and *Aſia*, *Ægeum:* between *Seſtus* and *Abydus*, *Helleſpont:* and afterwards *Pontus*, *Propontis* and *Boſphorus*. And as in theſe, ſo is the ocean to the north-eaſt part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonicum:* and on this ſide, the *Britiſh* ſea: to the eaſt, the *German* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this queſtion we muſt appeal to that judge which cannot err, even to the word of truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain ſenſe: ſeeing it can admit neither diſtinction, nor other conſtruction than the words bear literally, becauſe they are uſed to the very ſame plain purpoſe of a deſcription, and the making of a true and preciſe difference of places. Surely where the ſenſe is plain (and being ſo underſtood, it bringeth with it no ſubſequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancy to our ſelves any new or ſtrange expoſition; and (withal) to reſolve our ſelves, that every word (as aforeſaid) hath his weight in God's book. And therefore we muſt reſpect and reverence the teſtimonies of the ſcriptures throughout, in ſuch ſort as St. *Auguſtine* hath taught us touching the goſpel of

[a] Ptol. Tab. Aſiæ. [b] Numb. 13. 24. [c] Lib. 5. c. 27.

Christ Jesus, which is, *Nequis aliter accipiat, quod (narrantibus discipulis Christi) in evangelio legerit, quàm si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit.* That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the gospel (the disciples of Christ having written it) than if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, setting it down.

The words then of *Moses* which end this dispute are these: [a] *And as they went from the east they found a plain in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode*; which proveth without controversy, that *Nimrod*, and all with him came from the east into *Shinaar*; and therefore the ark of *Noah* rested and took land to the eastward thereof. For we must remember, that in all places whersoever *Moses* maketh a difference of countries, he always precisely nameth towards what quarters of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Joctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a mount in the east: where he remembreth *Cain*'s departure from the presence of God, he addeth: [b] *And Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towards the east-side of Eden:* and when he describeth the tents and habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from *Sechem*, he useth these words: [c] *Afterwards removing thence unto a mountain eastward from Bethel, he pitched his tents: having Bethel on the west side, and Hai on the east:* and afterwards in the 9th verse of the same chapter it is written; *And Abraham went forth journeying towards the south:* also when [d] *Ezekiel* prophesy'd of *Gog* and *Magog*, he sheweth that these nations of *Togorma* were of the north quarters: and of the queen of *Saba* it is written, That [e] *she came from the south to visit Solomon:* And the [f] *magi (or wise men) came out of the east to offer presents unto Christ.* And that all regions, and these travels were precisely set down upon the points of the compass and quarters of the world, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due east from *Judea*, *Saba* south from *Jerusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly south; and the *Cœlesyrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the regions directly north from *Palestina*: and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the east, nor so near unto the east as the north: for *Armenia* is to the west of the north it self; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose hands the Holy Ghost directed) that he erred *toto cœlo*, and that he knew not east from west. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in 43 degrees septentrional, and the north part thereof in 45; and those *Gordiean* mountains, whereon it was supposed that the ark rested, stand in 41. But *Babylonia*, and the valley of *Shinaar* are situated in 35, and for the longitude (which maketh the difference between east and west) the *Gordiean* mountains stand in 75 degrees, and the valley of *Shinaar* in 79 and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinaar* north-west, 95 degrees from the east; and if *Armenia* had been but north, yet it had differed from the east one whole quarter of the compass. But *Gregory* and *Jerome* warn us, *In scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices & puncta in divina scriptura plena sunt sensibus.* In the scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech, syllable, note or accent, and point, in divine scriptures are repleniſhed with their meanings. And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the east, we may not believe writers (of little authority) who also speak by hearsay, and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein, without any examination of the text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lieth west from the place where the ark of *Noah* rested after the flood; and therefore it first found ground in the east, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The east parts were first civil, which had *Noah* himself for an instructor: and directly east from *Shinaar*, in the same degree of 35, are the greatest grapes and the best wine. The great armies also, which overtopped in number those millions of *Semiramis*, prove that those parts were first planted: and whereas the other opinion hath neither scripture nor reason sufficient: for my self, I build on his words who in plain terms hath told us, that the sons of *Noah* came out of the east into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the ark rest on those eastern mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the mountains of *Ararat*, and not on those mountains of the north-west, as *Berosus* first feigned, whom most part of the writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentiful warm east where *Noah* rested, where he planted the vine, where he tilled the ground, and lived thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agriculturæ studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamque rem sua ipsius lingua Ish Adamah (hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratusque est*; The study of husbandry pleased *Noah* (saith the excellent learned man *Arias Montanus*) in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that *Noah* excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language a man exercised in the earth. Which also sheweth that he was no wanderer: and that he troubled not himself with the contentions beginning again in the world, and among men, but stay'd in his destin'd places, and in that part of the world, where he was first delivered out of the prison of the ark, whereinto God had committed him to preserve him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of nations after the flood; and of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japhet, *by whom the earth was re-peopled.*

SECT. I.

Whether Shem *and* Ham *were elder than* Japhet.

OF these sons of *Noah*, which was the eldest there is a question made. [g] St. *Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Japhet* for the youngest: and herein the opinions of writers are divers. But this we find every where in the scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in years, but in virtue, as by the examples of *Enoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob* and *David*, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controversy: the *Latin* translation, and so the *Geneva*, hath converted this scripture of *Genesis* x. 21. in these words; *Unto Shem also the father of all the sons of Heber, and elder brother of Japhet, were children born.* But *Junius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same words in this manner: *To Shem also the father of all the sons of Heber, and brother of Japhet, the eldest son were children born*: so the transposition of the word [*eldest*] made this

[a] Gen. 11. 2. [b] Gen. 10. 30. 4. 16. [c] Gen. 12. 8. [d] Ezek. 38. 6. [e] Matth. 12. 42. [f] Matth. 2. 1. [g] August. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 3.

difference.

difference. For if the word [*elder*] had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by these translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing God's blessings are not tied to first and last in blood, but to the eldest in piety, yet the arguments are stronger for *Japhet* than for *Shem*. And where the scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any man of judgment should make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah*, in the five hundredth year of his life, begat the first of his three sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: and in the six hundredth year, to wit, the hundredth year following, came the general flood; two years after which [a] *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602 of *Noah*'s life, and in the year of *Shem*'s life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but one hundred years old, two years after the flood: and *Noah* begat his first-born, being 500 years old; and therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then been 100 years old at the flood, and in the six hundredth year of *Noah*'s life, and not two years after. Which seeing the scriptures before remembred hath denied him, and that it is also written: [b] *Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him, to wit, Ham*; of necessity the first place doth belong to *Japhet*. This younger son so converted by the vulgar and *Geneva*, *Junius* turns it *Filius minimus*, his youngest son; but St. *Chrysostom* takes it otherwise, and finds *Ham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Japhet* the youngest son of all: which *Ham*, for his disobedience and the contempt of his father, (whose nakedness he derided) was disinherited, and lost the pre-eminency of his birth, as [c] *Esau* and *Reuben* did. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himself was always named in the first place, yet whereas in the first verse of the tenth chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*; in the second verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the *Hebrew* nation, *Abraham*, the prophets, *David* and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the vulgar, *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this conversion, *Shem frater Japhet major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius*, and *Tremelius*, *Shem fratri Japhet majoris*; or with *Pererius*, *Shem frater Japhet ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the reader judge.

But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former argument, that *Shem*'s age at the time of the flood did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the scriptures any such neglect at all: For it is written, that [d] *Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the flood*: and again in the 12th verse, *So Shela lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years*, &c. So as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterwards of two years were always precisely accounted.

SECT. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world, as that all histories must yield to Moses: *that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the known great lords of the first ages were of the issue of* Ham.

BUT let us go unto the world's plantation after the flood, which being rightly understood, we shall find that many nations have supposed or feigned themselves those ancestors and fathers, which never saw or approached the bounds of their countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the scriptures how the sons and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any profane author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the scriptures end. For so far as the story of nations is therein handled, we must know that both the truth and antiquity of the books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which thus writeth *Eusebius* in the *proem* of his chronology. Moses *is found more ancient than all those whom the* Grecians *make most ancient, as* Homer, Hesiod, *and the* Trojan *war; and far before* Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, *and* Apollo, *and the rest of the Gods of the nations, their ceremonies, or holy rites, or prophets: and before all the deeds of* Jupiter, *whom the* Greeks *have seated in the top and highest turret of their divinity.*

For of the three *Jupiters* remembred by [e] *Cicero*, the ancientest was the son of *Æther*, whose three sons begotten on *Proserpina*, were born at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first king: and in the end of *Cecrops*'s time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit Moses populum Dei ex Ægypto novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis regis*; *Moses* brought the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, in the last days of *Cecrops* king of the *Athenians*, saith [f] St. *Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the founder of the city it self, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand by alledging many authorities, in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

The sons of *Japhet* were: *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meshach*, and *Tiras*.

The sons of *Gomer* were: *Askenaz*, *Riphath*, *Togorma*.

The sons of *Javan* were: *Elisha*, *Tarshis*, *Kittim*, & *Dodanim*.

First, We are to consider that the world after the flood was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings, to fly from *Shinaar* to the uttermost border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* in haste, but that these children were directed by a wise father, who knew those parts of the world before the flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as discoverers, or at all

[a] Gen. 11. 10. [b] Gen. 11. 24. [c] In Gen. [d] Gen. 11. 10. [e] Cicero de Nat. Deorum, l. 3. [f] De Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 11.

adventure,

adventure, but aſſigned and allotted to every ſon, and their iſſues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous authors, who have no other end than to flatter princes (as *Virgil* did *Auguſtus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or elſe to glorify their own nations: let us build upon the ſcriptures themſelves, and after them upon reaſon and nature. Firſt therefore, we muſt call to mind and conſider, what manner of face the earth every where had in the 130th year after the great inundation, and, by comparing thoſe fruitfulleſt valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our ſelves thereby, what wonderful deſarts, what impaſſable faſtneſs of woods, reeds, briers and rotten graſs, what lakes, and ſtanding pools, and what marſhes, fens, and bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the mountains) was peſtered withal. For if in this our climate (where the dead and deſtroying winter depreſſeth all vegetative and growing nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, theſe our grounds would not all overgrow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods or with other offenſive thickets and buſhments: much more did all ſorts of plants, reeds, and trees, proſper in the moſt fruitful valleys, and in the climate of a long and warm ſummer, and having withal the ſtart of 130 years to raiſe themſelves without controulment.

This being conſidered, it will appear, that all theſe people which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod* either by order or ſtrength took the dominion, did after the confuſion of languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty people, diſperſe themſelves into the regions adjoining to the ſaid valley of *Shinaar*, which contained the beſt part of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*, and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: ſome of them towards the ſouth, others towards the weſt and north. And altho' there were allotted to *Shem* many regions both eaſt and weſt from *Shinaar*, with the dominion of *Paleſtina*, which the *Canaanites* firſt poſſeſs'd; yet could he not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the ſudden, but by time and degrees. For we find, that *Abraham* the true ſucceſſor of *Shem*, dwelt in *Chaldea* at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he reſted at *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare*, he travelled to *Sichem* in *Paleſtina*; and yet there had paſſed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themſelves) ſeven deſcents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldea*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all thoſe people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Aſſyria*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed the great maſters of nations (as far as we can know) were, in that age of the iſſues of *Ham*; the bleſſing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking leſs effect, until divers years were conſumed; and until the time arrived, which by the wiſdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan* came the people, and princes, which held the great kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, for many deſcents together.

SECT. III.

Of the iſles of the Gentiles *in* Japhet's *portion: of* Beroſus's *too ſpeedy ſeating* Gomer *the ſon of* Japhet *in* Italy; *and another of* Japhet's *ſons* Tubal *in* Spain: *and of the antiquity of Longinque Navigation.*

TO begin therefore where *Moſes* beginneth with the ſons of *Japhet*, among whom the iſles of the *Gentiles* were divided: which diviſion, as well to *Japhet*'s ſons, as to the reſt which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diviſion were made at *Phaleg*'s birth) in the year of the world 1757 or 1758, and (by that account) in the year after the flood one hundred and one, of which queſtion elſewhere.

The habitations proper to the ſons of *Japhet* were the iſles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe*, with all the iſlands adjoining and compaſſing it about: *Europe* being alſo taken for an iſland, both in reſpect that the ſea *Helleſpont* and *Ægeum*, *Boſphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great continent of *Aſia*, as alſo becauſe *Europe* it ſelf is, in effect, ſurrounded with water, ſaving that it is faſtned to *Aſia* by the north; for it hath thoſe ſeas before named to the eaſt, the *Mediterranean* to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, the ocean to the weſt, and *Britiſh*, *German* and *Baltick* ſea, with that of *Glaciale* to the north-north-eaſt, and north-weſt. Beſides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or iſles lying between *Greece* and the leſſer *Aſia*, and the iſles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete* or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the iſles of *Brittany* and *Zealand*, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of *Japhet*, with the part which he held in *Aſia* and the north, which was alſo very great, anſwereth to that bleſſing of God by *Noah*. [a] *Dilatet Deus Japhet*; Let God ſpread abroad (or encreaſe the poſterity of) *Japhet*, and let him dwell in the tents of *Shem*. For tho' *Junius* here uſeth the word [*alliciat*] and not [*dilatet*] and the *Geneva perſuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and ſuch was the bleſſing given to our fathers, which God promiſed to *Abraham* and his ſeed for ever. And the dwelling in the tents or tabernacles of *Shem* was a bleſſing by God to the poſterity of *Japhet*: noting not only an enlargment of territories; but that thereby they ſhould be made participant of God's church. But to come to *Japhet*'s ſons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldeſt. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Beroſus* and *Annius*, whoſe authority the greateſt number of all our late writers have followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrod*'s reign depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italy*: which alſo [b] *Funcius* confirmeth in theſe words, *Anno decimo Nimrodi, &c.* In the tenth year of *Nimrod*'s reign, *Gomerus Gallus* planted a colony in that land afterwards called *Italy*: and in the twelfth year of the ſame *Nimrod*'s reign, *Tubal* ſeated himſelf in *Aſturia* in *Spain* (now called *Biſcay*) which was in the 140th and in the 142d years after the flood, according to *Beroſus*. But this opinion is very ridiculous: For before the confuſion of tongues the children of *Noah* did not ſeparate themſelves, at leaſt ſo many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore conſider with reaſon, what time the building ſuch a city and tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform ſuch a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Funcius* himſelf out of his author *Beroſus* witneſſeth) *Ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*; To the height and magnitude of the mountains. Sure that both this city and tower were almoſt built, the ſcriptures witneſs. [c] *But the Lord came down to ſee the city and tower, which the ſons of men built.* Let us then but allot a time ſufficient for the making of brick to ſuch a work, of the greateſt height (and therefore of circuit and foundation anſwerable) that ever was. For where the univerſal flood covered the higheſt mountains fifteen cubits; *Let us build us a city and a tower* (ſaith *Nimrod*) *whoſe top may reach unto the heaven*: meaning, that they would raiſe their work above fifteeen cubits higher than the higheſt moun-

[a] Gen. 9. 27. [b] Funct. Chronol. [c] Gen. c. 11.

tain,

tain, otherwiſe they could not aſſure themſelves from the fear of a ſecond inundation; a great part whereof was finiſhed before it fell, and before they left the work. They alſo began this building upon a ground, the moſt oppreſſed with waters of all the world; as by the great ruin which theſe waters forcibly overbearing and overflowing, made in the time of the ſucceeding emperors, is made manifeſt, approved alſo by the prophet *Jeremy*, ſpeaking of *Babylon* in theſe words; *Thou that dwelleſt upon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a ſubſtantial foundation for ſo high a rais'd building on a marſhy ground: and to which *Glycas* upon *Geneſis* giveth forty years. For it ſeemeth, that the tower was near finiſhed when God overthrew it: it being afterwards written, *So the Lord ſcattered them from thence upon all the earth, and they left to build the city.* Out of which place it may be gathered (becauſe the tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the work of their ſuppos'd defence, which was the tower: and that afterwards they went on with the city adjoining, wherein they inhabited. It is alſo to be noted, that till ſuch time as this confuſion ſeized them (whereupon the tower was thrown down) theſe nations did not diſperſe themſelves: for [a] *from thence the Lord ſcattered them upon all the earth*, that was, when they perceived not one another's ſpeech. Now to think that this work in the newneſs of the world (wanting all inſtruments and materials) could be performed in ten years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the ſame year could creep thro' 3000 miles of deſart, with women, children, and cattle; let thoſe light believers, that neither tie themſelves to the ſcripture, nor to reaſon, approve it, for I do not. And if the ark of *Noah* was 100 years in building, or but near ſuch a time, and then, when the world had ſtood 1656 years, it were more than fooliſhneſs and madneſs it ſelf, to think that ſuch a work as this could be performed in ten; when the world (from the flood to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131 years, and whereof they had ſpent ſome part in travelling from the eaſt. Again, if all *Aſia* ſet to their helping hands in the building of the temple of [b] *Diana*, and yet they conſumed in that work 400 years (or be it but half that time) and in ſuch an age as when the world flouriſhed in all ſorts of artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages, this work of the tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants ſuppoſed) be erected in thoſe few years remembred. And for concluſion, let all men of judgment weigh with themſelves how impoſſible it was for a nation or family of men, with their wives and children, and cattle, to travel 3000 miles through woods, bogs, and deſarts, without any guide or conductor; and we ſhall find it rather a work of 100 years than of 100 days. For in the *Weſt-Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in thoſe places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entered the country ten miles in ten years. And if *Nimrod*'s people ſpent many years by the account before remembred in paſſing from the *Eaſt-Indies*, or the higher part thereof, which ſtandeth in 115 degrees of longitude, until they came into *Shinaar* which lieth in 79 degrees (the diſtance between thoſe places containing 36 degrees, which make 720 leagues, which is 2160 miles) and did all the way keep the mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biſcay* is much more: for the body of *Biſcay* lieth in ten degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar* (as aforeſaid) in 79: ſo the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Aſturia* or *Biſcay*, is 69 degrees, which make 1380 leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers years to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160 miles: or (ſuppoſing that the ark reſted in *Armenia*) little above 400 miles, there is no cauſe to the contrary, but to allow as many years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travel 3000 miles to countries leſs known unto them by far, than the land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradiſe* was known to *Noah* before the flood, and ſo was the region of *Eden* by *Moſes* afterwards remembred; but what he underſtood of moſt part of the world elſe, it is unknown. And therefore did *Annius* ill adviſe himſelf to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spain*, in the 10th and 12th of *Nimrod*'s reign: [c] *Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or ſhall a nation be born at once?* But it may be objected, that the ſons of *Japhet* might come by ſea, and ſo ſave this great travel through deſarts by land. But we never read of any navigation in thoſe days, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbark ſo great a people, as we may juſtly ſuppoſe thoſe conductors carried with them, will not eaſily believe, that there were any veſſels in thoſe days to tranſport armies, and withal their cattle, by whoſe milk they lived and fed their children: for milk and fruit were the banqueting diſhes of our forefathers. And in the eldeſt times, even the kings and fathers of nations valued themſelves by the herds and numbers of their cattle: who had flocks of ſheep, and great droves and herds of their own, and their own ſhepherds and herdſmen. Now if *Tubal* had paſs'd by ſea from any part of *Paleſtina*, *Syria* or *Cilicia*, he might have made good choice within the *Streights*, and not have overgone *Granado*, *Valencia*, and other provinces in that tract; paſs'd the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, diſdain'd all *Andaluſia* and *Portugal*, with all thoſe goodly ports and countries, and have ſought out the iron, woody, and barren country of the world, called *Biſcay*, by a long and dangerous navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonautæ*, there were ſcarce any veſſels that durſt croſs the ſeas in that part of the world: and yet that which *Jaſon* had, if the tale be true, was but a galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance ſuch as they uſe this day in *Ireland*; which altho' it carried but four and fifty paſſengers, yet was it far greater than any of the former times: [d] *Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum uſus*; For in former times they uſed very ſmall veſſels. I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themſelves of old to far-off navigations, whence *Tibullus* aſcribed the invention of ſhips unto them.

[e] *Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.*

Tyrus knew firſt how ſhips might uſe the wind.

And for thoſe boats [f] *Longæ naves*, or gallies, *Pliny* ſaith, that *Ægeſias* aſcribeth the device to *Paralus*: and *Philoſtephanus* to *Jaſon*: *Cteſias* to *Semyras*; and *Saphanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Ægeon*; to which invention the *Erythræi* are ſaid to have added certain numbers of oars, and then [g] *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to have encreaſed them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to four banks: the *Quinque Remi* firſt to have been uſed by *Neſichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which veſſels in thoſe parts of the world, the *Romans* ſerved themſelves in the *Punick* war. But theſe be, perhaps, but the partialities of writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as conſtantly caſt the deviſing of theſe gallies on *Seſoſtris*, tho' *Se-*

[a] Gen. 11. [b] Plin. [c] Iſa. 66. 8. [d] Diod. Sicul. l. 4. c. 4. fol. 115. [e] Tibul. Eleg. 7. Strabo, l. 16. [f] Diod. Sicul. l. 1. Plin. l. 7. c. 56. [g] Thucyd.

miramis uſed them in the paſſage of her army over *Indus* in *Abraham*'s time. So it is ſaid, that [a] *Danaus* was the firſt that brought a ſhip into *Greece*: and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the invention; and yet *Tertullian*, on the contrary, gives it to *Minerva*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And ſo ignorant were the people of thoſe ages, as the *Egyptians* uſed to coaſt the ſhores of the Redſea upon raffs deviſed by king *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Britains* had a kind of boat (with which they croſs'd the ſeas) made of ſmall twigs, and covered over with leather: of which kind I have ſeen at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elſewhere. *Naves ex corio circumſutæ in oceano Britannico* (ſaith *Textor*:) of which *Lucan* the poet:

Primum cana ſalix, madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæſoque induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum ſuperenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus ſtagnante Pado, fuſoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

The moiſtned oſier of the hoary willow
Is woven firſt into a little boat:
Then loth'd in bullock's hide upon the billow
Of a proud river, lightly doth it float
Under the waterman:
So on the lakes of overſwelling *Po*
Sails the *Venetian*: and the *Britain* ſo
On th' out-ſpread ocean.

And altho' it cannot be denied, when *Noah* by God's inſpiration was inſtructed in ſo many particulars concerning the ark, that then many things concerning navigation were firſt revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the ark of *Noah*, and ſuch ſhips as were for any long navigation. Yea, ancient ſtories ſhew, that it was long after theſe times, ere any durſt preſume upon any long voyages to ſea: at leaſt, with multitudes of women, and children, and cattle: as alſo common reaſon can tell us, that even now when this art is come to her perfection, ſuch voyages are very troubleſome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that age of *Nimrod*, any ſhip, or uſe of ſhips, fit for any long navigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had paſſed themſelves and their people by ſea; the exerciſe of navigation would not have been dead for ſo many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their fables, and all men elſe to their fancies, who have caſt nations into countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the relation of *Moſes* and the prophets; to which truth there is joined both nature, reaſon, policy, and neceſſity: and to the reſt, neither probability, nor poſſibility.

SECT. IV.

Of Gog *and* Magog, Tubal *and* Meſech, *ſeated firſt about* Aſia *the leſs, out of* Ezekiel xxxviii. 39.

NOW altho' many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a plantation of the world, which alſo hath been and is received: yet I hope I may be excuſed, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great learned man of this latter age, *Arias Montanus*, was alſo in ſome things much miſtaken: and for *Joſephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a guide to many errors withal, ſo was he in this plantation of the world very groſs and fabulous, whereby both *Euſebius*, *Hieroſolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his teſtimonies for current, have been by him far miſled. But the better to conceive what regions of the world *Gomer* the firſt ſon of *Japhet* poſſeſs'd, as alſo *Tubal*, it is needful to begin with *Magog*; becauſe the ſcriptures take moſt knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names have troubled many commentators, ſaith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find moſt judicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authority from the prophet *Ezekiel* chiefly, who in the 38th and 39th chapter directeth us what nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was prince or chief conductor in their attempts againſt *Iſrael*: for beſides the portions of *Europe*, and the north-eaſt parts of the greater *Aſia*, which *Japhet*'s iſſues poſſeſs'd, all *Aſia* the leſs was peopled by them. And that thoſe of the iſſue of *Japhet* (whom *Ezekiel* ſpeaks of) were ſeated hereabout, it may beſt appear, if we conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependency upon the former prophecy in the 37th chapter: for in that 37th chapter, [b] *Ezekiel* propheſieth of the uniting of the two kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, after their delivery from captivity.

By which prophecy of *Ezekiel*, it appeareth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one prince. For to that purpoſe it is written; *And David my ſervant ſhall be king over them, and they ſhall have one ſhepherd*, that is, they ſhall be united as they were in *David*'s times. Hereupon in the 38th chapter *Ezekiel* propheſieth againſt thoſe nations, which ſhould ſeek to impeach this union, and diſturb the people of *Iſrael*, whom God purpoſed to receive to grace, and promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame chapter are thoſe nations coupled together, which infeſted the *Iſraelites* after their return, and ſought to ſubject them: all which were the ſubjects or allies of *Gog*, prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cœleſyrians*, next bordering *Paleſtina* or the holy land, followed alſo by the reſt of the nations of *Aſia* the leſs, which lay north from *Judea*. The words of *Ezekiel* are theſe; [c] *Son of man, ſet thy face againſt Gog, and againſt the land of Magog the chief princes of Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) *and Tubal*: and afterward, *Behold, I come againſt the chief prince of Meſech anâ Tubal*: and in the ſixth verſe, *Gomer and all his bands, and the houſe of Togorma of the north quarters*. Herein *Ezekiel* having firſt delivered the purpoſe of his prophecy, teacheth what nations they were, that ſhould in vain aſſail *Iſrael*. He joineth them together under their prince *Gog*, and ſheweth that their habitations were on the north quarters of *Judah*, and how ſeated and joined together. *Gog* ſignifieth in the *Hebrew* (ſaith St. *Jerome*) *tectum* or *covering of a houſe*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezekiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichriſt*: for, ſaith he, *Antichriſtus erit diaboli tegumentum ſub ſpecie humana*; That *Antichriſt* ſhall be the covering of the devil under human form. He addeth that *Magog* is as much to ſay as *Gog*: the letter [*M*] being an *Hebrew* prepoſition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: ſo he taketh *Magog* for thoſe people which follow *Antichriſt*. So far *Pintus*, at leaſt in this, is not amiſs, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one perſon, but for a nation, with which agreeth this obſervation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog*, ſaith he, in *Hebrew* is written *Ham Magog*, which ſheweth *Magog* to be a region or nation: for the letter [*He*] which is uſed but for an *Emphaſis* (which the *Hebrews* call *Heliaiedia*) is never added to proper names of men, but

[a] Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Euſeb. de præp. Evang. c. 1. Tert. de Coron. Mil. [b] Ezek. 37. 19. [c] Ezek. 38. 2.

often

often to place. So as *Gog* was prince of that nation (called either *Magog*, or according to others the people of *Gog*) alſo prince of *Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the firſt verſe of the 39th chapter is made manifeſt, *Behold, I come againſt thee Gog the chief prince of Meſech and Tubal.* This muſt needs be meant by the ſucceſſors of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering nations) ſeek to make the *Jews* their tributaries only, but endeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguiſh the religion it ſelf (which the *Hebrews* profeſs'd) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worſhip and ſerve the mortal and rotten Gods of the heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead images. [a] St. *Ambroſe* and *Iſidore* take *Gog* for the nation of the *Goths*: belike, becauſe they invaded *Europe*, and ſack'd *Rome* and many other places and cities thereabouts. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turks* from the *Scythians*, eſteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a man: others of a region: others for a nation inhabiting a region, as *Junius*, who ſays that *Gog* is the name of a nation, denominated from him whom the *Greek* ſtories call *Gyges*: who in former time having ſlain *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his own name to that nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and therefore alſo the *Gygean* lake, which lake [b] *Strabo* alſo findeth in *Lydia* (of which *Gyges* was king) 40 furlongs from *Sardis*. *Pliny* calleth it *Gygeum ſtagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* ſet it about the rivers of *Hyllus*, and *Mæander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* king of *Lydia*: who after he had ſubdued the country about the river *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Helleſpont*, called the promontory *Trapeſe* after his own name *Gyges*. Theſe opinions do alſo ſeem to ſtrengthen that of [c] *Junius*. For *Magog*, ſaith he, is that part of *Aſia* the leſs, which *Halyattes* obtained; and after him his ſon *Cræſus*; who (as [d] *Junius* further notes) having maſtered all thoſe regions as far ſouth as *Libanus*, in that border built the city *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* ſignifieth the city of *Gog*) ſeated in *Cœleſyria*, whoſe people were the ancient enemies of the *Jews*.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Cœleſyria*, *Pliny* affirmeth, ſaying; *Cœleſyria habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Magog*; *Cœleſyria* hath it in *Bambyce*, which by another name is called *Hierapolis*, but of the *Syrians*, *Magog*. He further telleth us that the monſtrous idol *Atergatis*, called by the *Greeks Derceto*, was here worſhipped; *Lucian* makes mention hereof, ſaying that the city had anciently another name, which yet he expreſſeth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as ſounding nothing elegantly in the *Greek*. But if we may believe [e] *Strabo*, then was *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia* the ſame *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the ſame idol was worſhipped. *Ortelius* is doubtful whether one of theſe authors did not miſtake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough be that the ſame name and religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due north from *Paleſtina*, and were both ſubject unto the kings of the race of *Seleucus*. Now I do not condemn the opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Joſephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might alſo be the father of the *Scythians*; notwithſtanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the prince of *Magog*, the nations of *Cœleſyria*, and the north parts adjoining, be meant by *Magog*: for by a latter plantation from theſe parts, they might be propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Scythians* in old times coming out of the north-eaſt, waſted the better part of *Aſia* the leſs, and poſſeſs'd *Cœleſyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog Ezekiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this city *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*, ſtandeth due north from *Judea*, according to the words of *Ezekiel*, that from the north quarters thoſe nations ſhould come. For as the kings of the ſouth which infeſted the *Iſraelites* were the *Ptolemies* kings of *Egypt*: ſo thoſe of the north were the kings of *Aſia* and *Syria*, the ſucceſſors of *Seleucus*, the ſucceſſor of *Alexander Macedon*. *Guliel-mus Tyrius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the ſtory of *Tobias*. [f] *Pliny* takes it not only to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have ſaid, but alſo *Edeſſa*: not that by *Euphrates*, but another of the ſame name; now the known name is *Alepo*: for ſo *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This city had the title of ſacred, as the ſacred city (for ſo the word *Hierapolis* ſignifieth) yet was it a place of moſt deteſtable idolatry; and wherein was worſhipped the idol of the mermaid *Atergatis*, or *Atirgitis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Derceto*.

If then we confer the words of *Ezekiel* in the 3d verſe of the 38th chapter, wherein he joineth together *Gog*, *Meſech*, and *Tubal*: and withal remember that *Hierapolis* was the city of *Magog*, which alſo is ſeated directly north from *Judea*: with whom alſo *Ezekiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the north quarters; we may, as I conceive, ſafely conclude, that theſe followers and vaſſals of *Gog* (which were northern nations in reſpect of *Judea*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of leſſer *Aſia*, and *Cœleſyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Beroſus*, *Joſephus*, and whoſoever elſe hath followed them therein are to be rejected. But if *Joſephus* refer himſelf to later times, and think that ſome colony of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Aſia* paſs into *Spain* (to wit, from that piece of land between *Colchis* or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania* (moſt part poſſeſſed by the *Georgians*) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in proceſs of time theſe people might from their firſt habitation paſs into the countries near the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-ages into *Spain*.

Joſephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, ſaying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence, ſaith *Juſtin*, *they paſſed into* Spain *to ſearch out the mines of that region*: having belike underſtood that it was a ſoutherly country, and mountainous. For it ſeemeth that the *Tubalines*, called *Chalybes*, lived altogether by the exchange of iron, and other metals, as *Apollonius* witneſſeth in theſe following verſes, telling how the *Argonauts* did viſit them.

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas ſcindit ſub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta miniſtrant.

The *Chalybes* plough not their barren ſoil,
But undermine high hills for iron veins:
Changing the purchaſe of their endleſs toil
For merchandiſe, which their poor lives ſuſtains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was firſt peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever ſince an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who

[a] Lib. 2. de Fide. [b] Strabo, l. 13. [c] Suid. col. 207. [d] Jun. in Ezek. 38. [e] Strabo, l. 16. [f] Lib. 4. Cap. de bello Sacro.

were

were eaſily drawn to paſs over the ſtreights into that country; and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the ſouth parts 800 years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*. And either of theſe opinions are more probable, than that in the 12th year of *Nimrod*'s reign, *Tubal* paſs'd into *Spain*, and therein built St. *Uval*: a poor town, and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we muſt find *Moſoch* or *Meſech*, and *Tubal* neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togorma* not far off, or elſe we ſhall wrong *Ezekiel*: for he called *Gog* the leader or prince of *Meſech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togorma* their aſſiſtants. And that *Meſech* inhabited *Aſia*, *Functius* (tho' he followed *Beroſus*) confeſſeth, for theſe be his words; *Meſacus, qui a Moſe Meſech, priſcos Meſios ab Adula monte uſque ad Ponticam regionem poſuit: hæc regio poſtea Cappadocia dicta eſt, in qua urbs Mazica, &c. hæc eſt terra Magog principalis: Meſacus*, whom *Moſes* calleth *Meſech*, placed the ancient *Meſians* from the mount *Adulas*, unto the coaſt of *Pontus*. This region was afterwards called *Cappadocia*, in which is the town *Mazica*, *&c.* this is the principal country of *Magog*. And this doth *Annius* alſo avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was prince both of *Meſech* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly weſt, and not north from *Judea*. Alſo *Ezekiel* in the 27th chapter, where he propheſieth of the deſtruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Meſech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final proof, that theſe nations were of a northern neighbour land (how far ſoever ſtretched) *Ezekiel* in the 38th chapter makes them all horſemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all ſhall ride upon horſes, even a great multitude and a mighty.* Then if any man believe that theſe troops came out of *Spain* over the *Pyrenees*, and firſt paſs'd over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary* and *Sarmatia*, and imbark'd again about the *Helleſpont*, or elſe compaſſed all *Pontus Euxinus*, to come into the leſſer *Aſia*, which is half the length or compaſs of the then known world, he may be called a ſtrong believer, but he ſhall never be juſtified thereby. But on the contrary it is known, that *Seleucis* was a province neighbouring *Paleſtina* or *Judea*, and that *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*, joined unto it: whoſe princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Aſia* the leſs, namely, the *Seleucidæ*; and held it, till *Scipio Aſiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the great: after which they yet poſſeſs'd *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meſech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the ſame dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be ſaid. Firſt he ſeated himſelf with *Togorma*, not far from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterwards he proceeded further into *Aſia* the leſs; and in long tract of time his valiant iſſue filled all *Germany*, reſted long in *France* and *Britain*, and poſſeſſed the utmoſt borders of the earth, accompliſhing (as *Melanchon* well notes) the ſignification of their parents name, which is *utmoſt bordering*. But when theſe borderers wanted further place, whereinto they might exonerate their ſwelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they return upon the nations, occupying the countries, through which they had formerly paſſed, oppreſſing firſt their neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy reſtorer of our antiquities, Mr. *William Camden*, hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old language doth ſignify robbers; neceſſity inforcing them to ſpoil their neighbours, to whom in their original they were as near joined, as afterwards in the ſeats which they poſſeſſed. For that the warlike nations of *Germany* were in elder ages accuſtomed to be beaten by the *Gauls*, the authority of *Ceſar* affirming it, is proof ſufficient. But in times following they purſued richer conqueſts, and more eaſy, tho' further diſtant, by which (to omit their other enterpriſes not here to be ſpoken of) they were drawn at length into *Aſia* the leſs, and occupied thoſe parts, which had formerly been held by their progenitors. I ſay, not that they claimed thoſe lands as theirs by deſcent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old ſeated in *Aſia*, becauſe in late ages they returned thither; unleſs he will think, that all thoſe nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the land of *Shinaar*, may by that argument be proved not to have iſſued from thence at the firſt.

Now concerning *Samothes* (for his excellent wiſdom ſurnamed *Dis*) whom *Annius* makes the brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which brother *Moſes* never heard of, who ſpake his knowledge of *Japhet*'s ſons) they muſt find him in ſome old poet: for *Functius* a great *Beroſian* confeſſeth: [a] *Quis hic Samothes fuerit incertum eſt*; Who this *Samothes* was it is uncertain; neither is there any proof that he was that ſame *Dis*, whom [b] *Ceſar* ſaith the *Gauls* ſuppoſe to be their anceſtor; yea, and *Vignier* confeſſeth with *Functius*: [c] *Mais on ne ſçayt qui il eſtoit*; No man knows who he was.

SECT. V.

Againſt the fabulous Beroſus's *fiction. That the* Italian Janus *was* Noah.

BUT before I go on with *Noah*'s ſons, I think it neceſſary to diſprove the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himſelf: an invention, indeed, very ridiculous, tho' warranted, as he hath wreſted, by thoſe authors of whom himſelf hath commented: as the fragment of *Beroſus*, *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinius* and others. For [d] *Annius* ſeeks to perſuade us, that *Noah* (ſurnamed *Janus*) was the ſame which founded *Genoa*, with other cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92 years. This to diſprove, by *Moſes*'s ſilence, is a ſufficient argument to me, if there were nothing elſe to diſprove it. For if he vouchſafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineveh* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92 years. But it were a needleſs labour for me to diſprove the authority of that *Beroſus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, ſeeing ſo many learned men have ſo demonſtratively proved that fragment to be counterfeit. Beſides that, *Tatianus* the *Aſſyrian*, in his oration againſt the *Greeks*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Beroſus* wrote only three books, dedicated to *Antiochus* the ſucceſſor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: But [e] *Annius* hath deviſed five books, wherewith he honoureth *Beroſus*. And whereas *Beroſus* handled only the eſtate of the *Chaldeans* and *Aſſyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this fragment with the buſineſs of all the world. And if we may believe *Euſebius* better than *Annius*, then all the kings of the *Latins* (before *Eneas*) conſumed but 150 years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Eneas*'s arrival into *Italy*, there paſs'd 1126 (after the leaſt rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the firſt of their kings) lived at once

[a] In Chron. [b] Cæſar. Comment. [c] Vignier pars 1. Chron. illuſt. de Gal. [d] Joſeph. l. 1. [d] Ann. de Hetruſc. Pict. de aur. ſæculo. Cato de origin. Lavin.

with

with *Ruth*, who married *Booz*, in the world's year (as ſome reckon) 2717, after the flood 1064, and *Noah* died 350 years after the flood: and ſo there paſs'd between *Janus* of *Italy*, and *Noah* ſurnamed *Janus*, 704 years. For *Saturnus* ſucceeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Faunus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Faunus*: which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27th king of *Aſſyria*: with *Pelaſgus* of *Peloponneſus*: with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampſon* judge of *Iſrael*. Now all theſe five kings of the *Latins* having conſumed but 150 years; and the laſt of them in the time of *Sampſon*: then reckoning upwards for 150 years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah*: ſo had they *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, the ſon of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth ſon of *Japhet*. For the *Vulgar* tranſlation (where the *Hebrew* word is [a] *Javan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint Hellas*; which is the ſame. So had they *Medus* the ſon of *Medea*, whom they make the parent of the *Medes*, tho' they were deſcended of a far more ancient father, to wit, *Madai* the 3d ſon of *Japhet*.

Laſtly, we ſee by a true experience, that the *Britiſh* language hath remained among us above 2000 years, and the *Engliſh* ſpeech ever ſince the invaſion of the *Angles*: and the ſame continuance have all nations obſerved among themſelves, tho' with ſome corruption and alteration. Therefore it is ſtrange if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain reſemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian* (which no time could have quite extinguiſhed) ſhould have been found in the languages of thoſe countries. For which reaſons we doubt not but theſe perſonal plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. in *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are merely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themſelves with the *Grecian Janus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150 years, ſaith *Euſebius*, which was in the time of *Latinus* the 5th king: which alſo St. *Auguſtine* and *Juſtin* confirm: and this agreeth with reaſon, time and poſſibility. And if this be not ſufficient to diſprove this vanity, I may out of themſelves add thus much: that whereas ſome of them make *Veſta* (others *Camaſena*) the wife of this *Janus*, who inſtituted the holy fire of the *veſtal virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latins* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their idolatrous and heatheniſh ceremonies) there is no man ſo impious, as to believe that *Noah* himſelf (who is ſaid by *Moſes* to *have walked with God*, to be a juſt man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or ſo wicked and ungrateful, to ſet up or deviſe any heathen, ſavage, or idolatrous adoration, or have inſtituted any ceremony, contrary to that which he knew beſt-pleaſing to God himſelf.

SECT. VI.

That Gomer *alſo and his ſon* Togorma *of the poſterity of* Japhet *were firſt ſeated about* Aſia *the leſs: and that from thence they ſpread weſtward into* Europe: *and northward into* Sarmatia.

TO turn now to the ſons of *Noah*, and the world's plantation after the flood: therein I obſerve, that as both reaſon and neceſſity taught them; ſo, when they multiply'd in great numbers, and diſperſed themſelves into the next countries bordering to their firſt habitations, and from thence ſent forth colonies elſewhere, it was in ſuch a manner as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by river: becauſe the land was yet deſart and overpreſs'd with woods, reeds, bogs, and rotten marſhes. As when *Nimrod* ſeated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* took the ſouth-part of *Chaldea*, down the river of *Gehon*, by which he might paſs to and fro from *Babylon* to his own plantation: thoſe alſo, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur* or *Orchoa* near the lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the ſame river get up to *Babylon*, and receive ſuccour from thence. All which tract of land upon *Gehon* ſouthward, *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* calleth the land of *Cuſh*: becauſe the dominion and empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Cuſhite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that valley, and ſtay'd not in the eaſt) were for a while oppreſs'd, till God afterward by the ſeed of *Abraham* made them his own nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and ſon of *Cuſh*, took both banks of *Tigris*, eſpecially on the eaſt-ſide of the river: by which river his people might alſo paſs to and fro to *Babel*.

The imperial ſeat of which region of *Havilah* or *Suſian*, was anciently called *Chuſian*, or *Chuſan*, afterwards *Suſa*. *Cuſh* himſelf took the banks of *Gehon*, and planted thoſe countries weſtward, and ſouth-weſt-ward towards *Arabia* the ſtony, and the deſart, where [b] *Ptolemy* placeth the city of *Chuſidia*, firſt *Chuſia*.

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the reſt that planted *Arabia Fœlix*, had *Tigris* to convey them into the *Perſian* gulf, which waſheth the banks of *Arabia Fœlix* on the eaſt-ſide: ſo as thoſe ſons of *Cuſh* might take land down the river as they pleaſed. Alſo the city of *Nineveh* was by *Nimrod* founded on the ſaid river of *Tigris*: and from thence a colony paſs'd to *Charran*, ſtanding alſo upon a navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japhet*'s ſons ſettle themſelves together, and took their ſeats in *Aſia* the leſs, from whence they might indifferently ſtretch themſelves northward, and weſtward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the *Iſles* of the *Gentiles*. And it ſeemeth very agreeable to reaſon, that both *Gomer*, *Magog* and *Tubal*, ſat down firſt of all in that part of *Syria*, to the north of *Paleſtina* and *Phenicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children paſs'd on into *Aſia* the leſs, as thoſe of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* ſpread themſelves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more northerly into *Sarmatia*. The firſt *Gomerians*, and firſt planters in *Aſia* the leſs, held the country of the *Cymmerians* (witneſs *Herodot. lib.* 4.) the ſame region which was afterwards by the *Gallogreeks* called *Galatia*, to whom St. *Paul* wrote his epiſtle, ſo intituled. This nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards diſperſed, and forced from their firſt plantations) gave names to divers places; as to the mountains above *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the city of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: alſo *Boſphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this nation, in the outlet whereof was alſo a city of that name called *Cymmerian*: which *Pliny* ſaith (miſtaking the place) had ſome time the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a town in *Campania*, ſo called of the unhealthful waters, ſavouring of brimſtone: which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be cleanſed by letting in the water of the lake *Lucrinus*.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*,

[a] Ezek. 27. 13, 19. *and ſo the place of* Iſai. 66. 19. [*for* Javan] Hellada: *and* [*for the plural* Javamin] Hellenæ. [b] Ptol. Aſiæ Tab. 4.

to whom the *Moſchici* were neighbours, which others write *Meſhech*. The prophet *Ezekiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the prince of *Meſchech* and *Tubal*. For theſe *Meſchi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Moſchi*) inhabit *Syracena* a province of *Armenia*, directly ſouth from the mountains *Moſchici*, in the valley between the mountains *Moſchici* and the mountains *Paryardes:* out of whoſe north part ſpringeth the river *Phaſis*; from the eaſt part *Araxis*; and from the weſt *Euphrates:* and of this *Meſchech* are deſcended alſo the *Moſcovians* (ſaith *Melanchthon*) and it may be, that in proceſs of time ſome of them inhabited thoſe regions alſo: For *Meſhech* (ſaith *Melanchthon*) ſignifieth *extendens*, enlarging or ſtretching forth. *Togorma* alſo at firſt did inhabit amongſt his parents and kindred. The *Togormians* were alſo called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchy* of *Phenicia*, the ſame which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben:* from whence [a] *Solomon* had his moſt excellent maſons, which hewed ſtones for the temple of *Jeruſalem*. Thence the *Togormians* ſtretched into the leſs *Armenia*, whoſe kings were hence called [b] *Tigranes*, and their cities *Tigranokartæ:* of which cities *Tigranes*, ſubdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hieroſolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary:* forgetting the prophecy of *Ezekiel* againſt the *Tyrians*; [c] *They of the houſe of Togorma, brought to thy fairs horſes, and horſemen, and mules*, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the *Mediterranean* ſea, but from the neighbour countries by land. But *Joſephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be in the enſuing ages: and ſo might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the 12th of *Nimrod*'s reign. The *Jews* conceive that the *Turks* came of thoſe *Togormians*, becauſe their emperor is called *Togar*. The *Chaldeans* make them the fathers of the *Germans*. But *Laonicus* affirms, that the *Turks* deſcended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muſcovy*. But for theſe ſub-derivations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the firſt and ſecond plantation, and of the firſt nations after the flood is the matter which I labour to diſcover; and therein to open the ignorance of ſome, and the corruption of other fabulous writers. And this we muſt note, that thoſe grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet ſpirit, or (perchance) of leſs underſtanding, and had not therefore the leading of colonies ſent out, their proper habitations could be hardly known: only reaſon hath taught us, that they dwelt among the reſt, and were cover'd with the fame of others, who took on them the conduction and dominion over the reſt.

From *Madai* the 3d ſon of *Japhet*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the ſon of *Medea*.

SECT. VII.

Of Javan *the fourth ſon of* Japhet: *and of* Meſch *of* Aram, *and* Meſhech *of* Japhet.

OF *Javan* the 4th ſon of *Japhet* came from the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks:* and ſo the *Latin* and *Greek* interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Iſaiah*. *Et mittam ex iis qui ſalvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam:* And I will ſend thoſe that eſcape of them to nations in the ſea, in *Italy* and in *Greece*. The *Geneva* here uſeth the word [*Tarſhiſh*] for *Tarſus*, a city in *Cilicia*, tho' *Tarſis* in many places be taken for the ſea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* uſe the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece:* keeping the ſame *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themſelves dream that they were *Aborigines*, or men without anceſtors, and growing (as it were) out of the ſoil it ſelf: who abounding in people, ſent colonies into *Aſia* the leſs, of whom came the *Iones* of thoſe parts. Others [d] derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, the ſon of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Javan* marrs the faſhion of that ſuppoſition, who ſo many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pauſanias* tells us that *Xuthus* ſtole out of *Theſſaly* with all his father's treaſure, and his brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciouſly received by *Erictheus*, who gave him his daughter in marriage; of whom he received two ſons, *Ion* and *Achæus*, the ſuppoſed anceſtors of the *Athenians*. For *Attica* was called *Ionia* (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*) who, when he had joined *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a pillar in that *Iſthmus* or *Strait*, which faſteneth *Peloponneſus* to the other part of *Greece:* writing on that part which looketh towards the eaſt, theſe words: *Hæc non ſunt Peloponneſus, aſt Ionia*; Theſe countries are not of *Peloponneſus*, but of *Ionia:* and on the other ſide which looketh towards the ſouth, and into *Peloponneſus*, this: Theſe parts are *Peloponneſus*, and not *Ionia*.

Strabo out of *Hecatæus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: that the *Iones* of *Greece* tranſporting certain companies into *Aſia* the leſs, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And tho' *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themſelves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hecatæus* reaſonable enough. For tho' it were to him unknown, yet ſure I am that *Aſia* the leſs had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Aſia* the leſs in his paſſage; and from thence paſs'd over the neareſt way, leaving his own name to ſome maritimate province on that ſide, as he did to that part of *Greece* ſo called. But yet *Strabo* himſelf believed, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus:* for ſo much he had learned from themſelves; which was alſo the opinion of *Pauſanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times caſt themſelves into that part of *Aſia* the leſs, oppoſite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howſoever the *Greeks* vaunt themſelves to be the fathers of nations, and the moſt ancient; yet all approved hiſtorians (not their own) deride and diſprove their pride, and vanity therein. For this diſpute of antiquity (among prophane writers) reſted between the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Juſtin* out of *Trogus*, in the war between *Vexoris* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witneſſeth: which preceded far the reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is alſo manifeſt, that in *Cecrops*'s time, the *Greeks* were all ſavages without law or religion, living like brute beaſts in all reſpects: and *Cecrops* (ſaith [e] St. *Auguſtine*) lived together with *Moſes*.

The 6th ſon of *Japhet* was *Meſech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Moſoch*, a part of thoſe nations commanded by *Gog* the chief prince of *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But this we muſt remember, that between *Meſech* the ſon of *Aram*, and *Meſhech* (or *Moſech*) the ſon of *Japhet*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers interpreters diverſly written. *Montanus* with the *Vulgar* writeth *Meſch*, the ſon of *Aram Mes*; the *Geneva Maſh*; *Junius Meſch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120th *Pſalm*, that either *Meſhech* the ſon of *Japhet*, was the parent of thoſe people, or gave name

[a] 1 Kings 5. 18. [b] Jun. in Gen. 10. 3. [c] Ju. 27. 14. [d] Thucyd. [e] Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. 18. c. 10.

to

to that province wherein *David* hid himſelf: or elſe (which may rather ſeem) that it took name from *Meſch* the ſon of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious people) uſeth theſe words. [a] *Woe is me that I remain in Meſech, and dwell in the tents of Kedar:* which *Junius* converteth thus. *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni:* The *Septuagint* gives it this ſenſe, *Woe is me becauſe my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the *Latin* agreeth: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar:* The *Chaldean* otherwiſe, and in theſe words, *O me miſerum, quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum:* O wretch that I am, for I have travelled among thoſe of *Aſia*, I have dwelt in the tabernacles of the *Arabians*. But howſoever or whichſoever converſion be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*; which is a province of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Aſia* inſtead of *Meſech*; but the *Hebrew* it ſelf hath *Meſech*. And if it be to be taken for a nation (as it is moſt likely, becauſe it anſwers to *Kedar*, the name of a nation) ſeeing *Meſh* the ſon of *Aram*, 1 *Chron.* 17: is called *Meſhec*, it is indifferent whether this nation took name from *Meſhech* or *Meſh*, both bordering *Judea*, and like enough to be commanded by one prince; for ſo *Ezekiel* makes *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But as for thoſe that take *Meſech* out of the word *Moſoch* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muſcovian*; ſure they preſume much upon the affinity of names, as aforeſaid. And ſure I am, that *David* never travelled ſo far north; (for to him *Muſcovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar*, it may be, he was often in all the time of his perſecution: the ſame being a city on the mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Moſoch* the father of the *Muſcovians*; and herein alſo *Melanthon* runs with the tide of common opinion, and ſets *Meſech* in *Muſcovia*, tho' with ſome better advice of judgment; as, firſt ſeated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling north-ward: expounding the places of the 120th pſalm [*Hei mihi quod exulo in Meſech*] to ſignify, *Gentis ejus feritatem inſignem eſſe*; That the ferity of that nation exceeded: which fierceneſs or brutality of the *Muſcovians*, *David* never proved, or, perchance, never heard of. But the ſame ferity or cruelty, which thoſe nothern *Muſcovians* had, may as well be aſcribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this country took name of [b] *Kedar* the ſecond ſon of *Iſhmael*, of whom a people of equal fierceneſs to any of the world were begotten, both in thoſe times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Iſhmaelites* and *Saracens* may be accounted one people:) the ſame being foreſhewed by the ſpeech of the angel to *Hagar*, *Gen.* xvi. 12. *And he ſhall be a wild man: his hand ſhall be againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt him.* Now *Arabia* the deſart, ſaith *Pliny*, confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the eaſt, and the *Cedræi* ſouth-ward, both which join together upon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth, as before, that *Meſech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma* and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did join to *Meſech*: all which were regions of *Syria*, or of *Aſia* the leſs, commanded by the ſucceſſors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Judah*. But as I have already ſaid, it might well be, that long after the firſt plantation the iſſue of *Meſech*, or *Moſoch*, might paſs into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and give names, both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the mountains *Moſchici* in the other, and from thence might ſend people northerly in *Muſcovia*; and ſo all opinions ſaved. But all ſavage nations, overgrown and uncultivated, do (for the moſt part) ſhew a late plantation; even as civility, letters, and magnificent building witneſs antiquity.

Tiras the ſeventh ſon of *Japhet*, which [c] *Montanus* reckons among the ſons of *Gomer*, was the father of the *Thracians*, as all authors (worthy of examination) affirm. *Joſephus* was the firſt that determined hereof: and becauſe the ſcriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeak of the ſons of *Gomer*, which were three:

Aſcanez, *Riphath* and *Togorma*.

SECT. VIII.

Of Aſcanez *and* Riphath, *the two eldeſt ſons of* Gomer.

ASCANEZ was the father of thoſe which the *Greeks* call *Rhegini*, ſaith *Joſephus*, but he gives no reaſon why.

Euſebius makes *Aſcanez* the father of the *Goths*; the *Jews* in their *Targum* make him the root of the *German* nation, but their expoſitions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, near the rivers of *Hylas* and *Cios*: [d] *Melanthon* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were deſcended of the *Aſcanez* (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanez*, *Præpoſito articulo die Aſcanez*) and that the word ſignifieth a religious keeper of fire: it being an ancient ſuperſtition to pray at the fire of ſacrifices, as afterwards at the tombs of martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the lake *Aſcania*, known by that name in the *Romans* time. And among the kings which came to the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius*, *Deo ſimilis*, ſaith [e] *Homer*, Like unto God; becauſe he was beautiful and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Eneas*, *Os humeroſque Deo ſimilis*; In face and body like one of the gods. *Virgil* alſo remembreth ſuch a river together with the hills *Gargara*; as [f] *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, tranſque ſonantem Aſcanium:* Appetite leads them both over the mountains *Gargara* and the roaring *Aſcanius*. But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the city of *Brillion* upon the river *Aſcanius*, which is adjoining to *Myſia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* empire: and the lake *Aſcanez* he directs us to find by the deſcription of *Pruſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth far within the countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Pruſia* to *Nicea* are accounted five and twenty miles, in which way this lake lieth, even between *Pruſia* and *Nicea*; and ſo *Junius*, as I conceive him, takes them of *Aſcanez* to be the inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and thoſe north parts of *Aſia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a city of *Troas*, built by *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Eneas*, ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Aſcanii*, a lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolemy* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giveth *Aſcania* both a lake, a river, and a town in *Myſia*, near unto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Pliny:* for *Pliny* findeth *Pruſia*, before ſpoken of, near *Cio*, and calleth the iſlands before *Troy*, *Aſcanes*.

Now whether theſe places took name of *Aſcanez* the ſon of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Eneas*, it might be queſtioned: ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Trojans*, could not take

[a] Pſal. 120. 5. [b] Gen. 25. 13. [c] Montan. in Chr. Georg. l. 3. [d] Melanthon in Carion. l. 1. [e] Hom. Iliad. 2. [f] Virg.

his

his name from *Eneas*'s ſon, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it ſeemeth that the countries whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the north parts of all *Aſia* the leſs, which by *Jeremy* is called *Aſcanez*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the prophet *Jeremy* we ſhall learn of what nation the *Aſcanez* were, whoſe words are theſe: [a] *Set up a ſtandard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations againſt her, call up the kings of Ararat, Minni, and Aſcanez againſt her*, &c. meaning, againſt the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as moſt interpreters conſent, ſo called of the mountains of *Ararat* which run thro' it: *Minni* the leſſer *Armenia: Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*; for *Minni* was the ancient name, ſaith *Junius* and others before him, and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that tract from *Euphrates* to the ſea-coaſts of *Phenicia* and *Paleſtina*; and therefore *Meſopotamia* being in elder times but a province of *Syria*, the ſcriptures difference it in the the ſtory of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, and call it *Aram-padan*. Then if theſe two nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Aſcanez* joined with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the ſpoil of the *Babylonian* empire) we ſhall err much to call *Askenaz Germany* or *Almain*, for we hear of no *Swart Ruttiers* at that ſiege. But the *Askenaz* were of thoſe nations which were either ſubject or allied to the *Medes:* of which, if any of them came afterwards into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the diſperſion of nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of *Euſebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Joſephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almains*, when they confirm it either by ſcriptures or reaſon, I will think as they do.

Of *Riphath*, the ſecond ſon of *Gomer*, there is mention in the firſt of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* think that he wandered far off from the reſt of his brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that he might ſeat himſelf with the reſt of his family; for there wanted no room or ſoil in thoſe days for all the ſons and grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well underſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greeks* afterwards, according to *Joſephus*, called the *Paphlagones:* and *Riphei*, ſaith *Melanchthon*, ſignifieth giants. Theſe people were very famous in the north parts, and in *Sarmatia:* the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*; The greateſt number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*, who ſpoke the ancient *Polac:* which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the love of ſome of their leaders or kings) changed their names and became *Heneti* (a cuſtom exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witneſſeth, and ſo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks:* now, when theſe *Riphei*, afterwards *Heneti*, ſought new regions, they came along the ſhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the north part of *Europe*, containing *Ruſſia*, *Lithuania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croſs'd thwart the land, and peopled *Illyria*, deſirous, ſaith [b] *Melanchthon*, of a warmer ſoil of fruit and wine. Theſe *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchthon* taketh to be one people, filled all that land between the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* ſea; and to this day the name of the gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Ruſſia*. This nation, after they were poſſeſs'd of *Lithuania* and *Polonia*, diſturbed the plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore it ſeemeth to me, that of *Riphath* came the *Riphei*, afterwards *Heneti*; and ſo thinketh *Arias Montanus*, firſt ſeated in *Paphlagonia*, but in courſe of time lords of *Sarmatia*, and thoſe other parts before remembred, chiefly between the rivers of *Viſtula* and *Albis*. The name, ſaith *Melanchthon*, ſignifieth wandering or wanderers, or *Nomades*, a people which lived by white meats and fruits, as indeed all nations did in the firſt ages.

Of the third ſon of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have ſpoken already; now therefore of *Javan*'s children, which were four:

Eliſa, *Tharſis*, *Cethim*, and *Dodanim*.

SECT. IX.

Of the four ſons of Javan: *and of the double ſignification of* Tharſis, *either for a proper name or for the ſea.*

OF *Eliſa* or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Eliſa* all the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*, ſaith *Montanus*. *Melanchthon* makes *Eliſa* the father of the *Æoles* in *Aſia* ſide; others of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*, or of both. And ſeeing the *Greeks* were deſcended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that the *Æoles* and the *Elei*, took name of *Eliſa*, his eldeſt ſon. [c] *Ezekiel* ſpeaking of *Tyre*, nameth the iſles of *Eliſa*. *Hyacinthus & purpura de inſulis Eliſæ facta ſunt operimentum tuum:* Blue ſilk and purple brought from the iſles of *Eliſa*, was thy covering: The *Chaldeans* for *Eliſa* write *Italia*, but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius* keep the word *Eliſa*; and ſo I think they might do with reaſon: for there was not found any ſuch purple dye in *Italy* in thoſe days, nor ſince that I can read of. But thoſe iſles of *Eliſa* were by a better conjecture the iſles of *Greece*; and the beſt purple was found afterwards at *Tyre* itſelf, and before that, and among the *Cyclades*, and on the coaſt of *Getulia*.

Tharſis, the ſecond ſon of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharſis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*, underſtands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reſerving the reſpect due to ſo learned a man) he was much miſtaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldean* paraphraſt puts *Carthage* for *Tharſis*, but it hath no authority, nor warrant of reaſon therein. So likewiſe, where it is written, that the ſhips of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharſis*, and brought thence gold, ſilver, elephants teeth, &c. The *Chaldean* paraphraſt tranſlates *Tharſis* [*Africa.*] But *Solomon*'s ſhips were prepared in the Red ſea at *Ezion-gaber*, in the bay of *Elana*, near unto *Madian*, where *Jethro*, *Moſes*'s father-in-law, inhabited; a province of *Arabia Petræa*, *Idumea*, or of the *Chuſites*; and they ſailed to the higher part of the *Eaſt-Indies*. For it had been a ſtrange navigation to have ſpent three years in the paſſage between *Judea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been ſailed in ſix or ten days. And if ſo great riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterranean* ſea, all the other neighbouring princes would ſoon have entertained that trade alſo. But this enterprize of *Solomon* is in this ſort written of in the firſt of *Kings*: *Alſo king Solomon made a navy of ſhips in Ezion-gaber, which is beſide Elath and the brink of the Red ſea in the land of Edom: and Hiram ſent with the navy his ſervants, that were mariners, and had knowledge of the ſea, with the ſervants of Solomon: and they came to Ophir, and fetch'd from thence* 420 *talents of gold*, &c. But as the nations about *Pontus* thought

[a] Jer. 51. 27. [b] Melanch. in Carion. [c] Ezek. 27. 7.

no ſea in the world like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other ſea but that only (whereof it came that *Pontus* was a word uſed for the ſea in general;) ſo becauſe the *Iſraelites* and the *Phenicians* knew no other ſea than that of the *Mediterranean* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharſis* had the greateſt ſhips, and were the firſt navigators in thoſe parts with ſuch veſſels, they were therefore called men of the ſea: and the word *Tharſis* uſed often for the ſea. And whereas it's ſaid that the ſhips of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharſis*, that phraſe is not ſtrange at all: for we uſe it ordinarily whereſoever we navigate, namely, that the king's ſhips are gone to the ſea, or that they are ſet out every year, or every three years to the ſea; and therefore *Tharſis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but uſed for the ſea it ſelf. But in this place *Tharſis* is truly taken for *Tharſis*, the chief city in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharſis* the 2d ſon of *Javan*, or by his ſucceſſors, in memory of their firſt parent. To this city arrived *Alex. Macedon*, before he gave the firſt overthrow to *Darius*, and caſting himſelf into the river to bathe and waſh his body, he fell into an extreme fever, and great danger of death: and in this city of *Tharſis* was St. *Paul* born. Now this agreeth with the reaſon and nature of a plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other ſons inhabiting *Aſia* the leſs, and that part of *Syria* adjoining) *Javan*, who was to paſs over the ſea into *Greece*, took the edge of the ſame coaſt, and firſt planted the *Iones* on that ſhore: gave the iſlands between *Aſia* the leſs and *Greece*, to *Eliſa*, and left *Tharſis* upon the ſea-ſide in *Cilicia*; of whom that city took name.

The 3d ſon of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, ſaith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanćthon*'s opinion, who makes *Cethim* the father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural, ſaith he, and ſignifieth *percuſſores*, tho' in that reſpect it may be meant by either. But it ſeemeth more probable, that place of *Iſaiah* 23. (according to *Melanćthon*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*. *Hæc calamitas ab Eſai prædicta eſt, qui capite viceſimo tertio inquit, venturos eſſe everſores Tyri ex terra Cittim*; This calamity, ſaith *Melanćthon*, was foreſhewed by *Iſaiah* the prophet, who in the 23d chapter pronounced, that the deſtroyers of *Tyre* were to come out of *Cittim*. And altho' the children of *Iſrael* eſteemed all men iſlanders, which came to them by ſea, and ſeparate from that continent (and ſo alſo *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, ſaith *Beroaldus*) yet we muſt take the firſt performance of the former prophecy, which took effect by the deſtruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*: who after ſeven months ſiege entred that proud city, and cut in pieces 7000 principal citizens; ſtrangled 2000, and changed the freedom of 13000 others into bondage and ſlavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it appeareth plainly in the firſt of the *Maccabees*, in theſe words: *After that* Alexander *the Macedonian, the ſon of* Philip, *went forth of the land of Cethim, and ſlew* Darius *king of the Perſians and Medes*. *Joſephus* ſets *Cethim* in the iſle of *Cyprus*, in which, ſaith he, there remaineth the city *Citium*, the country of *Zeno* the philoſopher (witneſs *Laertius*) which city *Pintus* upon *Ezekiel* affirmeth, that it ſtood in St. *Jerome*'s time. So it may be, that all the iſlands in ancient times by the *Hebrews* were called the iſlands of *Cethim*: and in that ſenſe might *Cyprus* be ſo called alſo; and yet becauſe *Tharſis* was the very next port to *Cyprus*, and directly over-againſt it, it is alſo very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharſis*: and finding that iſland too ſtrait for his people after they were increaſed, and that the reſt of the coaſts, both on *Aſia* ſide and *Greece*, were inhabited by his father and brothers, he ſent colonies over the *Egean* ſea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodanim the 4th ſon of *Javan*, and the youngeſt brother (by the moſt opinions) ſat down at *Rhodes* as near *Cethim*, *Tharſis* and *Eliſa*, as he could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are uſed indifferently by many tranſlators: the *Hebrew* [*D*] and the *Hebrew* [*R*] are ſo like, as the one may eaſily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is alſo found in *Epirus* the city of *Dodona*, in the province of *Moloſſia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted ſoil in *Cyprus*: ſo *Dodanim* (ſeated in a far leſs iſland) did of neceſſity ſend his people farther off; and keeping along the coaſt, and finding *Peloponneſus* in the poſſeſſion of *Eliſa*, he paſſed a little farther on the weſt-ward, and planted in *Epirus*. And tho' the city of *Dodona* was not then built, or (perchance) not ſo ancient as *Dodanim* himſelf, yet his poſterity might give it that name in memory of their firſt parent, as it happened all the world over. For names were given to cities, mountains, rivers, and provinces, after the names of *Noah*'s children, and grand-children; not in all places by themſelves, but by their ſucceſſors many years after: every of their families being deſirous to retain among them by thoſe memories, out of what branch themſelves were taken, and grafted elſewhere. And becauſe great kingdoms were often by new conquerors newly named, and the greateſt cities often fired and demoliſhed: therefore thoſe that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their anceſtors, to mountains and rivers, as to things (after their judgments) freeſt from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* ſettle himſelf and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Aſia* the leſs, towards the ſea-ſhore: and afterwards in *Greece*, and the iſlands and neighbour provinces thereof, as *Japhet* their father had done in the body of the leſſer *Aſia*, together with *Javan*'s brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Meſech*, and the reſt round about him. And in like ſort did *Chuſh* (the ſon of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and the borders thereof towards the weſt and ſouth-weſt: and the ſons of *Chuſh* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelf) travelled ſouth-ward in *Arabia Fœlix*, and ſouth-weſt-ward into *Arabia Petræa*: the reſt of his children holding the regions adjoining to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chuſh* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the region of *Paleſtina* adjoining. The ſons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all thoſe nations came, which were afterwards the enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to thoſe of the ſons of *Shem*, which ſpread themſelves towards the weſt, and the borders of the *Mediterranean* ſea: of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. But firſt of the ſons of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were four:

Chuſh, *Mizraim*, *Phut* and *Canaan*.

SECT. X.

That the ſeat of Chuſh *the eldeſt ſon of* Ham *was in* Arabia, *not in* Ethiopia: *and of ſtrange fables, and ill tranſlations of ſcripture, grounded upon the miſtaking of this point.*

† I.

Of Joſephus's *tale of an* Ethiopeſs *wife of* Moſes, *grounded on the miſtaking of the ſeat of* Chuſh.

THAT *Ham* was the father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifeſt in many ſcriptures, as in the

the 150th *Pſalm*, ver. 51. *Then Iſrael came to Egypt, and Jacob was a ſtranger in the land of Ham:* and in the 78th *Pſalm*; *He ſlew all the firſt-born in Egypt, even the beginning of their ſtrength, in the tabernacles of Ham.* There is alſo found a great city in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis* (as it were, the city of *Ham*) of which name [a] *Herodotus* alſo diſcovers an iſland in the ſame region. But becauſe *Chuſh* is the elder ſon of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to ſpeak firſt of him. Now tho' I have already in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* handled this queſtion, and, I hope, proved that *Chuſh* could not be *Ethiopia:* yet ſeeing it cometh now to his turn to ſpeak for himſelf, I will add ſome farther proof to the former. For the manifeſtation hereof ſets many things ſtrait, which had otherwiſe very crooked conſtructions, and ſenſeleſs interpretations. Surely, howſoever the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* have herein failed, yet it is manifeſt that *Chuſh* could not be *Ethiopia*, but *Arabia* (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the happy and the the deſart: which regions *Chuſh* and the *Chuſites* preſently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they firſt ſat down all together. And there is nothing which ſo well cleareth this controverſy, as the true interpretation of the place, *Numb.* xii. 1. where *Moſes*'s wife is called a *Chuſite*; together with ſome places which ſpeak of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s conqueſts. For whereas *Joſephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place, *Numb.* xii. 1. as alſo elſewhere, underſtand *Chuſh* for *Ethiopia*, we muſt give credit to *Moſes* himſelf therein; and then it will appear that *Joſephus* was groſly miſtaken, or vainly led by his own invention. For *Joſephus* preſuming that *Chuſh* was *Ethiopia*, and therefore that the wife of *Moſes* (which in ſcripture, *Numb.* xii. 1. is called a woman of *Cuſh*) was a woman of the land of *Ethiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the daughter of the king of *Ethiopia*, fell in love with the perſon and fame of *Moſes*, while he beſieged *Saba* her father's city; and to the end to obtain *Moſes* for her huſband, ſhe practiſed to betray both her parents, country, and friends, with the city it ſelf, and to deliver it into *Moſes*'s hands. The tale (if it be worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Joſephus*. After he had deſcribed the ſtrength of the *Ethiopian* city *Meroe*, which he ſaith at length *Cambyſes* called ſo from the name of his ſiſter (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in theſe words: [b] *Hic cum Moſes deſidere exercitum otioſum ægre ferret, hoſte non audente manus conſerere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum regi filia, nomine Tharbis, &c.* which tale hath this ſenſe in *Engliſh*; When *Moſes* was grieved that his army lay idle, becauſe the enemy beſieged, durſt not ſally and come to handy ſtrokes, there happened this accident in the mean while. The *Ethiopian* king had a daughter called *Tharbis*, who at ſome aſſaults given beheld the perſon of *Moſes*, and withal admired his valour. And knowing that *Moſes* had not only upheld and reſtored the falling eſtate of the *Egyptians*, but had alſo brought the conquering *Ethiopians* to the very brink of ſubverſion: theſe things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily encreaſed, ſhe made means to ſend unto him by one of her truſtieſt ſervants to offer herſelf unto him, and become his wife; which *Moſes* on this condition entertained, that ſhe ſhould firſt deliver the city into his poſſeſſion: whereunto ſhe condeſcending, and *Moſes* having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were inſtantly performed.

† II.

A diſpute againſt the tale of Joſephus.

THIS tale (whereof *Moſes* hath not a word) hath *Joſephus* faſhioned, and therein alſo utterly miſtaken himſelf, in naming a city of *Arabia*, for a city of *Ethiopia:* as he names *Ethiopia* it ſelf to have been the country of *Moſes*'s wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Ethiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, ſaying that the *Sabeans* are *Arabians*, and not *Ethiopians*; except *Joſephus* can perſuade us, that the queen of *Saba* which came from the ſouth to hear the wiſdom of *Solomon*, were a *Negro*, or black-moor. And tho' *Damianus a Goes* ſpeaks of certain letters to the king of *Portugal* from *Preſter John* of the *Abiſſines:* wherein that *Ethiopian* king would perſuade the *Portugals* that he was deſcended of the queen of *Saba*, and of *Solomon*; yet it doth no-where appear in the ſcriptures, that *Solomon* had any ſon by that great princeſs: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Siſhac* king of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and ſack'd *Jeruſalem*, his brother (the ſon of *Saba* and *Solomon*) who joined upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, as alſo given aid and ſuccour to *Roboam* againſt *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing againſt our opinion of *Moſes*'s wife, to have been an *Arabian*, that the ſcriptures teach us, that *Moſes* married the daughter of *Jethro* prieſt of *Midian* or *Madian:* which ſtanding on the north coaſt of the Red ſea, over-againſt the body of *Egypt*, and near *Eſion Gaber*, where *Solomon* provided his fleet for *India*, in the region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red ſea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumæa* joineth to the tribe of *Juda* by the north, to *Arabia Petræa* by the eaſt, to the *Mediterranean* by the weſt, and to the Red ſea by the ſouth-eaſt. And if we mark the way which *Moſes* took when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Iſrael* thence, it will appear that he was no ſtranger in *Arabia:* in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it ſelf, he had formerly lived 40 years; where it ſeemeth, that beſides his careful bringing up in *Egypt*, he was inſtructed by *Jethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Joſephus* confeſſeth, and St. *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wiſdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other ſide this text makes much againſt *Joſephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* ii. 15. *Therefore Moſes fled from Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Ethiopia*. And in the 3d chapter it is as plain as words can expreſs, in what region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When Moſes kept the ſheep of Jethro his father-in-law, prieſt of Madian, and drove the flock to the deſart, and came to the mountain of God in Horeb.* Now that mount *Horeb* is not in *Ethiopia*, every infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moſes* himſelf, then was not the wife of *Moſes* purchaſed in that manner which *Joſephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her country and friends) neither had ſhe the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora:* neither was ſhe a negro, but a *Madianitiſh*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt means: ſo it pleaſed him from a ſhepherd to call *Moſes*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his people firſt and laſt. For [c] *Moſes* ſitting by a well (as diſconſolate and a ſtranger) defended the daughters of *Reguel*

[a] Herod. in Euterpe. [b] Antiq. l. 2. c. 5. [c] Exod. 2.

from

from the other ſhepherds, and drew them water to water their ſheep: upon which occaſion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whoſe daughter he married: and not for any betraying of towns or countries.

From hence alſo came *Jethro* to *Moſes* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumæa*, and finding the inſupportable government of ſuch a multitude, he adviſed him to diſtribute this weighty charge, and to make governors and judges of every tribe and family. And if *Jethro* had been an *Ethiopian*, it had been a far progreſs for him to have paſſed thro' all *Egypt* with the wife and children of *Moſes*, and to have found *Moſes* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moſes* and all that favoured him. But the paſſing of *Moſes* thro' *Arabia Petræa* (which joineth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moſes* was well acquainted in thoſe parts: in which the ſecond time he wandered forty years, and did by theſe late travels of his ſeek to inſtruct the children of *Iſrael* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the land of plenty and reſt. For he found them nouriſhed up with the milk of idolatry, and obſtinate in the religion of the heathen, and finding that thoſe ſtiff plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perſuaſion or by miracle, he wore them out in the deſarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thoſe he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own deſire, and God's commandments.

Laſtly, This opinion of *Joſephus* is condemned by *Auguſtinus Chriſamenſis*, where alſo he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moſes* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: his own words have this beginning [a] *Mentitur etiam Apollinaris duas uxores habuiſſe Moſen, &c.* *Apollinaris* alſo lieth in affirming that *Moſes* had two wives: and who doth not perceive theſe things feigned by them? For it is manifeſt, that the wife of *Moſes* was *Zephora*, daughter to the prieſt or preſident of *Madian*: and that *Madian* cannot be taken for *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*, being the ſame that joineth to *Arabia*: ſo far *Chriſamenſis*.

† III.

Chuſh *ill expounded for* Ethiopia, *Ezek.* xxix. 10.

NOW as *Chuſh* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Ethiopia*, and the wife of *Moſes* therefore called *Æthiopiſſa*: ſo in the conqueſt of *Nabuchodonoſor* is *Ethiopia* written for *Arabia*: for by the words of *Ezekiel* it is manifeſt that *Nabuchodonoſor* was never in *Ethiopia*. [b] *Behold*, ſaith *Ezekiel*, (ſpeaking of the perſon of this great *Aſſyrian*) *I come upon thee, and upon thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waſte and deſolate, from the tower of Seveneh, even to the borders of the black-moors*: which laſt words ſhould have been thus converted: *From the tower of Seveneh to the borders of the Chuſites or Arabians*: between which two is ſituated all *Egypt*. For to ſay, from the borders of *Seveneh* to the *Ethiopians*, hath no ſenſe at all. *Seveneh* it ſelf being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joining to *Ethiopia*, or the land of the black-mores. So as if *Nabuchodonoſor*'s conqueſt had been but between *Seveneh* and the border of *Ethiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſs no other victory than the conqueſt of all that land and country, lying between *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the countries join together; or all the north parts of *England* between *Berwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the ſame ſenſe with the former, if any man ſought to expreſs by theſe two bounds, the conqueſt of *England*, *Berwick* being the north border of *England*, as *Seveneh* or *Syene* is the ſouth bound of *Egypt*, ſeated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Ethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezekiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonoſor* never entered into any part of *Ethiopia*, altho' the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other, in effect, have written *Ethiopia* for *Chuſh*.

† IV.

Another place of Ezekiel, chap. xxx. ver. 9. *in like manner miſtaken.*

AND as the former, ſo is this place of *Ezekiel* miſtaken, by being in this ſort converted. *In die illa egredientur nuncii a facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam*: which place is thus turned into *Engliſh* by the *Genevians*: *In that day ſhall there meſſengers go forth from me in ſhips to make the careleſs Mores afraid.* Now the *Latin* for [ſhips] hath the *Greek* word *Trieres* for *Triremes* which are galleys of three banks, and not ſhips. But that in this place the tranſlation ſhould have been, as in the former, amended by uſing the word *Chuſh*, or *Arabia* for *Ethiopia*, or the *Black-mores*, every man may ſee which meanly underſtandeth the geography of the world, knowing, that to paſs out of *Egypt* into *Ethiopia*, there need no gallies nor ſhips, no more than to paſs out of *Northampton* into *Leiceſterſhire*: *Ethiopia* being the conterminate region with *Egypt*, and not divided ſo much as by a river. Therefore in this place of *Ezekiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt* *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould ſend gallies along the coaſt of the Red ſea, by which an army might be tranſported into *Arabia* the happy and the ſtony (ſparing the long weariſome march over all *Egypt* and the deſarts of *Pharan*) which army might thereby ſurprize them unawares in their ſecurity and confidence: for when *Nabuchodonoſor* was at *Seveneh*, within a mile of *Ethiopia*, he needed neither galley nor ſhip to paſs into it: being all one large and firm land with *Egypt*, and no otherwiſe parted from it, than one inland ſhire is parted from another; and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the river but for pleaſure, he could not have done it; for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and ſteep mountains) called *Catadupæ Nili* were at hand.

Laſtly, As I have already obſerved, the ſons of every father ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſibly they could, *Gomer* and his ſons in *Aſia* the leſs; *Javan* and his ſons in *Greece* and the iſlands adjoining; *Shem* in *Perſia* and eaſtward. So the ſons and grand-children of *Chuſh* from the river of *Gehon*, their father's firſt ſeat, inhabited upon the ſame, or upon ſome other contiguous unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one ſide, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha*, with the reſt, did on the other ſide. And, to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had never any acquaintance or fellowſhip, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Ethiopian Black-mores*, as is already remembred in the chapter of *Paradiſe*.

† V.

A place of Iſaiah xviii. 1. *in like manner corrupted by taking* Chuſh *for* Ethiopia.

AND as in theſe places before-remembred, ſo in divers others is the word *Ethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chuſh*, which puts the ſtory (where it is ſo underſtood) quite out of ſquare; one kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what ſenſe

[a] Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl. [b] Ezek. 29. 10.

hath

hath this part of ſcripture, *Iſaiah* 18. *Væ terræ cymbalorum alarum quæ eſt trans flumina Ethiopiæ*; or according to the *Septuagint* in theſe words, *Væ terræ navium alarum quæ eſt trans fluvios Ethiopiæ?* Woe to the land ſhadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*, ſending ambaſſadors by ſea, even the veſſels of reeds upon the waters. *Væ terræ umbroſæ oræ*; Wo to the land of the ſhady coaſt, ſaith *Junius*. The former tranſlators underſtand it in this ſenſe; that the waters are ſhadowed with the ſails, which are ſignificatively called the wings of the ſhips; the other, that the coaſt of the ſea was ſhadowed by the height of the land.

But to the purpoſe: That this land here ſpoken of by the prophet *Iſaiah* is *Egypt*, no interpreter hath doubted: for they were the *Egyptians* that ſent this meſſage to the *Iſraelites* which *Iſaiah* repeateth, and by the former tranſlation every man may ſee the tranſpoſition of kingdoms: for hereby *Egypt* is tranſported unto the other ſide of *Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia* ſet next unto *Judea*, when it is the land of *Chuſh* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judea* and *Egypt*, and not *Ethiopia*, which is ſeated under the equinoctial line. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a material queſtion, to wit, What region that ſhould be, of which the prophet ſpeaketh, and placeth it beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*: *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit*; For it cannot be ſaid that he treateth of an unknown region. Now if *Ethiopia* it ſelf be under the equinoctial line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why ſhould any man dream that they had knowledge of nations far beyond that again, and beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*? except we ſhall impiouſly think that the prophet ſpake he knew not what, or uſed an impertinent diſcourſe of thoſe nations, which were not diſcovered in 2000 years after, inhabiting as far ſouth as the *Cape of Good Hope*, commonly known by the name of *Bona Eſperanza*.

† VI.

That upon the like miſtaking, both Terrhaca *in the ſtory of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the ſtory of* Aſa *are unadviſedly made* Ethiopians.

AND by this tranſlation is the ſtory of *Senacherib* utterly miſtaken in the cauſe of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was firſt repulſed at *Peluſium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judea*: when having certain knowledge that *Thirrhaca* (which all the interpreters call king of [a]*Ethiopia*) was on the way to ſet on him, he began to withdraw himſelf: and fearing to leave his army in two parts, he ſent threatning meſſengers to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*, perſuading him to ſubmit himſelf: the tenor whereof is ſet down in the ſecond of *Kings* in theſe words: *Have any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hands of the king of Aſhur? Where is the god of Hamah?* &c. by which proud ambaſſage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jeruſalem*, he then meant to have united that great army before *Jeruſalem* commanded by *Rabſakeh* with the other which lay before *Peluſium*, a great city upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For [b]*Senacherib* had already maſtered the moſt part of all thoſe cities in *Judea* and *Benjamin* with a third army (which himſelf commanded) being then at the ſiege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumour of that *Arabian* army led by their king *Thirrhakeh* (whom [c]*Joſephus* calls *Tharſices*) *Rabſakeh* haſted from the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from [d]*Lachiſh*, and ſet down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleutheropolis*, as ſome have ſuppos'd. But while he had ill ſucceſs at *Peluſium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himſelf, whom he leaſt feared, ſtruck his army before *Jeruſalem* by the angel of his power, ſo as 158000 were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Hezekiah* is hereafter more largely written. And that this army of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Joſephus* himſelf makes it plain. For he confeſſeth in the tenth book the firſt chapter of the *Jewiſh* antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that the army which was a foot (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*) march'd towards him by the way of the deſart: now the deſart which lay indifferent between [e] *Jeruſalem* and *Peluſium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which alſo toucheth on the three *Arabia's*, to wit, the ſtony, of which it is a part, the deſart, and the happy; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to ſuccour either *Peluſium* or *Jeruſalem*. But, that there is any deſart between *Peluſium* and the ſouth part of *Egypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or deſcribed, by any coſmographer or hiſtorian. So then this ſcripture of the ſecond of *Kings*, verſe the ninth, hath the ſame miſtaking as the reſt. For here the word [*Chuſh*] is alſo tranſlated *Ethiopia*; and in this ſenſe have all the interpreters, but *Junius*, expreſſed the beginning of the ninth verſe. *He heard alſo men ſay of Thirrhakeh king of Ethiopia*, &c. whereas it ſhould have been thus converted with *Junius*. *Audiens autem de Thirrhakeh rege Chuſhi*: He heard alſo of *Thirrhakeh* king of the *Chuſites*. For they were the *Chuſites* and *Arabians*, whoſe houſes and cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very ſmoke of *Judah* flaming was blown, being their neareſt neighbours: and ſo were not the *Ethiopian Black-mores* under the equinoctial, whom neither war nor peace (which diſcovereth all regions) ever found out, ſaith [f] *Pliny*. For this king was no more king of *Ethiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded [g] *Aſa* king of *Judah*, with an army of a million and three thouſand chariots. Indeed, how ſuch an army and thoſe chariots ſhould paſs thro' all *Egypt* (the kings of *Egypt* being mighty kings) let all men that know how theſe regions are ſeated, and how far diſtant, judge. For princes do not eaſily permit armies of a million to run thro' them; neither was there ever any ſuch ſtrength of black-mores heard of in that part of the world, or elſewhere. Neither are theſe *Ethiopians* ſuch travellers or conquerors; and yet is this king *Zerah* alſo called king of *Ethiopia*. But the word *Chuſh* being firſt ſo converted for *Ethiopia*, the reſt of the interpreters (not looking into the ſeats of kingdoms, or the poſſibilities of attempts, or invaſions) followed one another in the former miſtakings.

† VII.

A farther expoſition of the place, Iſaiah xviii. 1.

CONcerning theſe words in that 18th chapter of *Iſaiah*, *Navium alarum*, Wing'd ſhips (ſo the *Septuagint* turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latin*) Sails whiſtling in the winds, or *terræ umbroſæ oræ* (after *Junius*) the land of a ſhadowed coaſt, *or*, the land ſhadowing with wings, as our *Engliſh Geneva* hath it. The two firſt interpretations of the *Septuagint* and St. *Jerome* have one ſenſe in effect. For the ſails are commonly called the wings of a ſhip; and we uſe to ſay ordinarily when our ſhips ſail ſlowly, that ſhe wanteth wings: (that is) when her ſails are either worn or too narrow; and we alſo uſe the ſame phraſe of the wind whiſtling in the ſails. And it may be that the

[a] Joſeph. l. 10. c. 1. [b] 2 Kings 19. [c] Antiq. l. 10. [d] 2 Kings 19. [e] Lib. 10. cap. 1. [f] Plin. l. 5. c. 9. [g] 2 Chron. 14.

Egyptians

Egyptians employ'd ſo many of thoſe ſmall ſhips, as their ſails were ſaid to give a ſhadow over the Red ſea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Iſaiah*) affirmeth, that the word [*Sabal*] doth ſignify both to ſhadow and to gingle, which is, to make a kind of cymbaline ſound: ſo as the meaning of this place, ſaith *Pintus*, is this: *Wo to thee, O Egypt, which doſt promiſe to others ſafeguard, under the ſhadow of thy wings*, which indeed ſeemeth to agree with the argument of the 18th chapter of *Iſaiah*: and this phraſe is often elſewhere uſed, as in the 16th *Pſalm*, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*; Defend me under the ſhadow of thy wings. The boats of reed ſpoken of are of two kinds; either of baſket-willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Britain*) or a tree made hollow in the bottom, and built upon both ſides with canes. Of the one ſort I have ſeen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

SECT. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

† I.

That Mizraim *the chief planter of* Egypt, *and the reſt of the ſons of* Ham, *were ſeated in order, one by another.*

THE ſecond ſon of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, who (according to the place of a ſecond brother) was ſent ſomewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chuſh* firſt poſſeſs'd *Chaldea* on the weſt-ſide of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increaſed in people, ſo he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red ſea, and to the ſouth-eaſt ſide of *Judea*. *Mizraim*'s brother (with *Phut*) paſs'd over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thruſt farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the ſea-coaſt, and held the ſide of *Paleſtina*: and theſe four brothers poſſeſs'd all that tract of land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldea*, as far to the weſt as the *Mediterranean* ſea: comprehending all *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilea*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*; with the two *Egypts*; whereof the nether is bounded by *Memphis* on the ſouth, and by the *Mediterranean* ſea on the north: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) ſtretcheth it ſelf towards the ſouth as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Ethiopians* or *Blackmores*. All the reſt of the coaſt of *Africa* weſtward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other nation or family that dwelt between them. And in the ſame manner did all their ſons again, and all the ſons of the reſt of *Noah*'s children, ſort themſelves.

† II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt *began to be known: and of the* Egyptians *lunary years, which made their antiquities ſeem more fabulous.*

THIS flouriſhing kingdom poſſeſs'd by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, at ſuch time as *Ægyptus* (otherwiſe *Rameſſes*, as ſome think) the ſon of *Belus* chaced thence his elder brother *Danaus*, ſhifting him into that part of *Greece*, now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai* abandoning their proper names: which happened 877 years after the flood, in the time of *Joſhua*, as St. *Auguſtine* conjectureth out of *Euſebius*. But in *Homer*'s *Odyſſes* it appeareth, that the *Egyptians* were ſo called at the time of the *Trojan* war. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Oſiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Joſephus* citeth in his firſt book againſt *Appion*) numbreth all the kings of *Egypt* after *Moſes*'s departure, who conſumed 393 years. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name 330 years after *Joſhua*, and about 1000 years after the flood. But where *Joſephus* in the ſame book taketh *Iſrael* to be thoſe *Hycſos*, which he alſo calleth *paſtores* or ſhepherds, which are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt* 511 years, whom alſo he calleth his anceſtors (meaning the anceſtors of the *Jews*;) in this I am ſure he was groſly deceived, or that he vainly boaſted; for the *Iſraelites* had no ſuch dominion as *Manethon* feigneth: nor abode in *Egypt* ſo long a time by many years.

Of the *Egyptian* antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (ſaith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330 kings before *Amaſis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and ſtory of 13000 years; and that the ſtars had four times changed their courſe, and the ſun twice ſet in the eaſt. Theſe riddles are alſo rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the moon, whereof *Ovid*:

> [a] *Ante Jovem genitum terras habuiſſe feruntur*
> *Arcades: & luna gens prior illa fuit.*
>
> The *Arcadians* the earth inhabited
> Ere yet the moon did ſhine, or *Jove* was bred.

But for thoſe 13000 years it may well be true: ſeeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their years by months, which makes after that account not above 1000 or 1100 years, whether we take their months or lunary years to have been of the firſt kind of 27 days and 8 hours; or otherwiſe 29 days and 12 hours; or after any other of thoſe 5 diverſities of their lunary years.

† III.

Of certain vain aſſertions of the antiquity of the Egyptians.

GErardus *Mercator*, in his chronology, reaſoneth for the *Egyptians* antiquity in this manner; that the 16th *Dynaſty* (where *Euſebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the general flood: and that therefore the firſt of the other fifteen reached the creation, or ſoon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this anſwer: that therein *Mercator* was firſt deceived, becauſe he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the 16th *Dynaſty* was at once with the general flood: which *Euſebius* maketh 292 years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the ſhepherds *Dynaſtia* (being in number the 17th) in the time of their firſt king, *Saltis*, to have been in the year of the world 1846, which *Euſebius* findeth in the world's age 2140. For the 16th *Dynaſtia* was begun but in the 292d year after the flood, as they account, and continued 190 years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynaſtia* to endure 115 years, *Euſebius* reckoneth many of them at leſs than 100 years: for the 28th had but 6 years; the 29th but 20, and the 30th but 18 years.

Now *Annius*, in his ſupplement of *Manethon*, affirmeth, that all theſe 15 *Dynaſties* laſted but 162 years: and that the firſt of the 15 began but in

[a] De Faſt. l. 1.

the 131ſt year after the flood: ſo as where *Mercator* makes all the 15 to precede the flood, and the 16th to have been then in being at the time of the flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falſhood cannot be hidden, tho' diſguiſed. For *Annius* had forgotten his former opinion and aſſertion, that it was in the 131ſt year that *Nimrod* with the ſons of *Noah* came into the valley of *Shinaar:* ſo he forgets the time which was conſumed in the building of *Babel:* and that before the confuſion of ſpeech there was no diſperſion, nor far-off plantation at all. And tho' he haſtily convey'd *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into *Spain*, in the 10th year of *Nimrod*'s reign (which was 10 years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadviſed. For he makes *Egypt* poſſeſs'd, and a government eſtabliſhed in the very firſt year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition far off or near in queſtion: for *from thence* (that is, from *Babel*) *did the Lord ſcatter them upon all the earth.*

† IV.

Againſt Pererius: *that it is not unlikely, but that* Egypt *was peopled within* 200 *years after the creation; at leaſt, that both it, and the moſt part of the world, were peopled before the flood.*

BUT whereas *Pererius* ſeeketh to overthrow this antiquity of the *Egyptians*, touching their *Dynaſties* (which *Euſebius* doth not altogether deſtroy, but leſſen) I do not find any great ſtrength in this opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impoſſible that *Egypt* ſhould be peopled within 100 or 200 years after *Adam*, in the firſt age. And whereas he ſuppoſeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general flood, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the world was then peopled: *Pererius*'s words are theſe: *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos Adami proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Ægyptum uſque habitandum & complendum propagata ſit, &c.* For how could the children of *Adam* be ſo multiplied in the firſt two hundred, or in the firſt hundred years of the world, and ſo propagated as to inhabit and fill *Egypt?* for allowing this, ſaith *Pererius*, we muſt alſo confeſs, that there were then both the *Aſſyrians*, and other nations.

Now ſeeing the ſcriptures are ſilent herein, and that it is no point of our ſaving belief, it is lawful for every man to be guided in this and the like queſtions by the beſt reaſon, circumſtance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the reſt, I proteſt that I do not gainſay any man's opinion out of any croſſing or cavilling humour: for I think it the part of every Chriſtian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is poſſibility of union, than out of froward ſubtilty, and prejudicate reſolvedneſs, to maintain factions needleſs, and dangerous contentions.

Firſt therefore to this opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted ſo ſoon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the flood, I ſay there is no reaſon why we ſhould give a leſs increaſe to the ſons of *Adam*, than to the ſons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded thoſe which came after the flood double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof of their ſtrength and ability, to beget many children: and at that time they obſerved no degrees of kindred, nor conſanguinity. And that there was a ſpeedy increaſe of people, and in great numbers, it may in ſome ſort appear by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearful that the death of *Abel* would have been revenged on him) withdrew himſelf from the reſt, which were afterwards begotten, and dwelt in the land of *Nod*, and there by the help of his own iſſues, built a city (called *Enoch*) after the name of his firſt-born. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinaar* with ſo many multitudes, as ſufficed to build the city and tower of *Babel:* and that to this increaſe there was given but 130 years by *Beroſus*, and after the account of the ſcriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly underſtood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phaleg*) but 101 years: I ſee no cauſe to doubt, but that in the infancy of the firſt age, when the bodies of men were moſt perfect, even within 130 years (the ſame, if not a greater) number might be increaſed: and ſo within 70 years after (that is, by ſuch time as the world had ſtood 200 years) as well *Aſſyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, might be poſſeſs'd before the flood, as they were within the ſame or leſs time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumſtance, or true ſtory of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* empire, that all thoſe people, which were increaſed in the firſt 100 or 130 years after the flood, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For that ever *Noah* himſelf came out of the eaſt, as there is no ſcripture or authority to prove it, ſo all probable conjecture and reaſon it ſelf denies it. Again, thoſe multitudes and powerful numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the 3d from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, conſidered with her own army of three millions (and ſhe left not all her kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the world had ſuch plenty of people in ſo few years after the flood, it might alſo be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own account *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* but 292 years after the flood of *Noah*. And theſe troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all thoſe eaſtern kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterranean* ſea; when there had now paſs'd from the flood to the time of this her invaſion, ſomewhat leſs or more than 360 years: for much more time the true chronology cannot allow; tho' I confeſs, that in reſpect of the ſtrange greatneſs of *Semiramis*'s army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as ſhort a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is ſaid, that her army conſiſted of 1300000 footmen, and 500000 horſemen, it muſt needs be, that long before *Semiramis*'s reign, the greateſt part of *Aſia* (whence her huge army was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it ſelf (much part whereof is barren) muſt long before this time of *Semiramis* have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himſelf maſter of all nations, entered notwithſtanding in league with the king thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or ſought his aſſiſtance. And if *Arabia* were then ſo well repleniſhed, I ſee no cauſe but *Egypt* might alſo be peopled. Now if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (epitomiz'd by *Juſtin*, *lib.* 1.) *Egypt* was a moſt flouriſhing and magnificent nation before *Ninus* was born. For theſe be his own words, ſpeaking of *Ninus: Fuêre quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris rex Ægypti, &c.* But there were in times more ancient *Vexoris* king of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* king of the *Scythians*: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the world was, the conqueſts of *Ninus* witneſs, who ſubdued with no ſmall force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Aſia* on this ſide *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Cteſias* numbreth the armies, wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaſter*, at 1700000 footmen, and 200000 horſemen: and the ſtories generally ſhew, that though *Zoroaſter*'s army was far ſhort of this, yet it was greater

greater than any that thoſe parts of the world ever ſince beheld. But to what end ſhould I ſeek for foreign authority? for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was poſſeſs'd by *Mizraim*, the ſon of *Ham*; and that it was an eſtabliſhed kingdom, filled with many cities in *Abraham*'s time, the ſcriptures tell us. And ſure to prepare and cultivate a deſolate and overgrown ground, to beautify it with many cities, laws, and policies, cannot be eſteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it muſt be inhabited in a leſs time than 200 years after the flood; and in the ſame time, if not in a ſhorter, before the flood. For if ſo many millions of men were found within 300 years after the general flood; ſo as not only *Babylon*, and *Aſſyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Paleſtina*, yea, the far-off *Libya* on the one ſide, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia*, inferior to neither, were all filled: into what ſmall corners could then all thoſe nations be compreſs'd, which 1656 years brought forth before the flood? Even neceſſity, which cannot be reſiſted, caſt the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known world; eſpecially, where death forbare the father, and made no place for the ſon, till he had beheld living nations of his own body.

† V.

Of ſome other reaſons againſt the opinion of Pererius.

FOR what a ſtrange increaſe did the long lives of the firſt age make, when they continued 800 or 900 years. Surely, we have reaſon to doubt that the world could not contain them, rather than that they were not ſpread over the world. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in this age of the world: wherein if one exceed 50 years, ten for one are cut off in that paſſage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude ſuch, as if by wars or peſtilence they were not ſometimes taken off by many thouſands, the earth with all the induſtry of man could not give them food. What ſtrange heaps then of ſouls had the firſt ages, who enjoyed 800 or 900 years as aforeſaid! Theſe numbers, I ſay, cannot be counted or conceived. For it would come to the ſame reckoning in effect, as if all thoſe which have been born in *Britain* ſince three or four hundred years before the *Norman* conqueſt (ſaving ſuch as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to theſe there were added as many as by *polygamy* might have been increaſed. For (to omit that the giants and mighty ones of the firſt age obſerved no law of matrimony) it is to be thought, that thoſe lovers of the world and of pleaſure, when they knew the long and liberal time which nature had given them, would not willingly or haſtily preſent themſelves to any danger which they could fly from or eſchew. For what human argument hath better perſuaſion to make men careleſs of life, and fearleſs of death, than the little time which keeps them aſunder, and that ſhort time alſo accompanied with ſo many pains and diſeaſes, which this envious old age of the world mingleth together, and ſoweth with the ſeeds of mankind.

Now if that *Beroſus* or *Annius* may be alledged for ſufficient authors, whom *Pererius* himſelf in this queſtion citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Joſephus* confirmed, that the city of *Enoch* was ſeated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cain*'s time, I ſee no cauſe why *Paleſtina* (which is alſo a province of *Syria*) and *Egypt*, which neighboureth it, could be left deſolate both all the life-time of *Cain*, and all thoſe times between his death and the flood, which were by eſtimation 700 or 800 years. And ſure, tho' this fragment of *Beroſus*, with *Annius*'s comment, be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to be rejected. Therefore St. *Jerome* for ſuch authors gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria*; Let us chuſe what is good in them, and reject the reſt. And certainly in the very beginning of the firſt book, *Beroſus* agreeth, in effect, with *Moſes*, touching the general flood: and in that firſt part *Beroſus* affirmeth, that thoſe mighty men and giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all nations, and ſubjected the univerſal world: and tho' that phraſe [*of all the world*] be often uſed in the ſcriptures for a part thereof; as in the ſecond of the *Acts*: *That there were dwelling at Jeruſalem Jews, men that feared God of every nation under heaven*: yet by words which follow in *Beroſus*, it is plain that his words and ſenſe were the ſame: for he addeth from the ſun's riſing to the ſun's ſetting, which cannot be taken for any ſmall part thereof. Again, we may ſafely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the world among his ſons at adventure, or left them as diſcoverers, but directed them to thoſe regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the earth was more paſſable and eaſy to travel over before the flood, than after it. For *Pererius* himſelf confeſſeth, that *Attica* (by reaſon of mud and ſlime which the water left upon the earth) was uninhabited 200 years after *Ogyges*'s flood, whereby we may gather that there was no great pleaſure in paſſing into far countries after the general deluge, when the earth lay, as it were, incopſed for 100 or 130 years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautiful, and leſs cumberſome to walk over in the firſt age, than after the general overflowing.

† VI.

Of the words of Moſes, *Gen.* x. *verſe the laſt, whereupon* Pererius *grounded his opinion.*

LASTLY, whereas *Pererius* draws this argument out of the laſt verſe of the tenth of *Geneſis*, *And out of theſe were the nations divided after the flood*: *Quo ſignificatur talem diviſionem non fuiſſe ante diluvium*; By which it appeareth, ſaith *Pererius*, that there was no ſuch diviſion before the flood: which he alſo ſeeketh to confirm out of the 11th of *Geneſis*, becauſe the diviſion of tongues was cauſe of the diſperſion of the people. This conſequence, *Quo ſignificatur*, &c. ſeemeth to me very weak; the text itſelf rather teacheth the contrary: *For out of theſe*, ſaith *Moſes*, *were the nations divided in the earth after the flood*; inferring, that before the flood the nations were divided out of others, tho' after the flood out of theſe only. But whatſoever ſenſe may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the flood, or to any plantation or diviſion in that age: for if there were none elſe among whom the earth could be divided after the flood, but *Noah*'s ſons, wherein doth that neceſſary diviſion controul the planting of the world before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confuſion of ſpeech was the cauſe of this diſperſion, it is true, that it was ſo for that preſent; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confuſion of languages at all, yet increaſe of people and time would have enforc'd a farther-off and general plantation: as *Beroſus* (*lib.* 3.) ſays well, that when mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas novas ſedes neceſſitas compellebat*; They were driven by neceſſity to ſeek new habitations. For we find, as it is before ſaid, that within 300 years after the flood, there were gathered together

gether into two armies, ſuch multitudes as the valley about *Babylon* could not have ſuſtained thoſe numbers with their increaſe for any long time: all *Aſia* the greater and the leſſer; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Paleſtina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the iſlands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Libya* being alſo at that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Beroſus*, then not only thoſe parts of the world, but (within 140 years after the flood) *Spain*, *Italy* and *France* were alſo planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656 years before the flood, in the time of the chief ſtrength of mankind, they were repleniſh'd with people. And certainly ſeeing all the world was overflown, there were people in all the world which offended.

† VII.

A concluſion reſolving of that which is moſt likely, touching the Egyptian *antiquities: with ſomewhat of* Phut (*another ſon of* Ham) *which peopled* Libya.

THerefore for the antiquity of the *Egyptians*, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the Vulgar, which give too much credit to the *Egyptian* antiquities: ſo I do not think the report of their antiquities ſo fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that *Egypt* being peopled before the flood, and two or three hundred years more or leſs after *Adam*, there might remain unto the ſons of *Mizraim* ſome monuments (in pillars or altars of ſtone or metal) of their former kings or governors: which the *Egyptians* having added to the liſt and roll of their kings after the flood, in ſucceeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by ſome corruption in their prieſts) ſomething beyond the truth might be inſerted. And that the memory of antiquity was in ſuch ſort preſerved, *Beroſus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldeans*, and ſo doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the uſe of letters and the art of *aſtronomy* was known to the *Babylonians* 3634 years before *Alexander*'s conqueſt: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034 years before the flood, and wrote of the world's deſtruction, both by water and fire; as alſo of *Chriſt*'s coming in judgment; as St. *Jude* hath witneſſed. But leaving theſe antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reaſon, I will conclude this plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Ægyptus* the ſon of *Belus*, as aforeſaid. Being divided into two regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterranean* ſea, was called the inferiour *Egypt*; ſurnamed alſo *Delta*; becauſe the ſeveral branches of *Nilus* breaking aſunder from one body of the river, gave it the form of the *Greek* letter *Delta*, which is the form of a *triangle*. That branch, which ran toward the north-eaſt and embraced the ſea, next unto the deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the city of *Peluſium*, where *Senacherib* was repulſed: the other branch, which yielded it ſelf to the ſalt-water towards the north-eaſt, is beautified by that famous city of *Alexandria*: the upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Ethiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient city of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100 gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*, and by the *Greeks* *Dioſpolis*; in the ſcriptures *No-hamon*, which ſignifieth multitudes of inhabitants, exceeding belief. [a] *Joſephus* calls *Egypt Merſin* of *Mizraim*: and [b] *Herodotus* affirms, that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Phut the third ſon of *Ham* took the next portion of land to his brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Libya*, whoſe people were anciently called *Phutei*, ſaith [c] *Joſephus*, and *Pliny* mentioneth the river *Fut* in *Mauritania*: which river from the mountain *Atlas*, known to the inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*, he maketh to be diſtant the ſpace of 200 miles. It alſo appeareth in the 30th chapter of *Ezekiel*, that *Phut*, *Chuſh* and *Lud* were *comermini* and aſſociates with the *Egyptians*.

SECT. XII.

Of the eleven ſons of Canaan, *the fourth ſon of* Ham.

† I.

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan; *with the names of his eleven ſons.*

CANAAN, the fourth ſon of *Ham*, poſſeſs'd all that region called by the *Romans Paleſtina*; in the ſcriptures *Galilea*, *Samaria* and *Judea*; in the latter times known by the name of the *Holy Land* and *Jury*; the limits whereof are preciſely ſet down by *Moſes*, *Geneſis* 10. *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goeſt to Gerar until Azzah, and as thou goeſt unto Sodom and Gomorrha, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Laſha.* Now howſoever theſe words of the *Hebrew* text [*as thou goeſt*] be converted, *Moſes*'s meaning was, that *Gerar* was the ſouth bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the north; *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* the eaſt, and the other cities named, ſtood on the frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* ſtandeth in a right line from *Gaza*, in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermoſt territory of *Canaan* ſouthward: and this was properly the land of *Canaan*.

Now the ſons of *Canaan* which poſſeſs'd this country, and inhabited ſome part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven:

1. *Zidon.*
2. *Heth* or *Chethus.*
3. *Jebuſi* or *Jebuſeus.*
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus.*
5. *Girgeſhi* or *Girgeſeus.*
6. *Hevi* or *Chiveus.*
7. *Arki* or *Harkeus.*
8. *Sini* or *Sinæus.*
9. *Arvadi* or *Arvadæus.*
10. *Zamari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemarius.*
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamathæus*, or *Chamathæus.*

Of which the moſt renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergeſites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebuſites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were deſcended of *Zamari* or *Samareus*, or from ſome of his.

† II.

Of the portions of Zidon *and* Heth.

ZIDON the firſt-born of *Canaan*, built the famous city of *Zidon* in *Phenicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the tribe of *Aſſer*: for *Aſſer*, *Zabulon* and *Naphtali* had a great part of the ancient *Phenicia* diſtributed among them; but the *Aſſerites* could never obtain *Zidon* itſelf.

The ſecond ſon of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of thoſe ſeven principal nations (commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out: namely,

[a] Joſeph. l. 1. Ant. c. 7. [b] Herodot. Euterpe. [c] Lib. 5. c. 1.

the

the *Gergeſites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites* and *Hevites*, and the *Jebuſites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Berſabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the torrent *Beſor*, and about [a]*Gerar*, which *Moſes* maketh the uttermoſt limit of *Canaan*, having the deſart of *Pharan* to the ſouth: for about *Berſabe* (otherwiſe *Puteus juramenti*) four miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his poſterity, as far to the north-eaſt as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did [b]*Abraham* buy the field of *Sarah*'s burial. Of which nation *Rebecca* bewailed herſelf to *Iſaac*, ſaying, [c]*That ſhe was weary of her life for the daughters of Heth.* The giants *Anakim* were of theſe *Hittites*, a ſtrong and fierce nation, whoſe entertainments by the kings of *Iſrael* againſt them, the *Syrians* greatly fear'd: as in the ſecond of the *Kings*; [d]*Iſrael hath hired againſt us the kings of the Hittites.*

† III.

Of the Jebuſites *and* Amorites.

JEBUSEUS the third ſon of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebuſites*, and whoſe principal ſeat was *Jebus*, afterwards *Jeruſalem*, were alſo a valiant and ſtubborn nation, and held their city and the country near it, till ſuch time as *David* by God's aſſiſtance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebuſites* extinguiſhed, but were tributaries to *Solomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth ſon of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that land to the eaſt of *Jordan* below the ſea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the mountains of *Galaad* on the eaſt, and *Jordan* on the weſt; of whom *Og*, king of *Baſan*, and *Sihon*, overthrown by *Moſes*, were princes.

The *Amorites* had alſo many other habitations diſperſed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus* in the edge of *Cœleſyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had alſo their being in the mountains of [e]*Juda*, and in *Idumæa* near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came, that all the *Canaanites* were ſometimes called *Amorites*: as in *Geneſis* xv. *For the wickedneſs of the Amorites is not yet full.* And that this was alſo a powerful nation, we find in the prophet *Amos*; [f] *Yet deſtroyed I the Amorite before them, whoſe height was like the height of a cedar, and he was ſtrong as the oaks.*

† IV.

Of the Gergeſites, Hevites *and* Harkites.

THE fifth ſon of *Canaan* was *Gergeſeus* or *Gergeſion*, otherwiſe *Girgaſi*, who inhabited on the eaſt-ſide of the lake of *Tiberias*, or the ſea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* ſets the city *Geraſa*, which *Joſephus* calls *Geſera* in the territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that Chriſt diſpoſſeſs'd the poſſeſs'd with devils; and the *Gergeſites* deſired him to depart their coaſts; becauſe their ſwine filled with the evil ſpirits drowned themſelves in the ſea of *Galilee*. *Gergeſeus* alſo built *Berytus*, ſometime *Geris*, afterwards *Fœlix Julia*, three miles from the river *Adonis* in *Phenicia*, in which the *Romans* held a garriſon, and to which *Auguſtus* gave many large privileges.

Heveus the ſixth ſon, and father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. Theſe *Hevites*, howſoever the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the ſecond is remembred) yet many of them remained all the war of *Joſhua*, and afterwards to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleaſed utterly to root out theſe nations, but they were ſometimes made tributaries to the *Iſraelites*, and at other times ſerved, in their falling away from the true worſhip of God) to afflict them: for as it is written *Judges* iii. *They remained to prove Iſrael by them, whether they would obey the commandments of God.*

The ſeventh ſon was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterranean* ſea, over-againſt *Tripolis*, built the city of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

† V.

Of Sini *and* Arvadi.

SINEUS the eighth ſon, *Hieroſolymitanus* ſets at *Caparorſa*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judea*, not far from *Jebus*; to the ſouth thereof, ſaith *Junius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which St. *Jerome* calls *Sim*; *Ptolemy*, *Simyra*; *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Simirus*; *Brochard*, *Sycon* (called *Synochis*) near *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the deſarts of *Sinai*, or thereabouts; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all theſe places, affirming that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is alſo another nation of *Sini*, written with the letter *C*, otherwiſe *Kenæi*, who deſcended of *Hobab* the ſon of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who aſſiſted the *Iſraelites*, in their conduction thro' the wilderneſs of *Pharan*. But theſe *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Iſraelites*, and had a portion of land with the [g]*Naphtalims*, beſides their habitations with the *Amalekites*: againſt theſe *Cinæi* *Balaam* propheſied, that they ſhould be deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrians*.

The ninth ſon was *Aradeus* or *Arvadeus*, who in the iſle of [h]*Aradus* built the city *Arados*: oppoſite againſt which iſland, on the main of *Phenicia*, they founded another city of that name, which for oppoſition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this city came St. *Peter*, ſaith *Clement*, and in this iſle preached the goſpel; and founded a church in honour of our lady: but we find no ſuch work of his in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*. Both theſe two were very famous, and places of ſkilful ſeamen, whom *Ezekiel* remembreth in his prophecies againſt the *Tyrians*. [i] *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners.*

† VI.

Of Zemari.

OF *Samareus* or *Zemari*, the tenth ſon, there are divers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœleſyria* at *Edeſſa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Joſhua* is placed in the tribe of *Benjamin*. There is alſo *Samaraiim* (of the ſame orthography) upon the mountains of *Ephraim*, ſaith [k]*Beroaldus*, mentioned in the ſecond of *Chronicles* xiii. 4. which the *Latin* converteth amiſs, ſaith he, by *Semeron*. The *Hieroſolymitan* paraphraſt makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emiſſani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemiſeni*, in *Cœleſyria*; and it may be that it was their firſt habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited thoſe other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the *Hebrew* orthography, and this place in the firſt of *Kings* (ſpeaking of *Omri*) diſproveth. [l] *And he bought the mountain Samaria, or Shemeron, of one Shemer, for two talents of ſilver, and built in the mountain: and called the name of the city which he built, after the*

[a] Gen. 10. 19. [b] Gen. 23. [c] Gen. 27 46. [d] 2 Kings 7. 6. [e] Deut. 1. Num. 13. [f] Amos 2. [g] Judg. 4. Joſhua 19. 32. [h] Gul. Tyr. Vitr. [i] Ezek. 27. 8. [k] Beroald. in Chron. l. 4. [l] 1 Kings 16. 24.

name of Shemir, lord of the mountain Samaria. But of all theſe places I ſhall ſpeak more at large in the conqueſt of the *Holy Land* by the children of *Iſrael*. Of whomſoever the *Samaritans* were deſcended, ſure I am, that they were ever a perfidious nation, and baſe: for as long as the ſtate of the *Jews* ſtood up, they always called themſelves *Jews*; when it ſuffered or ſunk, they then utterly denied to be of that nation or family; for at ſuch time as they were returned from their firſt captivity, they became a mix'd nation; partly of the colonies of the *Aſſyrians*, and partly of the naturals.

† VII.

Of Hamathi.

THE laſt of *Canaan*'s ſons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi* of *Hamath*, ſaith *Beroaldus*, of which (the aſpiration taken away) the ſame is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was preſent. *Joſephus* and St. *Jerome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* which ſtandeth on the river *Orontes* on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the mountain *Caſſius* and the province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which St. *Peter* was biſhop, and in which St. *Luke* and *Ignatius* were born: but *Antioch* ſurnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* ſuppoſeth, which ſtandeth between *Apamea* and *Emeſa* in *Caſſiotis*. Yet indeed *Emath* cannot be taken for either; for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emeſa*, are farther off ſeated from *Canaan*, than ever any of thoſe nations ſtragled. And whereas St. *Jerome* ſetteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the tribe of *Naphtali*; it is manifeſt that *Epiphania*, which ſtandeth to the north of *Emeſa*, hath all the province of *Laodicea* between it and any part of the land divided. And if *Libanon* it ſelf were not ſhared among the tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the provinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica* are between *Epiphania* and any part of the *Holy Land*, and therefore *Emath* ſo taken could not be a part of *Naphtali*, as in the 13th of *Joſhua* is directly proved. For *Joſhua* counting the lands that remained unpoſſeſs'd, reckoneth all mount *Libanon* towards the ſun-riſing, from *Baal-gad* under mount *Hermon*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reaſon, among others, is uſed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Iſrael*: becauſe *David* accepted the preſents of *Tohu* [a] king of *Emath*, and therewithal conditions of peace; which he would not have done, if that territory had ever belonged to the children of *Iſrael*, but would have recovered it without compoſition, and by ſtrong hand, as he did the reſt. But this argument, as I take it, hath no great weight: for if the promiſe which God made be conſidered, as it is written in [b] *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, tho' ſeated altogether without the bounds of the land promiſed, according to the deſcription of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*; for *Emath* is indeed ſituate on the other ſide of the mountain of *Hermon*, which joineth to *Libanus*, and is otherwiſe called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joſhua* xix. 35. and written in the *Latin* converſion *Emath*; therein, ſaith *Beroaldus*, was St. *Jerome* miſtaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the mountains, and the city in *Nephtalim* ſhould be written *Hamath*; and ſo the *Septuagint*, underſtanding the difference, write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the ſame which indeed belonged to the *Nephtalims*, ſeated on the ſouth-ſide of *Libanus* to the eaſt of *Aſſedim*: which St. *Jerome* writes *Emath*, *Joſephus* *Hamath*, others *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathein*; of which, as I take it, *Rabſakeh* vaunteth in the ſecond of *Kings*; [c] *Where is the God of Hamath?*

SECT. XIII.

Of the ſons of Chuſh, *excepting* Nimrod, *of whom hereafter.*

The ſons of *Chuſh* were { *Seba*, *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod*. } And the ſons of *Raama* were { *Sheba* and *Dedan*. }

† I.

That moſt of the ſons of Chuſh *were ſeated in* Arabia *the happy: and of the* Sabeans *that robbed* Job: *and of the queen that came to* Solomon.

SEBA or *Saba* was the eldeſt ſon of *Chuſh*, the eldeſt ſon of *Ham*, to make a difference between him and his nephew *Sheba*, the ſon of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragma*, after *Montanus*) his name is written with a ſingle [*S*] *Samech*, and *Sheba* the ſon of *Regma* with an [*S*] aſpirate, which is the *Hebrew Schin*. *Seba* the eldeſt ſon of *Chuſh*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the ſon of *Regma*, poſſeſs'd both the ſhores of *Arabia Fœlix*. *Saba* took that part toward the *Red* ſea, as neareſt his father *Chuſh*, and the land of the *Chuſites*: *Regma* and *Sheba*, the eaſt coaſt of the ſame *Arabia*, which looketh into the gulf of *Perſia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabæi Arabum populi propter thura clariſſimi ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus habitant*; The *Sabeans*, people of *Arabia*, famous for their frankincenſe, extending their nations, dwell along both the ſeas, to wit, the *Perſian* and the *Arabian* or *Red* ſea. This country was afterwards called *Arabia a populi mixtione*, ſaith *Poſtellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolemy*, who ſetteth the city of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red* ſea, and the city *Rhegama* towards the *Perſian*, with whom alſo we may leave *Sabta*: for ſo much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, becauſe he remembreth a nation (called *Stabæi*) near the *Perſian* ſea; and *Maſſabathe* which deſcended of them. But *Montanus* hath ſent *Regma*, or (as he calls him *Rhama*) into *Carmania*, for which I ſee no reaſon. *Joſephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath baniſhed *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it ſtrange, that the *Sabæi*, which ſtole away *Job*'s cattle, ſhould run thro' all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and find out *Job* in *Traconitis* between *Paleſtina* and *Cœleſyria* 1200 miles off. Now as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, ſo do I think, that neither the *Sabæi* on the *Red* ſea, nor thoſe toward the *Perſian* ſea, could by any means execute the ſtealth upon *Job*, whichſoever *Beroaldus* ſhall take for neareſt. But theſe were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia* the deſart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his own experience, that the city *Saba* is ſeated: the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Save*, now *Semiſcaſac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the deſart, came thoſe *magi* or *wiſemen* which worſhipped Chriſt, ſaith *Melchior*, whoſe words are theſe: *The* magi *came neither out of* Meſopotamia (*as* Chryſoſtome, Jerome, *and* Ambroſe *ſuppoſed*) *nor out of* Arabia *the happy, as many wiſe men do believe, but out of* Saba *in* Arabia *the deſart: which city when my ſelf was there, was (as I*

[a] 2 Sam. 8. 9. [b] Deut. 11. 24. [c] 2 Kings 18. 34.

judged

judged it) *called* Semiſcaſac. And to approve this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that the *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other nations (as well thoſe on the *Perſian* ſea, as thoſe on the *Red* ſea) are ſo disjoined with large deſarts, as there is no poſſibility for ſtrangers to paſs them, eſpecially with any numbers of cattle, both in reſpect of the mountains, of the ſands, and of the extream want of water in thoſe parts: *Ubi nec homines nec beſtiæ videntur, nec aves, imo nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, ſed non niſi montes ſaxoſi, altiſſimi, aſperrimi*; Where there are found neither men nor beaſt, no not ſo much as birds, or trees, nor any paſture, or graſs, but only ſharp, and high, ſtony, and craggy mountains. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceive that the queen of *Saba* which came to viſit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi* on the eaſt ſide of *Arabia Fœlix*; but the contrary ſeemeth more probable, that ſhe was queen of *Saba* towards the *Red* ſea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, betwixt *Idumæa* and the *Red* ſea, as far down as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this queen of *Saba*, which inhabited the weſt part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might without any far travel enter his territories, free from all danger of ſurprize by any other prince or nation.

But to avoid tediouſneſs, it is manifeſt that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, with his ſons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the poſſeſſors of *Arabia* the happy and the deſart: only *Havila* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the eaſt ſide of *Chuſh*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the city of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the ſame *Arabia*: of which both [a] *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; who withal nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were ſometimes found ſixty temples. *Ezekiel* joineth the father and the ſon together, [b] *The merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy merchants.* And that they were the eaſtern *Arabians* their merchandize witneſſeth, formerly repeated in the chapter of *Paradiſe*. For *Joſephus*'s fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians Aſtablari*, they be not worthy any farther anſwer than hath already been given: eſpecially ſeeing theſe cities, preſerving the memory of the names of *Saba* and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolemy*'s time, tho' in ſome letters changed. As alſo in the coaſts adjoining, the names of other of the brethren of the family of *Chuſh*, with little alterations are preſerved. In *Arabia* the deſart is found the city *Sabæ* or *Save* (now *Semiſcaſac*) with the city of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the nation by *Ptolemy* himſelf called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the happy is found the city of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*, which alſo keepeth the ſound of *Rhegma*, the city of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not far from the eaſt coaſt of *Arabia*: as alſo the *Metropolis* and chief city, in the body of the ſouth part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the weſt of *Sabatha* towards the *Red* ſea the great city of *Saba*; and the nation adjoining, *Sabæi*: and to the ſouth thereof again towards the ſtraight entrance of the *Red* ſea, the region of *Sabe*. To all theſe his brothers and nephews which were ſeated on the eaſt ſide of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the paſſage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom he might paſs by boat even unto *Rhegma* the city of *Raama* or *Rhegma*, ſet near the river of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Perſian* ſea, which ſtood in *Ptolemy*'s time.

† II.

Joſephus's *opinion of* Dedan, *one of the iſſue of* Chuſh, *to have been ſeated in weſt* Ethiopia, *diſproved out of* Ezekiel *and* Jeremy.

AND whereas *Joſephus* (whom in this St. *Jerome* followeth, as not curious herein) ſent *Dedan* the ſon of *Raamah* into weſt *Ethiopia*, it is ſtrange that *Ezekiel* ſhould couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15th verſe, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in the 22d verſe, to be the merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in weſt *Ethiopia*, which is diſtant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) above 4000 miles. Beſides which the merchandiſe that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked *Black-mores*. For they of *Dedan* (ſaith *Ezekiel*) were thy merchants in precious cloths for thy chariots; and theſe weſtern *Ethiopians* never ſaw cloth, till the *Portugals* ſeeking thoſe coaſts traded with them: the merchandiſe of the country being hides, elephants teeth, ſome gold and amber, civit cats, and rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all theſe they exchanged for linen, or iron chiefly.

But in thoſe days the weſt part of *Africa* within the body of the land was known only by imagination: and, being under the burnt zone was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the negroes of weſt *Ethiopia*, which inhabit about *Serra*, *Liona*, or *Niger*, could either paſs by ſea or land to *Tyre* in the bottom of the *Mediterranean* ſea, were a ſtrange, or rather a fooliſh fancy. Now to put it out of diſpute that *Dedan* alſo dwelt by the reſt of the children of *Chuſh*, which ſeats they held by that name in the time of *Jeremy* the prophet, let us hear *Jeremy*'s own words: *Fly ye inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the deſtruction of Eſau upon him.* Hereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a neighbour to the *Idumeans*: and *Idumæa* is a province of *Arabia Petræa*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the north part of *Arabia Fœlix*, joined in that part to *Petræa*, the ſeat of his grand-father *Chuſh*; which neighbourhood and fellowſhip of *Dedan* and the *Idumeans* is alſo confirmed by *Ezekiel*; [c] *I will ſtretch out mine hand upon Edom, and deſtroy man and beaſt out of it, and I will make it deſolate from Teman: and they of Dedan ſhall fall by the ſword.*

SECT. XIV.

Of the iſſue of Mizraim: *of the place of* Jeremy, *chap.* ix. *ver.* 7.

AFTER *Chuſh* it followeth to ſpeak of *Mizraim*'s ſons, whoſe names (ſaith [d] St. *Auguſtine*) were plural, to ſignify the nations which came from them. *Ludim* the eldeſt ſon of *Mizraim* was the father of the *Libyans* in *Africa*: and the reſt of his brothers diſperſed themſelves into all regions adjoining. Among the ſons of *Shem* there is alſo *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the ſon of *Mizraim* by the ſingular number: the ſon of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the ſon of *Mizraim Ludim*: and yet theſe names and nations are often confounded, notwithſtanding the apparent difference both of names and nations. For that *Ludim* the ſon of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Libyans* in *Africa*, and that he was ſeated not far from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the prophet *Jeremy*, who joineth them in this ſort together. [e] *Come up ye horſes, and rage ye chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-mores and the Libyans which bear the ſhield*: for thoſe nations aſſiſted the *Egyptians* being of one parent deſcended.

[a] Plin. l. 12. c. 14. Ptol. Tab. 6. Aſiæ. [b] Ezek. 27. 22. [c] Ezek. 15. 15. [d] *The termination* im *in the* Hebrew, *is commonly a ſign of the plural number, as* aim *of the dual.* [e] Jer. 46. 9.

And

And in *Ezekiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. *Ethiopia* (or *Chuſh*) ſaith *Ezekiel* c. xxx. ver. 5. *And Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the land that are in league ſhall fall with them by the ſword:* which is as much to ſay, as the ſons of *Chuſh* (which were the *Chuſites*) the ſons of *Mizraim* (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Libyans* (deſcended of his ſon *Lud*) with other the inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa* ſhall fall together. *Hieroſolymitanus* finds alſo in *Africa* a nation of the *Lydians*. And I believe it: becauſe *Jeremy* joineth the *Libyans* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Libya* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrews* called *Ludim* (ſaith *Arias Montanus*) tho' 2 *Chron.* xii. 3. they ſeem to be called *Lubim* or *Lubæi*, a name ſomewhat nearer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may ſeem that the truer writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the 30th of *Ezekiel*) underſtandeth that which is ſpoken of in the 5th verſe of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Libyans* at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant againſt the people of *Lyda*, a city, ſaith he, between *Egypt* and *Paleſtina*, which opinion I could not miſlike, if the city of *Lyda* were ſo ſeated. But *Lyda* (which ſhould be written *Lydda* with a double *D*, and is the ſame city which was afterwards *Dioſpolis*, in which St. *Peter* cured *Eneas* of the palſy) ſtandeth near the torrent *Gaas*, not far from *Joppe*, the port of *Jeruſalem*. Yet it is not impoſſible but that this city might have *Lud* for the founder. For there are many cities of one name founded in all the regions of the world, and far aſunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*, ſo of divers others. St. *Jerome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the father of *Libya* who was the 3d ſon of *Mizraim:* and ſo doth *Poſtellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The reſt of *Mizraim*'s ſons have no proper countries given them in the ſcriptures, ſaving *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philiſtines*, whom the ſcriptures call *Peleſet*.

Theſe *Caſluhim* inhabited *Caſſiotis*, a region lying in the entrance of *Egypt* from *Paleſtina*, in which the lake *Sirbonis* and the mountain *Caſſius* are found: not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim ſeated near *Caſluhim* in that tract of *Egypt* called *Sethrotis*, not far from *Peluſium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Sethroitis*, of the city *Sethron:* which *Ortelius* takes to be the ſame which *Ptolemy* calls *Hercules parva*. Of the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philiſtines*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli*, which is, *Alienigenæ*, ſtrangers, or of a ſtrange kindred. Theſe *Philiſtines* inhabited the ſouth part of the holy land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Paleſtina* took name. For the *Hebrews* (ſaith *Iſidore*) do not uſe the letter [*P*] but inſtead of it [*Ph.*] Their principal cities were *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron:* and the people of them called *Gazæi*, *Aſcalonitæ*, *Azotii*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ*. *Iſidore* affirms, that *Aſcalon* was firſt called *Philiſtim:* and of that city the country adjoining. But where *Iſidore* had it I know not.

The firſt known king of the *Philiſtines* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abraham*'s wife; with whom *Abraham* made a covenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that he was alſo king of the *Philiſtines*, in theſe words: [a] *Wherefore Iſaac went to Abimelech king of the Philiſtines unto Gerar.* Now in regard that this or ſome ancienter *Abimelech* governed the commonwealth greatly to his glory, the reſt of his ſucceſſors called themſelves by the ſame name. The *Philiſtines* commanded that tract of land upon the *Mediterranean* ſea to the northward, from the caſtle of *Pilgrims* (otherwiſe *Cæſarea Paleſtinæ* or *Straton*'s tower) which was the ſouth border of *Phenicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the river of *Egypt*. The *Anakims*, or ſtrong giants, were of theſe *Philiſtines*, and *Goliah* was of *Geth*, one of the five cities above-named. They had ſometimes five kings, ſaith *Liranus*. They maſtered the *Iſraelites* at ſeveral times above 150 years, and kept them tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampſon* and *Samuel*; but in the end this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themſelves.

It is objected, that becauſe theſe cities and the countries adjoining were held by the ſons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Iſraelites* diſpoſſeſs the ſons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing thoſe places.

To this ſaith *Pererius*, that altho' the *Paleſtines* or *Philiſtines* held it in the time of *Joſhua*, yet at the time of the promiſe it was poſſeſs'd by the *Canaanites*; as in the 2d of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hevites* dwelt in the villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvel if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? for that the *Philiſtines* were of *Caphtor*, and ſo of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, beſides *Moſes*, the prophet *Jeremy* witneſſeth: [b] *The Lord will deſtroy the Philiſtines, the remnant of the iſſue of Caphtor:* and in like manner in *Amos*, the *Philiſtines* are ſaid to be the reliques of *Caphtorim*: [c] *Have not I brought up Iſrael out of the land of Egypt, and the Philiſtines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir?* ſo I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the *Vulgar* hath, *& Palæſtinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene*, this converſion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a city directly weſt from *Egypt*, between *Ptolemais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*; but *Kir* in *Aſia* under the *Aſſyrians: Junius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*; and ſo hath the *Geneva*. But *Pererius* calls *Caphtorim Cappadocia*, according to the *Vulgar* tranſlation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Paleſtina*, and not that [d] *Cappadocia* by the ſea *Pontus* in the north of *Aſia* the leſs. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Paleſtina*, it is not certainly known. And ſure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene:* taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the 2d of [e] *Kings*, that *Teglatphalaſſer* king of the *Aſſyrians* carried away the inhabitants of *Damaſcus* into *Kir:* and ſo *Joſephus* ſeems to underſtand this *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene Media ſuperior:* for it was the manner and policy of the *Aſſyrians* to tranſplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Iſraelites*, and other nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media:* becauſe the *Syrians* by the *Aſſyrians* were therein captived.

SECT. XV.

Of the iſſue of Sem.

† I.

Of Elim, Aſſur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

IT remaineth laſtly to ſpeak of the ſons of *Sem*, who were theſe:

[a] Baſil *upon the* 33*d* Pſalm. Jerome *upon the* 29*th of* Ezekiel. *Book, Chap.* vii. *Sect.* iii. † 5. [e] 2 Kings 16. 9.

[b] Jer. 47. 4. [c] Amos 9. 7. [d] *Of which ſee in the ſecond*

I. *Alam*,

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*.
2. *Aſhur*.
3. *Arphaxad*.
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

The poſterity of *Sem*, *Moſes* recounteth after the reſt: becauſe from them he proceedeth in order with the genealogy and ſtory of the *Hebrews*. For of *Sem* was *Abraham* deſcended.

Of theſe five ſons the ſcriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him and *Aram*, the reſt are barely ſpoken of by rehearſal of their names, ſaving that it may be gathered, that *Aſſur* (who was ſuppoſed to found *Nineveh*) was alſo ſaid to be the father of the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe iſſues of *Cham* inſtantly contended for the empire of the eaſt: which ſometimes the *Aſſyrians*, ſometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their princes. This is the common opinion, which alſo teacheth us, that all the eaſt parts of the world were peopled by *Aſſur*, *Elam* and *Lud* (ſaving *India*) which I believe *Noah* himſelf firſt inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah* the ſons of *Joctan* afterwards repaired. *Hi filii Sem ab Euphrate fluvio partem Aſiæ uſque ad oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; Theſe ſons of *Sem* (ſaith St. *Jerome*) held all thoſe regions from *Euphrates* to the *Indian* ocean.

Of [a] *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred, *Acts* ii. 9. and the princes of *Perſia*; which name then began to be out of uſe and loſt, when the *Perſians* became maſters of *Babylonia*: the eaſt *Monarchy* being eſtabliſhed in them. Some prophane writers diſtinguiſh *Elam* from *Perſia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Suſa* (which the ſcriptures call *Suſan*) in *Elam* was the king's ſeat of *Perſia* (witneſs *Daniel* viii. 2.) *And I ſaw* (ſaith he) *in a viſion, and when I ſaw it, I was in the palace of Suſan, which is in the province of* Elam. This city is embraced by the river *Eulæus* (according to [b] *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai*: and ſeated in the border of *Suſiana*.

Aſhur (as moſt hiſtorians believe) the 2d ſon of *Sem*, was father of the *Aſſyrians*, who diſdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Nineveh*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we ſhall in due place diſprove that opinion. Every man's hand hath been in this ſtory, and therefore I ſhall not need herein to ſpeak much: for the *Aſſyrians* ſo often invaded and ſpoiled the *Iſraelites*, deſtroy'd their cities, and led them captives, as both in divine and human letters there is large and often mention of this nation.

But howſoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this empire, and honour this nation with ample dominion; yet was not the ſtate of the *Aſſyrians* any ſuch power, after ſuch time as *Sardanapalus* loſt the empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the powerfulleſt princes among them, had yet the mountain *Taurus* for the utmoſt of his dominion towards the north eaſt, and *Syria* bounded him towards the weſt, notwithſtanding thoſe vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Iſaiah* xxxvii. 11. *Have the gods of the nations delivered them whom my fathers have deſtroyed? as Gozan, and Haran, and Reſeph, and the children of Eden which were at Telaſſar. Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivah?* all theſe indeed were but petty kings of cities, and ſmall countries; as *Haran*, in *Meſopotamia*: *Reſeph*, in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath*, or *Emath*, in *Iturea* under *Libanus*: the iſle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this ſort. Yea *Nabuchodonoſor*, who was moſt powerful, before the conqueſt of *Egypt* had but *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Paleſtina* and *Phenicia* parts thereof. But in this queſtion of *Aſſur*, I will ſpeak my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whoſe plantation I have omitted among the reſt of the *Chuſites*, becauſe he eſtabliſhed the firſt empire: from whom the moſt memorable ſtory of the world taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, ſaith S. *Jerome*, and *Joſephus*, but it muſt be thoſe *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: for the ſons of *Cham* poſſeſs'd the reſt. It is true that he was the father of the *Hebrews*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the 4th ſon of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Aſia* the leſs, is the common opinion, taken from *Joſephus* and St. *Jerome*; but I ſee not by what reaſon he was moved to ſtraggle thither from his friends.

† II.

Of Aram *and his ſons.*

Aram, the 5th and laſt ſon of *Shem*, was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which [c] *Damaſcus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (ſaith [d] *Euſebius* out of *Joſephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moſes* was born; the ſame which others call the ſon of *Apollo*. *Meſopotamia* alſo being but a province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Nabaraiim*, which is as much to ſay, as *Syria duorum fluviorum*, *Syria* compaſſed with two rivers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The ſcriptures call it *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*, and the *Greeks Meſopotamia* ſimply.

[e] *Ariſe and get thee to Padan Aram* (ſaith *Iſaac* to *Jacob*) *to the houſe of Bethuel thy mother's father, and thence take thee a wife.* *Strabo* alſo remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as theſe his own words converted witneſs. [f] *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipſi Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant*; thoſe which we call *Syrians* (ſaith he) themſelves call *Aramenians* and *Arameans*.

Againſt this opinion that *Aram* the ſon of *Sem*, was the father and denominator of the *Syrians* in general (and not only of thoſe in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Meſopotamia*) ſome read *Gen.* xxii. 21. *Kemuel*, the father of the *Syrians*: where others out of the original read *Kemuel*, the ſon of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to underſtand the word [*Aram*] here, not for the nation, but for the name of ſome one of note; the rather, becauſe in the hiſtory of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel*'s poſterity could be famous) we find *Meſopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: ſometimes with *Nabaraiim*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Aram*, which (as it ſeems) then alſo was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* xxv. 20. that *Padan Aram* ought to be reſtrained to ſome part of *Meſopotamia* (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancobaritis* (ſo called from the river *Chaboras*, which dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiſcuous uſe of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Nabaraiim* (which latter appellation queſtionleſs comprehends the whole *Meſopotamia*) may ſeem to refute this opinion: eſpecially ſeeing the ſignification of this appellation agreeth with the whole region. For it ſignifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this region: becauſe the two rivers (as it were) yoked together go along it. The reliques

[a] Joſeph Ant. l. 1. c. 7. [b] Ptol. Aſiæ. Tab. 5. [c] Iſa. 7. 8. [d] Euſeb. 10. 6. [e] Gen. 28. 2. *See* Gen. 25. 20. *alſo* Deut. 23. 4. Judg. 3. Paral. 1, 19. Pſal. 59. [f] Strab. l. 1.

of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two cities in *Ptolemy*, called *Aphadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaborus*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The ſons of *Aram* were { *Uz* or *Hus*, *Hul*, *Gether*, and *Meſch* or *Mes*.

Uz or *Hus* inhabited about *Damaſcus*, and built that city, ſay *Joſephus* and [a] St. *Jerome*. But *Toſtatus* miſtaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who alſo followeth *Joſephus*, affirmeth that *Abraham*'s ſteward *Eliezer* was the founder thereof; tho' it were likely that *Hus*, the eldeſt ſon of *Aram* dwelt near unto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a region of the ſame, adjoining to *Arabia* the deſart, and to *Batanea* or *Traconitis*: whereof the prophet *Jeremy*: [b] *Rejoyce and be glad O daughter of Edom that dwelleſt in the land of Hus*. *Hus* therefore is ſeated beyond *Jordan*, in the eaſt region of *Traconitis*, adjoining to *Baſan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the mountain *Seir* to the eaſt, *Edrai* to the ſouth, *Damaſcus* north, and *Jordan* weſt: having in it many cities and people, as may alſo be gathered out of *Jeremy*. [c] *And all ſorts of people: and all the kings of the land of Hus*. In this region dwelt *Job*, deſcended of *Hus*, the ſon of *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham* (ſaith St. *Jerome*) and married *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob*, ſaith *Philo*.

Hul the 2d ſon of *Aram*, St. *Jerome* makes the father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the 3d ſon, parent to the *Artananians* or *Carians*: which opinion (becauſe I find not where to ſet him) I do not diſprove, tho' I ſee no reaſon why *Gether* ſhould leave the fellowſhip of his own brethren, and dwell among ſtrangers in *Aſia* the leſs. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the deſart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolemy* ſetteth the city of *Challe*.

Gether (ſaith *Joſephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Joſephus* gave all *Noah*'s children feathers, to carry them far away in all haſte. For mine own opinion, I always keep the rule of neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) that *Gether* ſeated himſelf near his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the province of *Caſſiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolemy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius alſo giveth to *Mes* or *Meſch* the north part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*, near the mountain *Maſius*. The certainty of thoſe plantations can no otherwiſe be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great region took name) planted his ſons in the ſame land about him: for he wanted no ſcope of territory for himſelf and them; neither then when the world was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reaſon to caſt them into the deſart parts of the world, ſo far aſunder. And as neceſſity and policy held them together for a while: ſo ambition (which began together with angels and men) inhabiting the hearts of their children ſet them aſunder. For altho' theſe ſons of *Aram*, and the ſons of the reſt of *Noah*'s children, kept themſelves within the bounds of ſome one large kingdom; yet therein every one alſo ſought a province apart, and to themſelves; giving to the cities therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their poſterity: the uſe of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this ſort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* caſt them into ſo many provinces: every one emulating and diſdaining the greatneſs of others, as they are thereby to this day ſubject to invaſion, expulſion, and deſtruction: ſo as (*Nova Hiſpania*, and *Peru* excepted, becauſe thoſe countries are unacceſſible to ſtrangers) an eaſy force will caſt them out of all the reſt.

Mes, the 4th ſon, is made the parent of the *Mevnians*: [d] of whom ſomething hath been ſpoken already. *Arphaxad*, the 3d ſon of *Shem*, begat *Shelah* and *Heber*. *Heber* had two ſons, *Phaleg* and *Joctan*: and in *Phaleg*'s time was the earth divided.

§ III.

Of the diviſion of the earth in the time of Phaleg, *one of the ſons of* Heber, *of the iſſue of* Sem.

THE many people which at the diviſion (at *Phaleg*'s birth) were then living, and the thorough plantation of all the eaſt part of the world (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the earth were divided at either. The *Hebrews* (ſaith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their chronicles) affirm that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was born in the year after the flood 101, and lived in all 239 years, which numbers added, make 340. And therefore was it ſo many years after the flood, ere the children of *Noah* ſevered themſelves. But to this opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make how in ſo few years as 101 (the time of *Phaleg*'s birth) ſo many people could be increaſed; *Pererius* gives this anſwer, That if 70 perſons of the family of *Jacob* increaſed to 600000 fighting men in 215 years (beſides women, children, and impotent perſons) how much more is it likely, that ſo ſoon after the flood the children of *Noah* might in a ſhorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the bleſſing of God, *Increaſe and multiply, and fill the earth*? What ſtrength this anſwer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Iſrael* were 70, and had 215 years time: and the ſons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101 years time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the diviſion, in memory thereof: as [e] *Joſephus* and St. *Auguſtine*, who reaſon in this manner. If the diviſion were at *Phaleg*'s death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48th of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12 years before his birth) then was the diviſion 38 years after *Ninus*, who governed 52 years: in the 43d year of whoſe reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Ninus* began to rule the [f] *Aſſyrians* 80 years before this diviſion (as this diviſion is placed by the *Hebrews*, *Jerome* and *Chryſoſtom*) then was the earth ſo peopled in all the eaſt and northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time ſince. For *Ninus* aſſociated to himſelf *Ariæus* king of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (ſaith *Diodorus Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atque armis præſtabant*, exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, ſubdued many cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the king thereof, with his wife and ſeven children; vanquiſhed all thoſe regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, the kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the nations of *Perſia*, to the *Hyrcanian* ſea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Cteſias*) againſt *Zoroaſter*, and

[a] Hieron. in Trad. Hebraic. [b] Jer. Lam. 4. 21. [c] Jer. 25. 20. [d] *Chap.* viii. *Sect.* 7. [e] Joſeph. l. 1. Ant. Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 16. c. 11. [f] Perer. in Gen. l. 15. c. 10.

others:

others: and *Zoroaſter* on the other ſide, who made reſiſtance with 400000, prove it ſufficiently, that if the diviſion had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diviſion at that time at all. For ſome of them were ſo ill ſatisfied with their partitions, as they ſought to be maſters of all; and greater armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit, that if the diviſion had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then ſufficient numbers born to fill the earth: it was never meant that the earth could be filled every where at the very inſtant, but by time and degrees: and ſurely whatſoever men's opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the diviſion of tongues and of men muſt go near together with the ceaſing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterpriſe of *Babel* was left off inſtantly upon the confuſion of languages, where followed the execution of the diviſion; and ſo neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101 after the flood, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or 10 years after he arrived, ſaith *Beroſus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the etymology of whoſe name ſignifieth diviſion) muſt have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confuſion and partition. To this objection it may be anſwered, that the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the ſcriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Iſrael* after he had wreſtled with the angel; *Abraham* was firſt *Abram*, and *Edom Eſau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this diviſion had his firſt name upon this accident changed, it is moſt probable.

And laſtly, whereas the *Hebrews*, St. *Jerome* and *Chryſoſtom* account *Heber* for a great prophet, if that by giving his ſon the name of *Phaleg*, he foretold the diviſion which followed. To this I ſay, I do not find that *Heber* deſerved any ſuch honour, if he had thereupon ſo called his ſon: for diviſion and diſperſion followeth increaſe of people of neceſſity; and this prophecy (if any ſuch had been) might alſo have reference to the diviſion, which afterwards fell among the *Hebrews* themſelves.

But if we give a reaſonable time to the building of the tower and city of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reaſon and by demonſtrative proof) might be increas'd: and that upon the fall thereof the confuſion and diviſion followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monſtrous.

† IV.

Of the ſons of Joctan, *the other ſon of* Heber.

The ſons of *Joctan* were:

1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Aſamath*, or *Chatzar.*
4. *Jare*, or *Jaraah*, or *Jerath.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal.*
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla.*
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael.*
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba.*
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Havila*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab.*

ALL thoſe ſons of *Joctan*, according to St. *Jerome*, dwelled in the eaſt parts of the world, or *India*, even from the river *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of thoſe thirteen ſons cannot be gathered out of the ſcriptures, the words of *Moſes* being general. [a] *And their dwelling was from Meſha as thou goeſt unto Sephar a mount in the eaſt.* Of all theſe thirteen ſons, there were only three memorable, to wit, *Sheba*, *Ophir* and *Havilah*. Concerning whoſe names, to avoid confuſion, it is to be obſerved, that among the ſons of *Chuſh*, two of them had alſo the names of *Seba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had alſo a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grand-child by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the ſon of *Chuſh*, and *Sheba* the ſon of *Rhegma* his nephew, we have left in *Arabia Fœlix*: and *Havilah* the ſon of *Chuſh* upon *Tigris*. *Saba* the grand-child of *Abraham* was (as ſome have thought, the father of the *Sabeans* in *Perſia*: of which nations *Dionyſius de orbis ſitu* maketh mention. *Primum Sabæi; poſt hos ſunt Paſſagardæ, prope vero hos ſunt Taſci:* The firſt are *Sabeans*; after theſe be *Paſſagardæ*; and near theſe the *Taſci*. And whereas it is written: [b] *But unto the ſons of the concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and ſent them away from Iſaac his ſon (while he yet lived) eaſtward to the eaſt country:* hereupon it is ſuppoſed, that this *Saba* the ſon of *Abraham* wandered into *Perſia*: for *Perſia* was accounted the furthermoſt eaſt country in reſpect of *Judea*; which alſo [c] *Ovid* ſetteth under the ſun-riſing. Yet ſeeing the reſt of *Abraham*'s ſons ſeated themſelves on the borders of *Judea*, I rather chuſe to leave *Saba* the ſon of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the deſart, where *Ptolemy* ſetteth a city of that name.

But *Saba* the ſon of *Joctan*, the ſon of *Heber*, as I conceive, inhabited *India* it ſelf. For [d] *Dionyſius Afer* in his *Periegeſis*, or deſcription of the world, which he wrote in *Greek* verſe, among the regions of *India* findeth a nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilus hos inter medios habitatque Sabæus*; In the midſt of theſe dwell the *Sabæi*, and the *Taxili*, ſaith this *Dionyſius*.

† V.

Of Ophir *one of* Joctan's *ſons, and of* Peru, *and of that voyage of* Solomon.

OPHIR alſo was an inhabitant of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and, as St. *Jerome* underſtands it, in one of the iſlands plentiful with gold, which are now known by the name of *Molucca*. *Joſephus* underſtands *Ophir* to be one of thoſe great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Cherſoneſi*, or *Peninſulæ*; of which there are two very notorious, *Callecut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an iſland, as St. *Jerome* doth, but he ſets it at the head-land of *Malacca*: but *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther eaſt.

Arias Montanus out of 2 *Chronicles* iii. 6. gathers, that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the weſt ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the ſouth ſea; by others, *Mare pacificum*. The words in 2 *Chronicles* are theſe: *And he overlaid the houſe with precious ſtones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim.* *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*: [e] *And the gold of that land is good:* finding a town in *Characene* a province of *Suſiana* called *Barbatia*, ſo called, as he thinks, by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence thoſe kings ſubjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they preſented him; and which *David* preſerved for the enriching of the temple.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men before *Montanus* and *Pleſſis*, who alſo took *Ophir*

[a] Gen. 10. 30. Plin. l. 6. c. 28. [b] Gen. 25. 6. [c] Metam. l. 1. [d] Τῶν δε μέσοι ναίουσι Σαβαὶ καὶ Ταξίλοι ἄνδρες. [e] Gen. 2. 11, 12.

for

for *Peru*. And that this queſtion may be a ſubject of no farther diſpute, it is very true, that there is no region in the world of that name: ſure I am, at leaſt, that *America* hath none, no not any city, village or mountain ſo called. But when *Francis Piſarro* firſt diſcovered thoſe lands to the ſouth of *Panama*, arriving in that region which *Atabaliba* commanded, a prince of magnificence, riches and dominion inferior to none, ſome of the *Spaniards* utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſigns, as they could, the name of the country, and pointing with their hand athwart a river, or torrent, or brook that ran by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of that brook, or of water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly underſtood them, ſet it down in the diurnal of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent over to *Charles* the emperour, all that weſt part of *America* to the ſouth of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever ſince, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Jeſuite*, in his natural and moral hiſtory of the *Indies*, confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies*, called *Jucatan*, took that name of *Joctan*, who, as he ſuppoſeth, navigated from the utmoſt eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Jucatan*, is nothing elſe in the language of that country, but [*What is that?*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning, one of the ſavages anſwered *Jucatan*, which is, *What ask you?* or, *What ſay you*. The like happened touching *Paria*, a mountainous country on the ſouth ſide of *Trinidado* and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring, as all men do, the names of thoſe new regions which they diſcovered, pointed to the hills afar off, one of the people anſwered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay, as high hills or mountains. For as *Paria* begins that marvellous ledge of mountains, which from thence are continued to the *Strait of Magellan*; from eight degrees of north latitude to fifty two of ſouth; and ſo hath that country ever ſince retained the name of *Paria*.

The ſame happened among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent under Sir *Richard Greeneville* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when ſome of my people asked the name of that country, one of the ſavages anſwered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as, *You wear good cloaths*, or gay cloaths. The ſame happened to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the iſland *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that ſelf place which the ſea incompaſſed, they anſwered *Caeri*, which ſignifieth an iſland. And in this manner have many places newly diſcovered been intitled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we muſt leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabouts ſuch an iſland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now altho' there may be found gold in *Arabia* it ſelf (towards *Perſia*) in *Havilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all along that *Eaſt-Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain iſlands planted by the *Spaniards* from the *Eaſt-Indies*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Solomon*'s ſhips made from the *Red* ſea (which were three years in going and coming) it ſeems they went to the uttermoſt eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeed theſe that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that navigation in two years, and ſometimes leſs: and *Solomon*'s ſhips went not above a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But we muſt conſider, that they evermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the uſe of the compaſs was known, it was impoſſible to navigate athwart the ocean; and therefore *Solomon*'s ſhips could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needful for the *Spaniards* themſelves, had it not been for the plenty of gold in the *Eaſt-India* iſlands, far above the mines of any one place of *America*, to ſail every year from the weſt part of *America* thither, and there to have ſtrongly planted, and inhabited the richeſt of thoſe iſlands: wherein they have built a city called *Manilia*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the eaſt, to have ſped worſe: neither could he navigate from the eaſt to the weſt in thoſe days, whereas he had no coaſt to have guided him.

Toſtatus alſo gathereth a phantaſtical opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a country, whoſe mountains of gold are kept by *griffins*: which mountains *Solinus* affirmeth to be in *Scythia Aſiatica*, in theſe words. *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluant, griphes tenent univerſa, alites ferociſſimæ, Arimaſpi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas theſe countries abound in gold, and rich ſtone, the griffins defend the one and the other, a kind of fowl the fierceſt of all other; with which griffins a nation of people, called *Arimaſpi*, make war. Theſe *Arimaſpi* are ſaid to have been men with one eye only, like unto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*; of which *Cyclopes* *Herodotus* and *Ariſteus* make mention: and ſo doth *Lucan* in his third book, and [a] *Valerius Flaccus*, and [b] *Diodorus Siculus* in the ſtory of *Alexander Macedon*. But for mine own opinion, I believe none of them. And for theſe *Arimaſpi*, I take it, that this name ſignifying *one-eyed* was firſt given them by reaſon that they uſed to wear a vizard of defence, with one ſight in the middle to ſerve both eyes; and not that they had by nature any ſuch defect. But *Solinus* borroweth theſe things out of *Pliny*, who ſpeaks of ſuch a nation in the extreme north, at a place called *Giſolitron*, or the cave of the north-eaſt wind. For the reſt, as all fables were commonly grounded upon ſome true ſtories, or other things done, ſo might theſe tales of the griffins receive this moral. That if thoſe men, which fight againſt ſo many dangerous paſſages for gold, or other riches of this world, had their perfect ſenſes, and were not deprived of half their eye-ſight (at leaſt of the eye of right reaſon and underſtanding) they would content themſelves with a quiet and moderate eſtate; and not ſubject themſelves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat, and cold, and to all ſorts of miſerable diſeaſes. And tho' this fable be feigned in this place, yet if ſuch a tale were told of ſome other places of the world, where wild beaſts or ſerpents defend mountains of gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the world, eſpecially in *America*, many high and impaſſable mountains which are very rich and full of Gold, inhabited only by tygers, lions, and other ravenous and cruel beaſts: unto which if any man aſcend (except his ſtrength be very great) he ſhall be ſure to find the ſame war, which the *Arimaſpi* make againſt the griffins: not that the one or other had any ſenſe of the gold, or ſeek to defend that metal, but being diſquieted, or made afraid of themſelves or their young ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like ſort it may be ſaid that the *Alegartos*, which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodiles*, defend thoſe pearls which lie in the lakes of the inland: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearl, yet they find ſavour in the

[a] Flaccus, l. 6. [b] Diod. Sicul. l. 16.

fleſh

THE SONES OF IAVAN WICH PLANTED THRACE MACEDON EPIRVS AND THE REST OF GREECE SENT COLLONies WESTWARD INTO THE BODIE OF EVROPE

THE EVXIN SEA

RIPHATH the 3 sonn of GOMER inhabited PAPHLAGONIA

TIRAS peopled THRACE Constantinople

PONTVS and CAPADOCIA possest by ASCHENAZ

ASIA

GOMER by a second plantation peopled that Countrie after called GALATIA

CETHIM or KITTIM the 3 sonn of IAVAN peopled MACEDON by a second plantation

MAGOG from Hierupolis in SYRIA planted LYDIA

ARMENIA the les by a second remone peopled by TOGORMA

MI

IAVAN planted IONIA and then GRECE

NOR

THE SEA ÆGÆVM

EPIRVS planted by the Issues of DODANIM from RODES

THARSIS so called of IAVANS 2. sonn

IAVAN his second plantation

THE ADRIATIC SEA

MAGOG GOMER TVBAL and T GORMA were th planters of SYR Libanus & CIL

Y IONIVN SEA

RODES first planted by DODANIM who afterward sent collonies into EPIRVS

Athens

ELISA planted MOREA and the Ilands of GRECE

CYPRVS

CYPRVS possest by CETHIM who from thens peopled MACEDON

ARADEVS

CRETA

HEVEVS Libanus ZIDON HAMA THEVS AMOREVS CANAAN and his sonns of whom were allso the ZAZVMMIS and

THE MEDITERAN SEA

THE APHRICAN SEA

ALEXANDRIA

IEBVSEVS

HETHEVS

EDOM

THE GREAT SIRTIS

ÆGYPT

LVDIM The first borne of MISRAIM was the parent of the LYBYANS

The passage of PHVT

The passage of LVDIM

PHVT the father of the MORITANIANS Whose issewes peopled the regions adioyning as their numbers increased

AEGYPT first possest by CHAM and his sonn MIZRAIM by both which names the scriptures Knowe it allso plutarck in Orysde ont of the holye bookes of the ÆGIPTIANS wines seth that it had the name of CHEMIA for CHAMIA it was in aftertymes called AERIA POTAMIA & OGYGIA Stephanus and Estatius Intitled it MELANPODES Apollodorus MYARA others THEBAE as Herodotus & Aristotle the Ægypt and now by the Turkes ELCHEBITES

NILVS

AFRICA

LIBYA INTERIOR

LIBIA INTERIOR AND ÆTHIOPIA PEOPLED IN PROCES OF TYME BY LVDIM PHVT AND THEIR ISSVES

AETHIOPIA

TH

ASIA THE LESS WERE
HERN REGIONS PLANTED

THE CASPIAN SEA

TVBAL by a second plan
tion was the parent of the
BERI who afterward inha
d SPAYN

MESECH the 6 sonn of
IAPHET peopled CIRACENE
a province of ARMENIA the great

ARMENIA
MAIOR

TAVRVS

MASIVS MONS
from this mountayne of Masius
to Chalne upon Euphrates and
unto Sophar adjoyning dwelt the
sonns of IOCTAN all but OPHIR
and HAVILAH who inhabited the
east INDIA

TIGRIS

NINIVE

MESOPOTAMIA

Chalne

ACHAD

BABEL Where
NIMROD seated himselfe
and thence built ACHAD
EREC CHALNE and
then NINIVE
EREC

SVSAN

ELAM The eldest sonn of SEM pos
sest the regions of PERSIA and ther
fore Were those nations first called
ELAMITES but that euer him selfe
came into SHINAAR it is not probable
but that he planted it from the east wher
the ARKE of NOE rested after the
flood as in the description of NOAS
ARKE is expressed.

E A S T

The passage of MIZAIM into Egipt

ARABIA
DESART

CHVDVCA
first CHVSCA
CHVS seated
after y flood
whence the
peopled the three

where
him selfe
from
CHVSITES
Arabias

VR Ptolamie VR
CHOA Wher the issues of
SEM as many as came
into Shinaar first seated
Who by ARPHAXAD
Were afterward the fathers
of the HEBRVES

The passage of SABA into the happi ARABIA

THE
PERSIAN SEA

Ormus

SABA the plantation
of SABA or SEBA the
Eldest sonn of CHVS

SABATHA
the plantation of Sabta
the 3 sonn of CHVS

RHABNA

RHEGMA

ARABIA THE HAPPIE

BY COLLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA
AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS
THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED

SABE REGIA

ADEN

SOUTH

The Grosvenor Library

fleſh and blood of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

§ VI.

Of Havilah *the ſon of* Joctan, *who alſo paſſed into the* Eaſt-Indies : *and of* Meſha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the families of* Joctan : *with a concluſion of this diſcourſe touching the plantation of the world.*

OF *Havilah* the ſon of *Joctan* there is nothing elſe to be ſaid, but that the general opinion is, that he alſo inhabited in the *Eaſt-Indies* in the continent, from which *Ophir* paſs'd into the iſlands adjoining. And whereas *Ganges* is ſaid to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which took name of *Havilah* the ſon of *Joctan* : but *Havilah*, which *Piſon* compaſſeth, was ſo called of *Havilah*, the ſon of *Chuſh*, as is formerly proved by this place of ſcripture : [a] *Saul ſmote the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comeſt to Shur, which is before Egypt.* But that *Saul* ever made war in the *Eaſt-Indies*, no man hath ſuſpected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen ſons of *Joctan*, theſe three *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir* ; tho' at the firſt ſeated by their brethren about the hill *Maſius*, or *Meſh*, Gen. x. 30. to wit, between *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia* ; yet at length either themſelves or their iſſues removed into the *Eaſt-Indies*, leaving the other families of *Joctan*, to fill the countries of their firſt plantation, which the ſcripture defines to have been from *Meſh* unto *Sephar*. And altho' St. *Jerome* takes *Meſh* to be a region of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and *Sephar* a mountain of the ſame (which mountain *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) thoſe fancies are far beyond my underſtanding. For the word [*eaſt*] in the ſcriptures, where it hath reference to *Judea*, is never farther extended than into *Perſia*. But *Meſch* is that part of the mountain of *Maſius* in the north of *Meſopotamia*, out of which the river *Chaboras* ſpringeth, which runneth by *Charran* : and in the ſame region we alſo find for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moſes*) *Sipphara* by *Ptolemy*, ſtanding to the eaſt of the mountain *Maſius* ; from whence *Joctan* having many ſons, ſome of them might paſs into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in proceſs of time.

The other faſhion of planting I underſtand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reaſon and poſſibility. And that this mountain in the eaſt was no farther off than in thoſe regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the ſcripture where the ſame phraſe is uſed : as in *Numbers* xxiii. 7. *Balac the king of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountain of the eaſt* ; which was from the eaſt part of *Meſopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Meſopotamia* (witneſs this place of *Deuteronomy* xxiii. 4.) *Becauſe they hired Balaam the ſon of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Naharaiim, to curſe thee :* for *Aram Naharaiim* was *Syria Fluviorum, which is* Meſopotamia, as aforeſaid.

This plantation of the world after the flood doth beſt agree, as to me it ſeems, with all the places of ſcripture compared together. And theſe be the reports of reaſon and probable conjecture ; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have choſen to go after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the diſcovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himſelf hath diſguis'd all things, ſo the factious and hireling hiſtorians of all ages (eſpecially of theſe latter times) have, by their many volumes of untrue reports, left honour without a monument, and virtue without memory : and inſtead thereof, have erected ſtatues and trophies to thoſe, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſs ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And altho' the length and diſſolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the world's firſt planters after the flood (I mean the greateſt number and moſt part of them) yet all the footſteps of antiquity (as appears by that which hath been ſpoken) are not quite worn out nor overgrown : for *Babylon* hath to this day the ſound of *Babel* ; *Phenicia* hath *Zidon*, to which city the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan* gave name ; ſo hath *Cilicia Tharſis* ; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumeans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other nations, have preſerved from the death of forgetfulneſs ſome ſigns of their firſt founders and true parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and eſtabliſhing of Government.

SECT. I.

Of the proceeding from the firſt government under the eldeſt of families to regal, and from regal abſolute to regal tempered with laws.

IT followeth now to intreat how the world began to receive rule and government, which (while it had ſcarcity of people) underwent no other dominion than paternity and elderſhip. For the fathers of nations were then as kings, and the eldeſt of families as princes. Hereof it came, that the word [*elder*] was always uſed both for the magiſtrate, and for thoſe of age and gravity : the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all languages. For in *Numbers* xi. God commanded *Moſes* to gather together 70 of the elders of the people, and governours over them : the *Hebrew* bearing the ſame ſenſe, which the *Latin* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Suſannah*, *Then the aſſembly believed them as thoſe that were the elders and judges of the people.* And ſo in the words of thoſe falſe judges and witneſſes to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, ſeeing God hath given thee the office of an elder.* *Demoſthenes* uſeth the ſame word for the magiſtrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato*, giveth two other reaſons for this appellation : *Apud Lacedæmonios qui ampliſſimum magiſtratum gerunt, ut ſunt, ſic etiam appellantur Senes* : Among the *Lacedemonians* the chief magiſtrates, as they are, ſo are they called Eldermen : and again, *Ratio & prudentia niſi eſſent in ſenibus non ſummum concilium majores noſtri appellâſſent Senatum* ; If reaſon and adviſement were not in old men, our anceſtors had never called the higheſt council by the name of a ſenate.

But tho' theſe reaſons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this name of [*elders*] for governors or counſellors of ſtate, there is a ſign that the firſt governors were the fathers of families ; and under them the eldeſt ſons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian* and *Spaniard*, take the word [*Signor*] and out of it [*Seignoury*] for lordſhip and dominion : ſignifying, according to *Loyſeau*, puiſſance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignoury*, *Seneca* makes two : the one, *Poteſtas aut imperium*, Power or command : the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*, Propriety or maſterſhip :

[a] 1 Sam. 15. 7.

the correlative of the one is the ſubject, of the other the ſlave. *Ad Cæſarem*, ſaith he, *poteſtas omnium pertinet, ad ſingulos proprietas*; *Ceſar* hath power over all, and every man proprietor in his own. And again, *Cæſar omnia imperio poſſidet, ſinguli dominio*; *Ceſar* holdeth all in his power, and every man poſſeſſeth his own. But as men and vice began abundantly to increaſe, ſo obedience (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent ſeed ſeldom ripeneth) being exceedingly overſhadowed with pride and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the ſoft weapons of paternal perſuaſions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the original and firſt giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to reſiſt the firſt inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to conſtrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were only guided and ſteered by their own fancies, and toſs'd to and fro' on the tempeſtuous ſeas of the world, while wiſdom was ſevered from power, and ſtrength from charity; [a] Neceſſity (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wiſe and fooliſh underſtand at once, that the eſtate of reaſonable men would become far more miſerable than that of beaſts, and that a general flood of confuſion would a ſecond time overflow them, did they not by a general obedience to order and dominion prevent it. For the mighty, who truſted in their own ſtrengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themſelves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. Inſomuch, that licentious diſorder (which ſeemed to promiſe a liberty upon the firſt acquaintance) proved upon a better trial, no leſs perilous than an unendurable bondage.

Theſe arguments by neceſſity propounded, and by reaſon maintained and confirmed, perſuaded all nations which the heavens cover, to ſubject themſelves to a maſter, and to magiſtracy in ſome degree. Under which government, as the change (which brought with it leſs evil, than the former miſchiefs) was generally pleaſing: ſo time (making all men wiſe that obſerve it) found ſome imperfection and corroſive in this cure. And therefore the ſame neceſſity which invented, and the ſame reaſon which approved ſoveraign power, bethought it ſelf of certain equal rules, in which dominion (in the beginning boundleſs) might alſo diſcern her own limits. For before the invention of laws, private affections in ſupreme rulers, made their own fancies both their treaſurers and hangmen: meaſuring by this yard, and weighing in this balance both good and evil.

For as wiſdom in elderſhip preceded the rule of kings, ſo the will of kings forewent the inventions of laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant*; The people were not governed by any other laws than the wills of princes. Hereof it followed, that when kings left to be good, neither did thoſe mens virtues value them, which were not fancied by their kings, nor thoſe mens vices deform them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt*; Love ſees one while too much, another while ſtark nothing. Hence it came to paſs, that after a few years (for direction and reſtraint of royal power) laws were eſtabliſhed: and that goverment which had this mixture of equality (holding in an even balance ſupreme power and common right) acquired the title of regal; the other (which had it not) was known for tyrannical: the one God eſtabliſhed in favour of his people; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this regal authority, princes, as they were choſen for their virtues only, ſo did they meaſure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore (ſaith *Fabius Pictor*) [b] *Principes, quia juſti erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti*; Princes, becauſe they were juſt and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.

And tho' (ſpeaking humanly) the beginning of empire may be aſcribed to reaſon and neceſſity; yet it was God himſelf that firſt kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they ſaw that they could not live and be preſerved without a ruler and conductor: God himſelf by his eternal providence having ordained kings; and the law of nature leaders and rulers over others. For the very bees have their prince, the deer their leaders; and cranes (by order impoſed) watch for their own ſafety. [c] *The moſt High beareth rule over the kingdoms of men; and appointeth over it whomſoever he pleaſeth.* [d] *By me*, ſaith *Wiſdom*, ſpoken by the Son of God) *kings reign; by me princes rule*; and *it is God* (ſaith [e] *Daniel) that ſetteth up kings, and taketh away kings:* and that this power is given from God, Chriſt himſelf witneſſeth, ſpeaking to *Pilate*, [f] *Thou couldeſt have no power at all againſt me except it were given thee from above.*

It was therefore by a threefold juſtice that the world hath been governed from the beginning, to wit, by a juſtice natural: by which the parents and elders of families governed their children, and nephews, and families, in which government the obedience was called natural piety: again, by a juſtice divine, drawn from the laws and ordinances of God; and the obedience hereunto was called conſcience: and laſtly, by a juſtice civil, begotten by both the former; and the obedience to this we call duty. That by theſe three thoſe of the eldeſt times were commanded; and that the rule in general was paternal, it is moſt evident: for *Adam* being lord over his own children, inſtructed them in the ſervice of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought oblations before God, as they had been taught by their parent, the father of mankind.

SECT. II.

Of the three commendable ſorts of government with their oppoſites: and of the degrees of human ſociety.

WHAT other policy was exerciſed, or ſtate founded after ſuch time as mankind was greatly multiplied before the flood, it cannot be certainly known, tho' it ſeems by probable conjecture, that the ſame was not without kings in that firſt age: it being poſſible that many princes of the *Egyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the general flood; and very likely, that the cruel oppreſſions in that age proceeded from ſome tyranny in government, or from ſome rougher form of rule, than the paternal.

[g] *Beroſus* aſcribeth the rule of the world in thoſe days to the giants of *Libanus*, who maſtered (ſaith he) all nations from the ſun-riſing to the ſun-ſet. But in the ſecond age of the world, and after ſuch time as the rule of elderſhip failed, three ſeveral ſorts of government were in ſeveral times eſtabliſhed among men, according to the divers natures of places and people.

The firſt, the moſt ancient, moſt general, and moſt approved, was the government of one, ruling by juſt laws, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is oppoſed, being alſo a ſole and abſolute rule, exerciſed according to the will of the commander,

[a] Neceſſitas eſt firmum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ poteſtas. [b] De aureo ſæculo, par. 1. [c] Dan. 5. 21. [d] Prov. 8. 15. [e] Dan. 2. 21. [f] John 19. 21. [g] Beroſ. l. 1.

mander, without reſpect or obſervation of the laws of God or men. For a lawful prince or magiſtrate (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) is the keeper of right and equity: and of this condition ought every magiſtrate to be, according to the rule of God's word. [a] *Judges and officers ſhalt thou make thee in thy cities: and theſe ſhall judge the people with righteous judgment.*

The ſecond government is of divers principal perſons eſtabliſhed by order, and ruling by laws, called *Ariſtocracy*, or *Optimatum poteſtas*; to which *Oligarchy* (or the particular faction and uſurpation of a few great ones) is oppoſed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a ſtate popular (or government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is oppoſed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjuſt ruling of the confuſed multitude, ſeditiouſly ſwaying the ſtate, contrary to their own laws and ordinances. Theſe three kinds of government are briefly expreſs'd by *Tholoſanus*: *Unius, paucorum, & multorum*; Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy ſince the ſecond increaſe of mankind, the ſame grew in this ſort: firſt of all, every father, or eldeſt of the family, gave laws to his own iſſues; and to the people from him and them increaſed. Theſe, as they were multiply'd into many houſholds (man by nature loving ſociety) joined their cottages together in one common field or village, which the *Latins* call *Vicus*, of the *Greek* οἶκος, which ſignifieth a houſe, or of the word [*Via*] becauſe it hath divers ways and paths leading to it. And as the firſt houſe grew into a village, ſo the village into that which is called *Pagus* (being a ſociety of divers villages) ſo called of the *Greek* πήγη, which ſignifieth a fountain: becauſe many people (having their habitations not far aſunder) drank of one ſpring or ſtream of water. To this word the *Engliſh* hundreds, or (as ſome think) ſhires anſwereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather ſtrength, and as emulation and pride between the races of the one and the other daily increaſed: ſo both to defend themſelves from outrage, and to preſerve ſuch goods as they had gathered, they began to join and ſet together divers of their villages, invironing them firſt with banks and ditches, and afterwards with walls: which being ſo compaſſed were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponenda ſe haſtibus*, becauſe walls were oppoſed againſt enemies, or *ab opibus*, becauſe thither they gathered their riches for ſafety and defence: as alſo they were called *Urbes*, *ab orbe*; becauſe when they were to build a city, they made a circle with a plough (ſaith *Varro*) therewith meaſuring and compaſſing the ground which they went to incloſe or fortify. And altho' *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* ſignified no other than the very walls and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the citizens, inhabiting therein: ſo called of *Civis*; and that, *ab eo quod multitudo coivit*, of coming together. But all inhabitants within theſe walls are not properly citizens, but only ſuch as are called free-men; who bearing proportionably the charge of the city, may by turns become officers and magiſtrates thereof: the reſt go under the name of ſubjects, tho' citizens by the ſame general name of ſubjects are alſo known. For every citizen is alſo a ſubject, but not every ſubject a citizen: perhaps alſo ſome citizen (as the chief magiſtrate, if he be to be termed one of the citizens) is no ſubject; but of this we need not ſtand to inquire. The word [magiſtrate] is taken, *a magiſtro*, from a maſter, and the word [maſter] from the adverb *magis* (as alſo *magiſteria*, precepts of art) or elſe from the *Greek* word [*megiſtos*:] and ſo the *Greeks* call them *megiſtanes*, whom the *Latins* call *magnates* or *magiſtratus*.

The office and duty of every magiſtrate *Ariſtotle* hath written in few words: [b] *A magiſtrate or prince*, ſaith he, *is the keeper of right and equity*; but the ſame is beſt taught by St. *Paul*, who expreſſeth both the cauſe efficient and final, that is, by whom magiſtrates and princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. [c] *A magiſtrate is the miniſter of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the ſword for nought. For he is the miniſter of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil.* He alſo teacheth in verſe 1, 2. *That every ſoul ought to be ſubject to the higher powers, becauſe they are by God ordained*; and that *whoſoever reſiſteth that power, reſiſteth God*, the giver and fountain thereof: and ſhall not only be therefore ſubject to the judgment and condemnation of man, but of God: *For ye muſt be ſubject*, ſaith he, *not becauſe of wrath only, but alſo for conſcience ſake.* ver. 5.

The examples are not to be numbred of God's puniſhments upon thoſe that have reſiſted authority, by God ordained and eſtabliſhed. Neither ought any ſubject therefore to reſiſt the power of kings, becauſe they may be taxed with injuſtice or cruelty: for it pleaſeth God ſometimes to puniſh his people by a tyrannous hand: and the commandment of obedience is without diſtinction. The *prophets* and *Chriſt* himſelf ſubjected themſelves to the power of magiſtracy. *Chriſt* commanded that all due to *Ceſar* ſhould be given unto him: and he pay'd tribute for himſelf and *Peter*. [d] *Jeremy* commanded the *Iſraelites* (even thoſe that were captives under heathen kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of *Babylon*. So [e] *Abraham* pray'd for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* bleſſed the king of *Egypt*. *And it is acceptable in the ſight of our Saviour*, ſaith *Paul*, *that ye make ſupplications and prayers for kings, and for all that are in authority*: and if for ſuch kings as were idolatrous, much more for Chriſtian kings and magiſtrates. And ſo much did St. *Chryſoſtom* in his homily to the people, prefer *monarchical* government, as he rather commended the rule of kings (tho' tyrants) than that they ſhould be wanting: *Præſtat regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum*; better a tyrannous king, than no king: To which alſo *Tacitus* ſubſcribeth: *Præſtat* (ſaith *Tacitus* in the firſt of his hiſtory) *ſub malo principe eſſe, quam nullo*; It is better to have a bad prince than none at all. And be they good kings (which is generally preſuppoſed) then is there no liberty more ſafe, than to ſerve them: *Neque enim libertas tutior ulla eſt*, ſaith *Claudian*, *quam domino ſervire bono*; No liberty, ſaith he, more ſafe for us than to be ſervants to the virtuous. And certainly howſoever it may be diſputed, yet is it ſafer to live under one tyrant, than under 100000 tyrants: under a wiſe man that is cruel, than under the fooliſh and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Ageſilaus* anſwered a citizen of *Sparta* that deſired an alteration of the government, that kind of rule which a man would diſdain in his own houſe, were very unfit to govern great regions by.

Laſtly, as many fathers erected many cottages for their many children: and as (for the reaſon before remembered) many houſholds joined themſelves together, and made villages; many villages made cities: ſo when theſe cities and citizens joined

[a] Deut. 16. 18. [b] Ethic. 5. [c] Rom. 13. 4. [d] Jerem. 29. 7. [e] Gen. 20. 17. 27. 10.

together,

together, and eſtabliſhed laws by conſent, aſſociating themſelves under one governor and government, they ſo joined were called a commonwealth: the ſame being ſometimes governed by kings; ſometimes by magiſtrates; ſometimes by the people themſelves.

SECT. III.

Of the good government of the firſt kings.

NOW this firſt age after the flood, and after ſuch time as the people were increaſed, and the families became ſtrong, and diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the world, was by ancient hiſtorians called golden: ambition and covetouſneſs being as then but green, and newly grown up, the ſeeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the law of nature was the rule of man's life, they then ſought for no larger territory than themſelves could compaſs and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than ſufficient to defend them from cold and tempeſt: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curioſity of diet, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel than to cover them from the cold, the rain and the ſun.

And ſure if we underſtand by that age (which was called golden) the ancient ſimplicity of our forefathers, this name may then truly be caſt upon thoſe elder times: but if it be taken otherwiſe, then, whether the ſame may be attributed more to any one time than to another (I mean to one limited time, and none elſe) it may be doubted. For good and golden kings make good and golden ages; and all times have brought forth of both ſorts. And as the infancy of empire (when princes play'd their prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the golden age: ſo may the beginning of all princes times be truly called golden: for be it that men affect honour, it is then beſt purchaſed; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deſervings have commonly the leaſt impediments: and if ever liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the ſame is then beſt warranted both by policy and example. But age and time do not only harden and ſhrink the openeſt and moſt jovial hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth princes torn eſtates before their eyes, and withal perſuadeth them to compaſſionate themſelves. And altho' there be no kings under the ſun whoſe means are anſwerable unto other men's deſires; yet ſuch as value all things by their own reſpects, do no ſooner find their appetites unanſwered, but they complain of alteration, and account the times injurious and iron. And as this falleth out in the reign of every king; ſo doth it in the life of every man, if his days be many: for our younger years are our golden age; which being eaten up by time, we praiſe thoſe ſeaſons which our youth accompanied: and indeed the grievous alterations in our ſelves, and the pains and diſeaſes which never part from us but at the grave, make the times ſeem ſo differing and diſpleaſing: eſpecially the quality of man's nature being alſo ſuch, as it adoreth and extolleth the paſſages of the former, and condemneth the preſent ſtate how juſt ſoever. [a] *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, ut ſemper vetera in laude, præſentia in faſtidio ſint*; It comes to paſs, ſaith *Tacitus*, by the vice of our malignity, that we always extol the time paſt, and hold the preſent faſtidious. For it is one of the errors of way-ward age: *Quod ſint laudatores temporis acti*; That they are praiſers of forepaſſed times, forgetting this advice of *Solomon*: [b] *Say not then, why is it that the former days were better than theſe? for thou doſt not inquire wiſely of this thing*: to which purpoſe *Seneca*, *Majores noſtri queſti ſunt, & nos querimur, poſteri querentur, everſos eſſe mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum, & in omne nefas labi*; Our anceſtors have complained, we do complain, our children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedneſs doth reign, and all things grow worſe and worſe, and fall into all evil. Theſe are the uſual diſcourſes of age and misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of *Arnobius*: [c] *Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus quibus cœpit nova fuit & repentina*; Whatſoever is new, in time ſhall be made old: and the ancienteſt things when they took beginning were alſo new and ſudden. Wherefore not to ſtand in much admiration of theſe firſt times, which the diſcontentments of preſent times have made golden, this we may ſet down for certain, that as it was the virtue of the firſt kings, which, after God, gave them crowns: ſo the love of their people thereby purchaſed, held the ſame crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of ſubjects to princes: ſo (relatively) he gave the care and juſtice of kings to the ſubjects; having reſpect, not only to the kings themſelves, but even to the meaneſt of his creatures. [d] *Nunquam particulari bono ſervit omne bonum*; The infinite goodneſs of God doth not attend any one only: for he that made the ſmall and the great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that princes hold a general obedience: for *Poteſtas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum*; All human power is rooted in the will or diſpoſitions of men.

SECT. IV.

Of the beginning of nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without virtue.

AND with this ſupreme rule and kingly authority began alſo other degrees and differences among ſubjects. For princes made election of others by the ſame rule, by which themſelves were choſen; unto whom they gave place, truſt and power. From which employments and offices ſprung thoſe titles, and thoſe degrees of honour, which have continued from age to age to theſe days. [e] But this nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the ſucceſſion of blood, but to ſucceſſion of virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Tho' at length it was ſufficient for thoſe, whoſe parents were advanced, to be known for the ſons of ſuch fathers: and ſo there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excel, upon whom glory or worldly nobility neceſſarily deſcended: Yet hereof had nobility denomination in the beginning, that ſuch as excelled others in virtue were ſo called: *Hinc dictus nobilis, quaſi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after ſuch time as the deſerved honour of the father was given in reward to his poſterity, St. *Jerome* judged of the ſucceſſion in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in nobilitate appetendum, niſi quod nobiles quadam neceſſitate conſtringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent*; I ſee no other thing to be affected in nobility, than that noblemen are by a kind of neceſſity bound not to degenerate from the virtue of their anceſtors. For if nobility be *virtus & antiquæ divitiæ*, virtue and ancient riches, then to exceed in all thoſe things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like,

[a] Tacit. in Dial. de Orat. [b] Eccleſ. 7. 10. [c] Arnob. l. 2. [d] Wiſd. 6. 7. [e] Verus nobilis non naſcitur, ſed fit.

do

do no otherwiſe define nobility, than the word *animal* alone doth define a reaſonable man. Or if honour, according to *L. Vives*, be a witneſs of virtue and well-doing: and nobility, after *Plutarch*, the continuance of virtue in a race or lineage: then are thoſe, of whom virtue is extinguiſhed, but like unto painted and printed papers, which ignorant men worſhip inſtead of Chriſt, our Lady, and other Saints: men, in whom there remain but the dregs and vices of ancient virtue: flowers and herbs, which by change of ſoil and want of manuring are turned to weeds. For what is found praiſe-worthy in thoſe waters, which had their beginning out of pure fountains, if in all the reſt of their courſe they run foul, filthy, and defiled? [a] *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando cicuta venenoſa, & ex terra ſterili pretioſum aurum*; Out of fruitful ground ariſeth ſometimes poiſoning henbane: and out of barren ſoil precious gold. For as all things conſiſt of matter and form, ſo doth *Charron* (in his chapter of nobility) call the race and lineage but the matter of nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be virtue and quality, profitable to the commonweal. For he is truly and entirely noble, who maketh a ſingular profeſſion of publick virtue, ſerving his prince and country, and being deſcended of parents and anceſtors that have done the like. And altho' that nobility, which the ſame author calleth perſonal (the ſame which our ſelves acquire by our virtue and well deſervings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by deſcent, and alſo perſonal; yet if virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the perſonal and acquired nobility by many degrees to be preferred: for, ſaith *Charron*, this honour, to wit, by deſcent, may light upon ſuch an one, as in his own nature is a true villain. There is alſo a third nobility which he calleth nobility in parchment, bought with ſilver or favour: and theſe be indeed but honours of affection, which kings with the change of their fancies wiſh they knew well how to wipe off again. But ſurely if we had as much ſenſe of our degenerating in worthineſs, as we have of vanity in deriving our ſelves of ſuch and ſuch parents, we ſhould rather know ſuch nobility (without virtue) to be ſhame and diſhonour, than nobleneſs, and glory to vaunt thereof. [b] *What calamity is wanting* (ſaith *Bernard*) *to him that is born in ſin, of a potſhare body and barren mind?* for (according to the ſame father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & male coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c.* Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill crowned glory, that then thou may'ſt conſider thy ſelf nakedly: for thou cameſt naked out of thy mother's womb. Cameſt thou thence with thy mitre, or gliſtering with jewels, or garniſhed with ſilks, or adorned with feathers, or ſtuffed with gold? if thou ſcatter and blow away all theſe by thy conſideration as certain morning clouds, which do or will ſoon paſs over, thou ſhalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miſerable man, and bluſhing becauſe he is naked, and weeping becauſe he is born, and repining becauſe he is born to labour, and not to honour.

For as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and duſt: which if [c] *thou doſt not believe* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *look into the ſepulchres and monuments of thy anceſtors, and they ſhall eaſily perſuade thee by their own example, that thou art duſt and dirt: ſo that if man ſeem more noble and beautiful than duſt, this proceedeth not from the diverſity of his nature, but from the cunning of his Creator.*

[d] For true nobility ſtandeth in the trade
Of virtuous life; not in the fleſhly line:
For blood is brute, but gentry is divine.

And howſoever the cuſtom of the world have made it good, that honours be caſt by birth upon unworthy iſſues: yet *Solomon* (as wiſe as any king) reprehendeth the ſame in his fellow princes. [e] *There is an evil* (ſaith he) *that I have ſeen under the ſun, as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Folly is ſet in great excellency.*

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about thoſe times.*

SECT. I.

That Nimrod *was the firſt after the flood that reigned like ſoveraign lord: and that his beginning ſeemeth to have been of juſt authority.*

THE firſt of all that reigned, as ſoveraign lord after the flood, was *Nimrod*, the ſon of *Chuſh*, diſtinguiſhed by *Moſes* from the reſt (according to St. *Auguſtine*) in one of theſe two reſpects: either for his eminency, and becauſe he was the firſt of fame, and that took on him to command others: or elſe in that he was begotten by *Chuſh*, after his other children were alſo become fathers; and of a later time than ſome of his grandchildren and nephews. Howſoever, ſeeing *Moſes* in expreſs words calleth *Nimrod* the ſon of *Chuſh*, other mens conjectures to the contrary ought to have no reſpect. This empiry of *Nimrod*, both the fathers, and many later writers, call tyrannical: the ſame beginning in *Babel* (which is) confuſion. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Melanthon* conceived not amiſs hereof: the ſame expoſition being alſo made by the author of that work called *Onomaſticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, a bitter or ſevere governor, becauſe his form of rule ſeemed at firſt far more terrible than paternal authority. And therefore is he in this reſpect alſo called *a mighty hunter:* becauſe he took and deſtroy'd both beaſts and thieves. But St. *Auguſtine* underſtands it otherwiſe, and converts the word [*ante*] by [*contra*] affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty hunter againſt God, *Sic ergo intelligendus eſt gigas ille, venator contra Dominum*; So is that giant to be underſtood, a hunter againſt the Lord. But howſoever this word [*a mighty hunter*] be underſtood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all thoſe, which went with him from the eaſt into *Shinaar:* ſo this charge was rather given him, than by him uſurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himſelf, or any of the ſons of his own body, came with this troop into *Babylon:* no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the years of his life excepted) in the ſucceeding ſtory of the *Hebrews:* nor that *Sem* was in this diſobedient troop, or among the builders of *Babel.*

The ſame is alſo confirmed by divers ancient hiſtorians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Joctan* were the captains and leaders of all thoſe which came from the eaſt. And tho' *Sem* came not himſelf ſo

[a] Pint. in Ezek. [b] Bernard. l. 2. de Conſider. ad Eugen. Pap. [c] Chryſoſt. homil. 2. de incompoſita Dei natura, con. 5. [d] Phaer. [e] Eccleſ. 10.

far west as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the east parts) yet from his son's nephew *Heber*, the name and nation of the *Hebrews* (according to the general opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the southermost parts of *Chaldea* about the city of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea* were no partners in the unbelieving work of the tower: therefore (as many of the fathers conjecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the fathers of the first age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his issues. [a] *In familia Heber remansit hæc lingua*; In the family of *Heber* this language remained (saith St. *Augustine* out of *Epiphanus*;) and this language *Abraham* used: yea, it was anciently and before the flood the general speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cœlestinus*) *lingua humana*, the human tongue.

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chief leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by just authority, than by violence of usurpation.

SECT. II.

That Nimrod, Belus *and* Ninus, *were three distinct persons.*

BEnzo, and out of him *Nauclerus*, with others, make many *Nimrods*. *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*; and so doth St. *Jerome* upon *Osea*; and these words of St. *Augustine* seem to make him of the same opinion. [b] *Ibi autem Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat 65 annos*; There did *Ninus* reign after the death of his father *Belus*, who first governed in *Babylon* 65 years. But it could not be unknown to St. *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that empire: *Moses* being plain and direct therein. *For the beginning of* Nimrod's *kingdom* (saith he) *was* Babel, Erec, Accad, *and* Chalne, *in the land of* Shinaar: wherefore *Nimrod* was the first king of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus*'s time, the world was marvellously repleniſhed. And if St. *Augustine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane authors. And for those words of St. *Augustine (qui primus illic regnaverat*, who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by *Belus:* those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the founder of the *Babylonian* empire. For altho' *Julius Cesar* overthrew the liberty of the *Roman* commonwealth, making himself perpetual dictator; yet *Augustus* was the first established emperor, and the first that reigned absolutely by soveraign authority over the *Romans*, as an emperor. The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of eldership and paternity, laying the foundation of soveraign rule, as *Cesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a general allowance, exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200 years after the flood, as they account, that *Belus* reign'd: but such agreement of times prove it not. For so *Edward* III. and his grandchild *Richard* II. were kings both in one year; the one died, and the other in the same year was crowned king.

And yet the opinion, that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one, is far more probable than that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plain, that the beginning of *Nimrod*'s kingdom was *Babel*, and the towns adjoining: but the first and most famous work of *Ninus* was the city of *Nineveh*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth that *Ninus* overcame and suppress'd the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his empire at *Nineveh* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easy: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis*'s time.

——*Dicitur altam*
Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis *urbem.*

Semiramis with walls of brick the city did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the scriptures call *Nimrod* mighty: so *Justin* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator*'s arguments: it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other kings as well. For if we may believe *Justin*; then were *Vexoris* king of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, mighty kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them. For whereas *Mercator* conceiveth that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages, to have invaded and mastered those cities so far removed from *Babel*, namely *Erec*, *Accad* and *Chalne:* which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus:* to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true, that ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these cities; but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The city of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* calls *Archard*, and *Epiphanius Arphal*; *Junius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia:* for the region thereabout, the *Cosmographers* (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others understand *Nisibis* and *Nineveh* to be one city: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*; but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran* are distinct places. Tho' I cannot deny *Accadene* to be a region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of St. *Jerome* calls *Achad:* and so do the *Hebrews*

[a] Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 6. c. 11. [b] De Civitate Dei.

also

alſo call *Niſibis*, which ſeemeth to be the cauſe of this miſtaking. As for the city of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*, St. *Auguſtine Oreg*, and *Pagninus Erec*, this place *Junius* underſtands for *Arrata* in *Suſiana*: but there is alſo a city in *Comegena* called *Arace*; and indeed likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the aſſiſtance of other circumſtances.

Concerning the third city (called *Chalneh*) ſome take it for *Calaniſis*: of which [a] *Am. Marcellinus*. St. *Jerome* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hieroſolymitanus* for *Cteſiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, deſtroy'd and razed by the *Perſians*. But let *Moſes* be the moderator and judge of this diſpute, who teacheth us directly, that theſe cities are not ſeated in ſo divers and diſtant regions; for theſe be his words: *And the beginning of his kingdom* (ſpeaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar*: ſo as in this valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we muſt find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think with *Viterbienſis*, that theſe four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were cities far removed, and in ſeveral provinces, did not the prophet *Amos* preciſely diſtinguiſh *Chalne* from *Babylon*. *Go you* (ſaith *Amos*, vi. 2.) *to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philiſtines*. The *Geneva* tranſlation favouring the former opinion, to ſet theſe cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginal note expreſſing that *Shinaar* was here named: not that all theſe cities were therein ſeated, but to diſtinguiſh *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*; but I find little ſubſtance in that conceit. For ſure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod*'s empire, there was no ſuch *Babylon*, nor any city at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great city of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not far from the place where ſtood *Memphis* the ancient city, but not ſo ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is ſituate in the valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the chapter of *Paradiſe*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote ſituation of theſe three cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, that *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were diſtinct and ſucceſſive kings.

SECT. III.

That Nimrod, *not* Aſſur, *built* Nineveh: *and that it is probable out of* Iſaiah xxiii. 13. *that* Aſſur *built* Ur *for the* Chaldees.

NOW as of *Nimrod*: ſo are the opinions of writers different touching *Aſſur*, and touching the beginning of that great ſtate of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*: a controverſy wearifomly diſputed without any direct proof, concluſion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the ſcriptures are ſilent, the voice of reaſon hath the beſt hearing) the interpretation of *Junius* is moſt agreeable; who beſides all neceſſary conſequence doth not disjoyn the ſenſe of the ſcriptures therein, nor confuſe the underſtanding thereof. For in this ſort he converteth the *Hebrew* text. *Erat enim principium regni ejus Babel, & Erec, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris; e terra hac proceſſit in Aſſyriam ubi ædificavit Niniven*: (which is) For the beginning of his kingdom was *Babel*, and *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalneh*, in the land of *Shinaar*: and he went forth of this land into *Aſſyria*, and built *Nineveh*. So as *Junius* takes *Aſſur* in this place, not for any perſon, but for the region of *Aſſyria*: the land being ſo called in *Moſes*'s time, and before it. For certainly the other conſtruction, (where the word [*Aſſur*] is taken for *Aſſur* the ſon of *Sem*) doth not anſwer the order which *Moſes* obſerveth thro' all the books of *Geneſis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginning of the 10th chapter he ſetteth down the ſons of *Noah* in theſe words. *Now theſe are the generations of the ſons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japhet, unto whom ſons were born after the flood*: then it followeth immediately. *The ſons of Japhet were Gomer*, &c. ſo as *Japhet* is laſt named among *Noah*'s ſons, be he eldeſt or youngeſt: becauſe he was firſt to be ſpoken of: with whom (having laſt named him) he proceeds and ſets down his iſſue, and then the iſſue of his ſons: firſt, the iſſue of *Gomer*, *Japhet*'s eldeſt ſon; and then ſpeaks of *Javan* and his ſons: for of the reſt of that family he is ſilent. Anon, after he numbreth the ſons of of *Ham*, of which *Cuſh* was the eldeſt: and the ſons of *Cuſh* and *Mizraim*; and afterwards of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the laſt, becauſe he would not disjoin the ſtory of the *Hebrews*. But after he beginneth with *Shem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, unto *Abraham*; and ſo to *Jacob*, and the fathers of that nation. But to have brought in one of the ſons of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had been againſt order; neither would *Moſes* have paſs'd over ſo ſlightly the erection of the *Aſſyrian* empire, in one of the ſons of *Shem*, if he had had any ſuch meaning; it being the ſtory of *Shem*'s ſons which he moſt attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the reſt of the ſons of *Cuſh*, becauſe he founded the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* empire: and in the 11th chapter he returns to ſpeak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the 10th chapter, with thoſe other cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the 10th chapter, ſo alſo in the 11th he maketh no report of *Shem*, till ſuch time as he had finiſh'd ſo much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the iſſue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Iſrael*. And of *Junius*'s opinion touching *Aſſur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive that *P. Comeſtor in Hiſtoria Scholaſtica* gave an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in ſome other ſenſe, he uſeth theſe words. *Vel intelligendum non eſt de Aſſur filio Sem, &c. ſed Aſſur, id eſt, regnum Aſſyriorum inde egreſſum eſt, quod tempore Sarug proavi Abrahami factum eſt* (which is) Or elſe it is not to be underſtood of *Aſſur* the ſon of *Shem*, *&c.* but *Aſſur* (that is the kingdom of the *Aſſyrians*) came from thence (*viz.* from *Babylon*) or was made out of it; which happened in the time of *Sarug* the great grandfather of *Abraham*. After which he reconcileth the differences in this ſort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the firſt erector of the *Aſſyrian* empire, or the firſt founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*, reſpecting the beginning; but others conceive, that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is alſo true, *Quantum ad regni ampliationem*, regarding the enlargement of the empire. To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius* confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Aſſur* to be the ſon of *Nimrod*: and ſo doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbienſis*, St. *Jerome* and *Cyrillus*, and now laſtly, [b] *Torniellus*; who ſaith, he took upon him that name of *Aſſur* after he had beaten the *Aſſyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus* after his conqueſt in *Africa*: and that *Aſſur* was a common name to the kings of *Aſſyria*, as it appeareth by

[a] Lib. 23. [b] Torniell. Annal. Sacr. in Gen. 19.

many

many ſcriptures, as *Pſalm* lxxxi. *Iſaiah* x. *Hoſea* v, *&c.* but to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the ſon of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was archbiſhop of *Mentz* in the year of Chriſt 854, an ancient and learned writer, underſtands this place with *Comeſtor*, or *Comeſtor* with him, agreeing in ſubſtance with that tranſlation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moſes* he giveth this ſenſe, *De hac terra Aſſyriorum pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Beli filii, Nilum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this land grew the empire of the *Aſſyrians*, who built *Ninus* the great city, ſo named of *Ninus* the ſon of *Belus*. On the contrary, *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Iſaiah* xxiii. 13. *Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this was no people, Aſſur founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderneſs*; than which there is no one place in the ſcriptures that hath a greater diverſity in the tranſlation and underſtanding; inſomuch as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Iſaiah* (tho' in all elſe very diligent) paſſeth it over. But *Calvin* ſeemeth hereby to infer, that becauſe *Aſſur* founded the ſtate of the *Chaldeans*, therefore alſo *Aſſur* rather than *Nimrod* eſtabliſhed the *Aſſyrian* empire, and built *Nineveh*: contrary to the former tranſlation of *Junius*, and to his own opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Jerome*'s tranſlation) it may be gathered, that *Aſſur* both founded and ruin'd this ſtate or city of the *Chaldeans*, by *Iſaiah* remembred: unto which city, people, or ſtate, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians*, that they cannot truſt or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the prophet maketh this city of *Chaldea*, and that ſtate, an example unto thoſe *Phenicians*, whom in this place he foretelleth of their ruin: which city of *Chaldea* being of ſtrength, and carefully defended, was notwithſtanding by the *Aſſyrians* utterly waſted and deſtroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them that their own city of *Tyre* (invincible, as themſelves thought) ſhould alſo ſoon after be overturned by the ſame *Aſſyrians*: as indeed it was by *Nabuchodonoſor*. And theſe be the words of *Jerome*; *Ecce terra Chaldæorum, talis populus non fuit, Aſſur fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robuſtos ejus, ſuffoderunt domos ejus, poſuit eam in ruinam*; which is, Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, ſuch a people there were not (or this was no people, after the *Geneva*) *Aſſur*, or the *Aſſyrians* founded it, they carried away their ſtrong men captive, they undermined their houſes, and ruined their city. The *Septuagint* expreſs it but in a part of another verſe, in theſe words; *Et in terra Chaldæorum, & hæc deſolata eſt ab Aſſyriis, quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the ſenſe perfect by the preceding verſe, which altogether may be thus underſtood. *If thou go over to* Chittim *(which is* Macedon *or* Greece) *yet thou ſhalt have no reſt, (ſpeaking to the* Tyrians) *neither in the land of the* Chaldeans, *for this is made deſolate by the* Aſſyrians, *becauſe their walls fell together to the ground. Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus, *Ecce terra Chaſdiim, iſte populus non erat illic olim; nam Aſſur fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius, contriverunt ædes ejus, poſuerunt eam in ruinam:* which may be thus engliſhed. *Behold the land of the* Chaldeans, *this people was not once therein inhabiting: for* Aſſur *built it a harbour for ſhips, they erected the towers thereof, and again brake down the houſes thereof, and ruinated it. Junius* in the place of ſhips ſets the word [*pro Barbaris*] that is, for the *Barbarians*: and the *Geneva*, by the *Barbarians*. But this is undoubted, that the prophet *Iſaiah* (as may be gathered by all the ſenſe of the chapter) did therein aſſure the *Tyrians* of their future deſtruction; which accordingly fell on them: wherein (for the more terror) he maketh choice to note the calamities of thoſe places, cities and regions, whoſe trade the ſtate and greatneſs of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharſis*, from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians* under the name of *Cittim*; alſo by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans* and the reſt. For *Tyre* was then the mart-town of the world moſt renowned. And (as it appears in our diſcourſe of *Paradiſe*) not the leaſt part of her chief merchandiſe came in by the city *Ur*, or *Urchoa* in *Chaldea*, where the body or chief ſtream of *Euphrates* (even that ſtream which runneth thro' *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tigris*) had his paſſage into the *Perſian* gulf; though now it be ſtopped up. For (as we have heretofore noted) the *Arabians*, that deſcended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*, dwelling on the eaſt banks of the *Perſian* gulf, trading with the *Tyrians* (as thoſe of *Eden*, *Charran* and *Chalne* did) tranſported their merchandiſe by the mouth of *Tigris*, that is, from *Teredon*, and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur* or *Urchoa*; and then by *Babylon*, and thence by river and over land they conveyed it into *Syria*, and ſo to *Tyre*, as they do this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a port-town, and one of thoſe cities which had intelligence, trade and exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it ſtood by the great lakes of *Chaldea*, thro' which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which paſſage is now ſtopt up. *Ejus curſum vetuſtas abolevit* (ſaith *Niger*.) And *Pliny*, *Locus ubi Euphratis oſtium fuit, flumen ſalſum*; Time hath worn away the channel of *Euphrates*: and the place where the mouth thereof was, is a bay of ſalt water. Theſe things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the city of the *Chaldees*, whoſe calamities *Iſaiah* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrians* to be the city anciently called *Ur*; and by *Hecatæus*, *Camerina*; by *Ptolemy*, *Urchoa*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chaldæopolis*, The city of *Chaldea*; which the ſons of *Shem*, until *Abraham*'s time, inhabited. And whereas in all the tranſlations it is ſaid, that *Aſſur* both founded it and ruin'd it: it may be underſtood, that *Aſſur* the founder was the ſon of *Shem*; and *Aſſur* the deſtroyers were the *Aſſyrians*, by whom thoſe that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldea*, were at length oppreſſed and brought to ruin: which thing God foreſeeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Charran*, and ſo into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted [*by ſhips*] do bear that ſenſe, the ſame may be the better approved; becauſe it was a port-town: and the river ſo far up as this city of *Ur*, was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word [*for the* Barbarians] or [*by the* Barbarians] be alſo in the *Hebrew* text, it is no leſs manifeſt, that the moſt barbarous *Arabians* of the deſart were and are the confronting, and next people of all other unto it. For *Chaldea* is now called *Arachaldar*, which ſignifieth deſart lands, becauſe it joineth to that part of *Arabia* ſo called: and *Cicero* (calling thoſe *Arabians* by the name of *Itureans*) addeth that they are of all other people the moſt ſavage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros.*

So as this place of *Iſaiah*, which breedeth ſome doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former tranſlation of *Junius*, nor the interpretation of *Comeſtor* and *Rabanus*. For tho' other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Aſſur* is in this place diverſly taken; (as for the ſon of *Shem*, when he is ſpoken of as a builder of *Ur*; and when, as a deſtroyer thereof, then for the *Aſſyrian*

ſyrian nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumſtances ſeem to inforce it. And ſo this founding of the city of the *Chaldees* by *Aſſur* (into which the moſt of the poſterity of *Sem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were ſeparate for the idolatry of the *Chuſites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themſelves) hath nothing in it to prove that the ſame *Aſſur* built *Nineveh*, or that the ſame *Aſſur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Aſſur*, who was the ſon of *Shem*, both an idolater and the ſon of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the firſt notorious ſacrificer to idols, and the firſt that ſet up a ſtatue or image to be honoured as God. Now if *Aſſur* muſt be of that race, and not of the family of *Sem*, as he muſt be if he founded *Nineveh*, then all thoſe which ſeek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thouſand parts more injury, by taking from him his true parent and religion.

Beſides, if this ſuppoſed *Aſſur* whom they make the founder of *Nineveh* (and ſo the ſon of *Belus*) were any other, and not the ſame with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly he was very unworthy and obſcure, and not like to be the founder of ſuch an empire and ſuch a city, if no man have vouchſafed to leave to poſterity his expulſion thence, and how he loſt that empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*; whoſe acts and conqueſts are ſo largely written, and (according to my apprehenſion) far differing from truth. It will therefore be found beſt agreeing to ſcripture and to reaſon, and beſt agreeing with the ſtory of that age written by prophane authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the firſt works and beginnings of his empire, according to *Moſes*, and that theſe works being finiſh'd within the valley of *Shinaar*, he look'd farther abroad, and ſet in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying near unto the ſame ſtream that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his grandchild *Ninus* afterwards amplified and finiſhed, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus*'s wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to paſs, that as *Semiramis* was counted the foundreſs of the city which ſhe only finiſh'd: ſo alſo *Ninus* of *Nineveh*. *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit inſtaurare*; She might repair or renew *Babylon*, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*. For ſo did *Nabuchodonoſor* vaunt himſelf to be the founder of *Babylon* alſo, becauſe he built up again ſome part of the wall overborn by the fury of the river: which work of his ſtood till *Alexander*'s time; whereupon he vaunted thus: [a] *Is not this great Babel which I have built?*

SECT. IV.

Of the acts of Nimrod *and* Belus, *as far as now they are known.*

BUT to return to the ſtory, it is plain in *Moſes*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*, and *Julius Africanus* ſurnamed *Saturn*) was the eſtabliſher of the *Babylonian* monarchy, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his empire in the beginning conſiſted of thoſe four cities before remembred, *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad* and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his empire into *Aſſyria*; and in *Aſſyria* built four more cities, to wit, *Nineveh*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Reſen*. And ſeeing that he ſpent much time in building *Babel* it ſelf and thoſe adjoining, and that his travels were many ere he came into *Shinaar*, that work of *Babel* (ſuch as it was) with the other three cities, and the large foundation of *Nineveh*, and the other cities of *Aſſyria* which he builded (conſidered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his ſucceſſors in many years after: to whoſe undertakings time had given ſo great an increaſe of people; and the examples and patterns of his beginning ſo great an advancement and encouragement: in whoſe time (ſaith *Glycas*) all theſe nations were called *Meropes*, *A ſermonis linguarum terræque diviſione*; By reaſon that the earth and the ſpeech were then divided.

Belus or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, ſucceeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114 years; of whoſe acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he ſpent much of his time in diſburdening the low lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firm ground of all thoſe great fens and overflown marſhes which adjoin'd unto it. For any of his wars or conqueſts there is no report, other than of his begun enterpriſe againſt *Sabatius* king of *Armenia*, and thoſe parts of *Scythia* which *Beroſus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whoſe ſon and ſucceſſor *Barzanes* became ſubject and tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the war to effect, which was by his father *Belus* begun.

SECT. V.

That we are not to marvel how ſo many kingdoms could be erected about theſe times: and of Vexoris *of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *of* Scythia.

THAT ſo many kingdoms were erected in all thoſe eaſtern parts of the world ſo ſoon after *Nimrod* (as by the ſtory of *Ninus* is made manifeſt) the cauſes were threefold; namely, opportunity, example and neceſſity. For opportunity, being a princeſs liberal and powerful, beſtoweth on her firſt entertainers many times more benefits, than either fortune can, or wiſdom ought; by whoſe preſence alone the underſtanding minds of men receive all thoſe helps and ſupplies, which they either want or wiſh for: ſo as every leader of a troop (after the diviſion of tongues and diſperſion of people) finding theſe fair offers made unto them, held the power which they poſſeſs'd, and governed by diſcretion all thoſe people, whom they conducted to their deſtin'd places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the earth was firſt divided, mankind ſtraggled abroad like beaſts in a deſart; but that by agreement they diſpoſed themſelves, and undertook to inhabit all the known parts of the world. and by diſtinct families and nations: otherwiſe thoſe remote regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had kings, and were peopled in *Ninus*'s time, would not have been poſſeſs'd in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did thoſe that were ſent, and travelled far off (order being the true parent of proſperous ſucceſs) undertake ſo difficult enterprizes without a conductor or commander. Secondly, The example of *Nimrod* with whom it ſucceeded well, ſtrengthened every humour that aſpired. Thirdly, Neceſſity reſolved all men by the arguments of common miſeries, that without a commander and magiſtrate, neither could thoſe that were laborious, and of honeſt diſpoſitions, enjoy the harveſt of their own travels: nor thoſe which were of little ſtrength, ſecure themſelves againſt forcible violence: nor thoſe which ſought after any proportion of greatneſs, either poſſeſs the ſame in quiet, or rule and order their own miniſters and attendants.

That theſe cauſes had wrought theſe effects, the

[a] Dan. 4. 27.

undertakings and conqueſts of *Ninus* (the ſon of *Belus*) made it apparent: for he found every where kings and monarchs, what way ſoever his ambition led him in the wars.

But *Nimrod* (his grandfather) had no companion king, to us known, when he firſt took on him ſoveraignty and ſole commandment of all thoſe the children of *Noah*, which came from the eaſt into *Babylonia*: tho' in his life-time others alſo raiſed themſelves to the ſame eſtate; of which hereafter. *Belus*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, found *Sabatius* king of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, ſufficiently powerful to reſiſt his attempts: which *Sabatius* I take to be the ſame which *Juſtin* calls *Tanais*; and ſhould conjecture, that *Mizraim* had been his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently ſuſpect ſome error (as [a]*Juſtin* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumſtances ſeems to me rightly accounted by the judicious and learned *Reineccius* all one with the great *Seſoſtris*, that lived certain ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the ſecond king of *Babylon*, reigned 65 years, according to the common account.

SECT. VI.

Of the name of Belus, *and other names affine unto it.*

WHENCE this ſecond king and ſucceſſor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, queſtion hath been made; for it ſeemeth rather a name impoſed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than aſſumed by *Belus* himſelf.

Cyrillus againſt *Julian* calls the father of *Ninus*, *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the firſt of all men that cauſed himſelf to be called a god: which were it ſo, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriv'd. But *Bel*, as many learned writers have obſerved, ſignifieth the ſun in the *Chaldean* tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their father, that he might be honoured as the ſun, which the *Babylonians* worſhipped as a god. And as this title was aſſumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldean* princes, and *Babylonians Satrapæ*: ſo was it uſed (in imitation) by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other nations, as ſome hiſtorians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) thoſe voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belſebub*, and *Beelſephon*. Thoſe that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latin*, *Princeps militiæ*, Chief in the war, tho' *Daniel* was ſo called (ſaith *Suidas*) *ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; In honour of his expounding ſecrets. [b]St. *Jerome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the ſame ſignification: and ſaith, that the idol of *Babylon* was ſo called, which *Ninus* in memory of his father ſet up to be worſhipped: to which that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a ſanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (ſaith [c]*Lyranus*) came idolatry, and the firſt uſe of images into the world. [d]*Iſidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Aſſyrians* it is taken for *Saturn* and the *Sun*: ſo in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* language it ſignifieth God. *Glycas* makes it an *Aſſyrian* name properly; and *Joſephus*, a *Tyrian*. He alſo affirmeth, that the idol which the *Moabites* worſhipped (by them erected on the mountain *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the ſame which the *Latins* call *Priapus*, the God of gardens; which alſo was the opinion of [e]St. *Jerome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to ſay as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel*, ſoundeth [God] and *Sebub* [flies or hornets;] by which name notwithſtanding the *Jews* expreſs the prince of devils. But the prophet *Hoſea* teacheth us the proper ſignification of this word from the voice of God himſelf; *And at that day (ſaith the Lord) thou ſhalt call me Iſhi, and ſhalt call me no more Baalim: for I will take away the name of Baalim out of their mouths.* For altho' the name of *Baal*, or *Babal*, be juſtly to be uſed towards God; yet in reſpect that the ſame was given to idols, God both hated it and forbad it. And the uſing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the ſun, was not becauſe it properly ſignifieth the ſun, but becauſe the ſun there was worſhipped as a god: as alſo the fire was, *Tanquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belſephon*; *Belſephon* is expounded out of *Facius*, *Dominus ſpeculæ vel cuſtodiæ*; The lord of the watch tower, or of the guard: the other word noteth the idol, and the place wherein it was worſhipped. It is alſo written *Belpeor* or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor*, they ſay, is as much as *denudavit*; and therefore the word joined expreſſeth a naked image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the ſon of *Saturn*; for it was uſed among the ancients to name the father *Saturn*, the ſon *Jupiter*, and the grandchild *Hercules*. [f]*Saturni dicuntur familiarum nobilium, regum qui urbes condiderunt ſeniſſimi; primogenti eorum Joves & Junones; Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortiſſimi*; The ancienteſt of noble families, and kings which founded cities, are called *Saturns*; their firſt-born *Jupiters* and *Juno's*; their valiant nephews *Hercules*. But this *Belus* (ſaith *L. Vives*) was famous by reaſon of his warlike ſon *Ninus*, who cauſed his father to be worſhipped as a God by the name of [g]*Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (tranſported by the dreams of their antiquity) make one of theirs. For *Neptune*, ſay they, upon *Libya* the daughter of *Epaphas*, begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was father to *Ægyptus*. They add, that this *Belus* carrying a colony to the river of *Euphrates* there built a city, in which he ordained prieſts after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the ſon of *Epaphus* and *Iſis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or with *Euſebius* of *Telegonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Iſis*, *Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*, the ſame was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we ſpeak, but rather ſome other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* ſo much vaunted.

SECT. VII.

Of the worſhipping of images begun from Belus *in* Babel.

AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the moſt ancient *Belus*, and the inventor of *Aſtronomy*, if *Pliny* ſay true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the doctrine. Some part of the temple, in which his ſtatue or image was honoured as a god, the ſame author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Of the ſepulchre of *Belus*, [h] *Strabo* writeth thus. *Over the river*, ſaith he, *there are gardens, where they ſay the ruins of* Belus's *tomb, which* Xerxes *broke up, are yet remaining. It was a ſquare Pyramis made of brick, a furlong high, and on every ſide it had a furlong in breadth.* It appears by [i] *Cyril* againſt *Julian*, that he obtained divine worſhip yet living: for ſo he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*: *Arbelus, vir ſuperbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à ſubditis deitatis nomen accepiſſe*:

[a] *See more of this*, l. 2. *of this firſt part*, c. 2. §. 6. [b] Hier. in Oſe. c. 2. [c] Lyr. in ſapien. Salom. c. 11. [d] Iſid. l. 8. c. 11. [e] Hier. in Oſe. c. 4. & 9. [f] Auctor. de æquit. l. 1. [g] Diod. l. 3. [h] Strabo, l. 13. c. 3. [i] L. 4. cont. Julian.

accepiſſe: perſeverárunt igitur Aſſyrii, & finitimæ illis gentes ſacrificantes ei. Arbelus, A man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the firſt of all men that was ever honoured by their ſubjects with the title of deity (or with the name of God) the *Aſſyrians* therefore and the bordering nations have perſevered, ſacrificing to him. Even *Arius* alſo, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who ſucceeded next after *Ninyas*, was made an idol-god among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thuras* reigned (ſaith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the planet *Mars*; a man of ſhape and fierce diſpoſition, who bidding battle to *Caucaſus* of the ſtock of *Japhet*, ſlew him. The *Aſſyrians* worſhipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among idolatrous nations were deified in their life-times, or ſoon after: tho' I deny not but that the moſt of their images and *Statuæ* were firſt erected without divine worſhip, only in memory of the glorious acts of benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and ſo afterwards the devil crept into thoſe wooden and brazen carcaſes, when poſterity had loſt the memory of their firſt invention. Hereof *Iſidore* ſpeaketh in this manner. *Quos autem Pagani Deos aſſerunt homines fuerunt, & pro uniuſcujuſque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud ſuos poſt mortem cœperunt: ſed (dæmonibus perſuadentibus) quos illi pro ſua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos exiſtimárunt: ad iſta vero magis excolenda acceſſerunt poetarum figmenta*; They were men, ſaith he, whom the *Pagans* affirmed to be Gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to be honoured of his own. But at length (the devils perſuading) they accounted them leſſer gods, whoſe memories they honoured: and the fictions of the poets made the opinions (concerning the honours of the dead) much more ſuperſtitious.

And that the worſhipping of images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and heathen nations, it is not *Iſidore* alone that witneſſeth; but *Gregory*: [a] *Gentilitas* (ſaith he) *inventrix & caput eſt imaginum*; *Gentiliſm* is the inventreſs and ground of images: and *Ambroſe*; [b] *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*; The *Gentiles* adore wood as it were the image of God. [c] *Euſebius* alſo affirmeth as much, and calleth the worſhipping of images a cuſtom borrowed of the heathen. The like hath [d] St. *Auguſtine* againſt *Adimantus*. *Et verentur* (ſaith [e] *Lactantius*) *ne religio vana ſit, ſi nihil videant quod adorent*; They fear their religion would be vain, ſhould they not ſee that which they worſhip.

And (out of doubt) the ſchoolmen ſhift this fearful cuſtom very ſtrangely. For ſeeing the very workmanſhip is forbidden, how can the heart of a wiſe Chriſtian ſatisfy it ſelf with the diſtinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but ſome difference of worſhipping of thoſe images after they are made? and it is of all things the moſt ſtrange, why religious and learned men ſhould ſtrain their wits to defend the uſe of thoſe things, which the ſcriptures have not only no where warranted, but expreſly in many places forbidden, and curſed the practiſers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the devil was ſo ſtrongly and ſubtilly rooted, as neither the expreſs commandment of God himſelf, *Thou ſhalt not make any graven image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moſes* and the prophets after him could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perſuaſions, lead the hearts of men from it. For where ſhall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer inſtruction than theſe? *Take therefore good heed to your ſelves (for ye ſaw no image in the day that the Lord ſpake unto you in Horeb out of the midſt of the fire) that ye corrupt not your ſelves, and make you a graven image, or repreſentation of any figure, whether it be the likeneſs of male or female.*

And beſides the expreſs commandment, *Thou ſhalt make thee no graven image*, and the prohibition in many ſcriptures, ſo it is written in the book of *Wiſdom*, That *the invention of idols was the beginning of whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the ſchoolmen affirm, that the prophets ſpake againſt the worſhipping of the heathen idols, it is manifeſt that *Moſes* ſpake of images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the reſt of that nature, *For you ſaw no image* (ſaith *Moſes*) *that day that the Lord ſpake unto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently ſaid of *Baſil*, *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumſcribas eum mente tua*; Do not imagine any form to be in God, leſt thou limit or circumſcribe him in thy mind too. Now, if the great *Baſil* thought it a preſumption unlawful to repreſent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how far do thoſe men preſume that put him under the greaſy pencil of a painter, or the ruſty ax, or other inſtrument of a carpenter or carver.

For as this diſhonour to the infinite and incomprehenſible God began in *Babel:* ſo did the devil tranſport and ſpred this invention into all the regions adjoining, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans* for a while reſiſted the erection of theſe idols and images, refuſing to ſet them in their temples for 170 years, obſerving therein the law of *Numa:* who thought it impiety to reſemble things moſt beautiful, by things moſt baſe. But *Tarquinius Priſcus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Grecians* (a nation of all others under the ſun moſt deluded by *Satan*) ſet up the images of their Gods; which (as [f] St. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth. *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis ſupplicant, genu poſito illa adorant, & cum hæc ſuſpiciant, fabros qui illa fecêre contemnunt*; The images of the Gods are worſhipped, thoſe they pray unto with bended knees, thoſe they adore; and while they ſo greatly admire them, they contemn the handicraftſmen that made them: which alſo *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this ſort ſcoffed at.

Heu miſeri qui vana colunt, qui corde ſiniſtro
Religioſa ſibi ſculpunt ſimulachra, ſuumque
Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecêre verentur.
Quis furor eſt? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?
Ut volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque draconem,
Semi-hominemque canem ſupplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worſhip vanities,
And conſecrate dumb idols in their heart,
Whom their own Maker (God on high) deſpiſe,
And fear the work of their own hands and art.
What fury? what great madneſs doth beguile
Mens minds? that man ſhould ugly ſhapes adore,
Of birds, or bulls, or dragons, or the vile
Half-dog half-man on knees for aid implore.

And tho' this device was barbarous, and firſt, and many years practiſed by heathen nations only,

[a] Greg. Neocæſar. [b] Amb. in Pſal. 108. [c] Euſeb. l. 7. c. 18. [d] Aug. c. 13. [e] Lact. l. 2. c. 2. [f] De Civit. Dei, l. 4. c. 31.

till

till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to ſcorn the ignorant ſtupidity of his nation: but *Juſtin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sibyls* inveighed againſt images: and *Hoſpinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the ſouls of men to erect and adore thoſe Babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witneſs, that the *Perſians* did not erect or ſet up any ſtatue of their gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedemonians*, but thought it impiety to repreſent immortal natures by mortal figures. *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth in his ſixth book *de præparatione evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that images ſhould be worſhipped. The ſame do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other authors might be remembred that witneſs the diſdain which the heathens themſelves had of this childiſh idolatry: of which *Hoſpinian* hath written at large in his tract *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt*; All ill examples have ſprung from good beginnings. The heathen at firſt made theſe *ſtatuæ* and images, but in memory of ſuch remarkable men, as had deſerved beſt of their countries and commonwealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſaith *Pliny*) *non ſolebant exprimi niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium*; Men were not wont to make pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to be perpetually remembred. And tho' of the more ancient *Papiſts*, ſome have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeareth in *Lactantius*) that defence for images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea diſcerent homines Deum inviſibilem cognoſcere*; Images (ſay they, and ſo before them the heathen ſaid) are inſtead of letters, whereby men might learn to know the inviſible God: in which underſtanding (perhaps) they no otherwiſe eſteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel*, ſet up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterwards the moſt reverenced idol of the world, by which ſo many nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelf) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very ſtocks and ſtones, and painted canvaſes (called the pictures of Chriſt, or Lady, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not only adored, but eſteemed to have life, motion, and underſtanding. *On theſe ſtocks we call* (ſaith the book of *Wiſdom*) *when we paſs through the raging waves, on theſe ſtocks more rotten than the ſhip that carrieth us.*

This heathen invention of images became ſo fruitful in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into degrees and orders; as *Dii conſentes, ſeu majorum gentium*; *ſelecti, patritii, inſigniores, dii medii*: counſelling gods, or gods of the mightieſt nobility; ſelect gods, patritian, gods of mark, and common gods (which the *Romans* called *Medioxumi*) *dii infimi*, and terreſtrial hero's, and multitudes of other gods: of which St. *Auguſtine* hath made large mention in his book *de Civitate Dei, lib.* 14. But (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable ſouls and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their idols, did *Epimenides Cretenſis* (by what good angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* fields, altars to the unknown God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedication even to the times of St. *Paul*: who made them firſt known to whom thoſe altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might diſcern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the devil had ſo many years led and miſled them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe gods was ſo great in general, or that every nation had ſome one which took particular and ſingular care of them; as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Iſis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens Minerva*, in *Samos Juno*, in *Paphos Venus*, and ſo of all other parts; but every city, and almoſt every family, had a god apart. For it is written in the 2d of *Kings* xvii. 18, 31. the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſhima*, and the *Avins* made *Nibhaz* and *Tarrack*, and the *Sephernaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the prophet *Iſa.* c. xliv. derided? *Men cut down trees, rinde them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themſelves by the fire thereof, and of the reſidue he maketh a god, an idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath ſhut their eyes from ſight, and their hearts from underſtanding.* It is therefore ſafeſt for a Chriſtian to believe the commandments of God ſo direct againſt idolatry, to believe the prophets, and to believe St. *Paul*, who ſpeaketh thus plainly and feelingly. *My beloved fly from idolatry, I ſpeak as unto them which have underſtanding, judge ye what I ſay.*

SECT. VIII.

Of the wars of Ninus: *and laſtly of his war againſt* Zoroaſter.

UNTO this *Belus* ſucceeded *Ninus*, the firſt that commanded the exerciſe of idolatry, the firſt that injuriouſly invaded his neighbour-princes; and the firſt that without ſhame or fear committed adultery in publick. But as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars:) ſo of this *Ninus* (whoſe ſtory is gathered out of prophane authors) I find nothing ſo warrantable, but that the ſame may be diſputed, and in the greateſt part doubted. For altho' that piece of *Beroſus* ſet out and commented upon by *Annius* hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chrytæus* noteth) to the underſtanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnaſſæus*, and others: yet *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; proving directly that it cannot be the ſame *Beroſus* which lived in *Alexander*'s time, cited by [a] *Athenæus* and *Joſephus*: and whoſe ſtatue the *Athenians* erected, ſaith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the ſucceſſion of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* princes, even from *Nimrod* to the 18th king *Aſcatades*, and to the times of *Joſhua*. For of *Metaſthenes* an hiſtorian, of the race of the *Perſian* prieſts, there are found but certain papers, or ſome few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Aſſyrian* monarchies: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Perſian* kings is not without his errors.

Cteſias of *Cnidus* (a city adjoining to *Halicarnaſſus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his hiſtory out of the *Perſian* records, and reacheth as far upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and tho' in the ſtory of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in ſome things, and *Athenæus*, *Pauſanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet ſo baſe and apparent are his flatteries of the times and princes with whom he lived, and ſo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the armies of *Ninus*, and eſpecially of

[a] Athen. l. 14. Joſeph. cont. Appion. l. 1. & 7.

Semiramis;

Semiramis; as whatſoever his reports were, times have conſumed his works, ſaving ſome very few excerptions lately publiſhed.

And therefore in things uncertain, ſeeing a long diſcourſe cannot be pleaſing to men of judgment, I will paſs over the acts of this 3d *Aſſyrian*, in as few words as I can expreſs them. St. *Auguſtine* affirms that *Ninus* maſtered all *Aſia*, *India* excepted. Others ſay that he won it all, ſave *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his conqueſts, with whom he entered into a ſtraight league of amity, becauſe he commanded many people, and was his kinſman, and a *Chuſite*, and the neareſt prince confronting *Babylonia*. His firſt enterpriſe was upon *Syria*, which he might eaſily ſubdue, both becauſe he invaded it on the ſudden, and becauſe it lay next him: and alſo becauſe the *Arabians* and their king *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) aſſiſted him in the conqueſt thereof.

The king of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his war againſt *Zoroaſter*: for from *Armenia* he bent himſelf that way towards the eaſt; but that ever he commanded the leſſer *Aſia*, I do not believe, for none of his ſucceſſors had any poſſeſſion therein.

His third war was againſt *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, whom it is ſaid that he overthrew, and cruelly murdered with his ſeven children, tho' others affirm that they all died in one battel againſt him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaſter* before the building or amplifying of *Nineveh*, or after, it is uncertain. It is ſaid that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill ſucceſs in the firſt, he returned, and ſet the work of *Nineveh* forward: and then a ſecond time entred *Bactria* with 1700000 foot, and 200000 horſe, and 10600 chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaſter* with 400000. But [a] *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaſter* being ſlain, he entred farther into the country, and beſieged the chief city thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrion* (ſaith [b] *Stephanus*:) which by a paſſage found, and an aſſault given by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and poſſeſs'd. Upon this occaſion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her perſon and external beauty, fancy'd her ſo ſtrongly, as (neglecting all princely reſpects) he took her from her huſband, whoſe eyes he threatned to thruſt out if he refuſed to conſent. He therefore yielding to the paſſion of love in *Ninus*, and to the paſſion of ſorrow in himſelf, by the ſtrong perſuaſions of ſhame and diſhonour, caſt himſelf headlong into the water and died.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaſter, *ſuppoſed to have been the chief author of magick arts: and of the divers kinds of magick.*

SECT. I.

That Zoroaſter *was not* Cham, *nor the firſt inventor of aſtrology, or of magick: and that there were divers great magicians of this name.*

ZOroaſter king of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* ſuppoſeth to be *Cham*, the ſon of *Noah*: a fancy of little probability. For *Cham* was the paternal anceſtor of *Ninus*, the father of *Chus*, the grand-father of *Nimrod*, whoſe ſon was *Belus*, the father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that book which was called *Scripturæ Cham*, deviſed by ſome wicked knave, and ſo intitled: of which *Sixtus Senenſis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by [c] *Caſſianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of magick to *Cham*, the ſon of *Noah*: ſo did *Comeſtor* in his ſcholaſtical hiſtory: wich art (ſaith he) with the ſeven liberal ſciences he writ in fourteen pillars: ſeven of which were made of braſs, to reſiſt the defacing by the waters of the flood; and ſeven of brick againſt the injury of fire. There was alſo another deviſed diſcourſe, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Caſſianus* out of *Serenus* hath ſomewhat like unto this of *Comeſtor*. Theſe be *Caſſianus*'s words: Cham (*filius* Noah) *qui ſuperſtitionibus iſtis & ſacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, ſciens nullum ſe poſſe ſuper hiis memorialem librum in arcam prorſus inferre, in qua erat cum patre juſto, &c. Cham* (the ſon of *Noah*) who was infected with theſe ſuperſtitions, and ſacrilegious arts, knowing that he could not bring any book or memorial of that nature into the ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly father, cauſed the precepts and rules thereof to be graven in metal and hard ſtone.

St. *Auguſtine* noteth, that *Zoroaſter* was ſaid to have laugh'd at his birth, when all other children weep; which preſaged the great knowledge which afterwards he attained unto: being taken for the inventor of natural magick and other arts; for the corrupter, ſaith *Pliny* and *Juſtin*. But I do not think that *Zoroaſter* invented the doctrine of the horoſcopes or nativities: or firſt found out the nature of herbs, ſtones, and minerals, or their ſympathetical or antipathetical workings; of which I know not what king of *Chaldea* is alſo made the inventor. I rather think that theſe knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his ſons. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaſter* (as *Joſephus* reporteth) was no leſs learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wiſdom of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cauſe, and giver of life and virtue to nature and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting God's infinite, diſperſed, and univerſal power) admired the inſtruments and attributed proper ſtrength to the things themſelves (from which the effects were ſenſible) which belonged to that wiſdom, [d] *Which being one, and remaining in it ſelf, can do all things and reneweth all.*

Now whether this *Zoroaſter* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the ſame which was ſo excellent a naturaliſt, it is doubted. For *Zoroaſter* the magician, *Cteſias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaſter* were taken away by a ſpirit (being in the midſt of his diſciples) as ſome authors report, then *Zoroaſter*, ſlain by *Ninus*, was not the magician: which is alſo the opinion of [e] *Scaliger*.

Again, [f] *Joſephus* and *Cedrenus* affirm that *Seth* firſt found out the planets, or wandring ſtars, and other motions of the heavens: for if this art had been invented by *Zoroaſter*, he could not have attained to any ſuch excellency therein, in his own life-time; but being a man (as it ſeemeth) of ſingular judgment, he might add ſomewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to poſterity.

But of this *Zoroaſter* there is much diſpute: and no leſs jangling about the word and art of magick. *Arnobius* remembreth four to whom the name of *Zoroaſter*, or *Zoroaſtres*, was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dinon* ſeemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of art, and was as much to ſay, as *aſtrorum cultor*. The firſt, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactri-*

[a] Aug. de Civitate Dei. [b] Steph. de Urb. [c] Caſſian. in Octa. Col. c. 21. [d] Wiſd. c. 7. [e] Scalig. in Euſ. [f] Joſ. l. 1. ant. c. 4.

an, which may be the ſame that *Ninus* overthrew: the ſecond, a *Chaldean*, and the aſtronomer of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaſter Pamphylius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth *Zoroaſter Armenius*, the nephew of *Hoſtianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there paſs'd 78 years. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Perſomedus ſapiens*: and *Plato* ſpeaketh of *Zoroaſter* the ſon of *Oromaſdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what nation the firſt and chief *Zoroaſter* was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Perſian*. *Gemiſthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius* make him a *Chaldean*. But by thoſe books of one *Zoroaſter*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the author of them was a *Chaldean* by nation, tho' the word (*Chaldean*) was as often given to the learned prieſts peculiarly, as for any diſtinguiſhment of nations. *Porphyrus* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* divers; *Picus* the ſame. But that this *Zoroaſter* was a *Chaldean* both by nation and profeſſion, it appeareth by his books, which (ſaith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldean* tongue; and the comment in the ſame language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of thoſe books of *Zoroaſter*, which in an epiſtle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he ſaith, to be intitled, *Patris* Ezre Zoroaſtris & Melchior *magorum oracula*.

SECT. II.

Of the name of Magia: *and that it was anciently far diverſe from conjuring and witchcraft.*

NOW for magick it ſelf; which art (ſaith [a] *Mirandula*) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt*; Few underſtand, and many reprehend: *Et ſicut canes ignotos ſemper allatrant*; As dogs bark at thoſe they know not: ſo they condemn and hate the things they underſtand not: I think it not amiſs (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to ſpeak ſomewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhor the very name and word [*Magus*] becauſe of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, that is, familiar with evil ſpirits, uſurped that title. For magick, conjuring and witchery are far differing arts, whereof *Pliny* being ignorant, ſcoffeth thereat. For *Nero*, ſaith [b] *Pliny*, who had the moſt excellent magicians of the eaſt, ſent him by *Tyridates* king of *Armenia*, who held that kingdom by his grace, found the art after long ſtudy and labour altogether ridiculous.

[c] *Magus* is a *Perſian* word primitively, whereby is expreſs'd ſuch a one as is altogether converſant in things divine. And, as [d] *Plato* affirmeth, the art of magick is the art of worſhipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his epiſtles expounding the word [μάγῳ] ſaith, that the *Perſians* called their gods μάγους: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either ὁ κατὰ φύσιν θεὸς or θεραπευτὴς θεῶν, that is, that *Magus* is a name ſometime of him that is a God by nature; ſometimes of him that is in the ſervice of God: in which latter ſenſe it is taken, *Matt.* ch. ii. ver. 1. And this is the firſt and higheſt kind: which [e] *Piccolomini* calleth divine magick: and theſe did the *Latins* newly intitle *ſapientes* or *wiſe men*: *For the fear and worſhip of God is the beginning of knowledge.* Theſe *wiſemen* the *Greeks* call *Philoſophers*: the *Indians Brachmans*: which name they ſomewhat nearly retain to this day, calling their prieſts *Bramines*; among the *Egyptians* they were termed prieſts; with the *Hebrews* they were called *Cabaliſts*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Phariſees*: amongſt the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldeans*: and among the *Perſians Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (ſpeaking of *Hoſtanes*, one of the ancient magicians) uſeth theſe words, [f] *Et verum Deum merita majeſtate proſequitur, & angelos miniſtros Dei, ſed veri, ejus venerationi novit aſſiſtere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos.* *Soſthenes* (for ſo *M. Fœlix* calleth him, not *Hoſtanes*) aſcribeth the due majeſty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his angels are miniſters and meſſengers which attend the worſhip of the true God. He alſo hath delivered that there are devils earthly and wandring, and enemies to mankind.

His majeſty alſo in his firſt book of *Demonology*, c. iii. acknowledgeth, that in the *Perſian* tongue the word [*Magus*] imports as much as a contemplator of divine and heavenly ſciences, but unjuſtly ſo called, becauſe the *Chaldeans* were ignorant of the true divinity. And it is alſo right which his majeſty avoweth, that under the name of magick, all other unlawful arts are comprehended, and yet doth his majeſty diſtinguiſh it from necromancy, witchcraft, and the reſt: of all which he hath written largely and moſt learnedly. For the magick which his [g] majeſty condemneth, is of that kind whereof the devil is a party. *Daniel*, in his 2d chapter, nameth four kinds of thoſe wiſemen: *Arioli, Magi, Malefici, & Chaldæi.* *Arioli* the old *Latin* tranſlation calleth *Sophiſtas*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Phyſicos*, or *Philoſophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturaliſts*: *Nempe ſunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod philoſophi apud Græcos (ſcilicet) divinarum humanarumque rerum ſcientiam profitentes*; For the *Magi* are the ſame with the *Barbarians*, as the *Philoſophers* are with the *Grecians*, that is, men that profeſs the knowledge of things both divine and human. The *Greek* and the *Engliſh* call them inchanters; *Junius* magicians; *Caſtalion* conjecturers: in the *Syrian* they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*, The wiſemen of *Babel*.

The ſecond ſort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh* call *Aſtrologers*, *Jerome* and the *Septuagint*, *Magicians*.

The third kind are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Jerome*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, *Witches*, or *Poiſoners*; in *Junius*, *Præſtigiatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in *Engliſh*.

That witches are rightly ſo called *Venefici*, or *Poiſoners*; and that indeed there is a kind of *Malefici*, which without any art of magick or necromancy, uſe the help of the devil to do miſchief, his majeſty confirmeth in the firſt chapter of his ſecond book: ſpeaking alſo in the fifth chapter of their practice, to mix the powder of dead bodies with other things by the devil prepared; and at other times to make pictures of wax, or clay, or otherwiſe (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect thoſe things, which the devil by other means bringeth to paſs.

The fourth, all tranſlators call *Chaldeans*: who took upon them to foretel all things to come, as well natural as human, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the ſtars by them obſerved, and underſtood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of magick, having chiefly ſought (as is the manner of all impoſtures) to counterfeit the higheſt and moſt noble part of it, yet ſo as they have alſo crept into the inferiour degrees.

A ſecond kind of magick was that part of *Aſtro-*

[a] Pic. Mir. fol. 81. [b] Plin. l. 30. hiſt. nat. [c] Porphyr. & Apul. [d] Plato. in Alcib. [e] Piccol. de defin. Prov. 1. 7 John Hug. Linſchot. [f] In Octavio Minutii Fœlicis cum Arnobio, pag. 360. [g] Dæmonolog. l. 2. c. 1.

logy,

logy, which had reſpect to ſowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and husbandry: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the ſtars into thoſe lower elements.

Philo Judæus goeth farther, affirming that by this part of *magick* or *aſtrology*, together with the motions of the ſtars and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldea*: [a] *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem* (ſaith *Jo. Damaſcen.*) Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature. *Joſephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that he inſtructed the *Egyptians* in arithmetick and aſtronomy, who before *Abraham*'s coming unto them knew none of theſe ſciences.

And ſo doth [b] *Archangelus de Burgo* in defence of *Mirandula* againſt *Garſias*. *Alexander & Eupolemon dicunt, quod Abraham ſanctitate & ſapientia omnium præſtantiſſimus Chaldæos primum, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios ſacerdotes aſtrologiam & divina docuerit: Alexander* (ſaith he) meaning *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, and *Eupolemon* affirm, that *Abraham* the holieſt and wiſeſt of men did firſt teach the *Chaldeans*, then the *Phenicians*, laſtly the *Egyptian* prieſts aſtrology and divine knowledge.

The third kind of magick containeth the whole philoſophy of nature; not the brablings of the [b] *Ariſtotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmoſt virtues, and draweth them out of nature's hidden boſom to human uſe, *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*; Virtues hidden in the center of the center, according to the chymiſts. Of this ſort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa Nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before theſe, in elder times, and who better underſtood the power of nature, and how to apply things that work to things that ſuffer, were *Zoroaſter* before ſpoken of: *Apollonius Tyanæus* remembred by St. *Jerome* to *Paulinus*; in ſome mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians*, *Theſpion*: among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperborians* (as is ſuppoſed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians*, *Pet. Aponenſis*. The magick which theſe men profeſs'd is thus defin'd. *Magia eſt connexio à viro ſapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, ſibi congruenter reſpondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant non ſine eorum admiratione qui cauſam ignorant*: Magick is the connexion of natural agents and patients, anſwerable each to other, wrought by a wiſe man to the bringing forth of ſuch effects, as are wonderful to thoſe that know not their cauſes. In all theſe three kinds which other men divide into four, it ſeemeth that *Zoroaſter* was exceedingly learned; eſpecially in the firſt and higheſt. For in his oracles he confeſſeth God to be the Creator of the univerſal: he believeth of the [c] Trinity, which he could not inveſtigate by any natural knowledge: he ſpeaketh of angels, and of *Paradiſe*: approveth the immortality of the ſoul: teacheth truth, faith, hope, and love, diſcourſing of the abſtinence and charity of the *magi*: which oracles of his, [d] *Pſellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others have gathered and tranſlated.

Of this *Zoroaſter*, [e] *Euſebius* in the theology of the *Phenicians* uſing *Zoroaſter*'s own words: *Hæc ad verbum ſcribit* (ſaith *Euſebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, ſempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, ſibi ipſi ſimillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus: prudentiſſimus, pater juris, ſine doctrina juſtitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, ſapiens, ſacræ naturæ unicus inventor, &c.* Thus writeth *Zoroaſter*, word for word. God the firſt incorruptible, everlaſting, unbegotten, without parts, moſt like himſelf, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the beſt, the wiſeſt, the father of right, having learn'd juſtice without teaching, perfect wiſe by nature, the only inventor thereof.

Sixtus Senenſis, [f] ſpeaking of the wiſdom of the *Chaldeans*, doth diſtinguiſh thoſe wiſe men into five orders, to wit, *Chaſcedim*, or *Chaldeans*: *Aſaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim*; (which he tranſlates *Arioli* or *Sophiſts*) *Mechaſphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poiſoners*; and *Gazarim Augures*, or *Aruſpices*, or *Diviners*.

Chaſcedim were thoſe which had the name of *Chaldeans*, which were aſtronomers; *Hi cœlorum motus diligentiſſime ſpectárunt*; Theſe did moſt diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens: whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* deſcribeth.

Aſaphim were in the old *Latin* tranſlation called philoſophers: of the *Septuagint* and of *Jerome*, magicians: *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum cauſis philoſophati ſunt*; Who diſcourſed of the cauſes of all things, as well divine as human: of whom *Origen*, makes *Balaam* the ſon of *Beor*, to be the firſt: but [g] *Laertius* aſcribeth the invention of this art to *Zoroaſtres* the *Perſian*.

Chartumim, or inchanters, the diſciples (ſaith St. *Anguſtine*, *Pliny* and *Juſtin*) of another *Zoroaſtres*: who corrupted the admirable wiſdom of the *magi*, which he received from his anceſtors.

Mecaſphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are thoſe of which we have ſpoken already out of his majeſty's book of *Demonology*.

Gazarim, or *Aruſpices*, after St. *Jerome*, which divine from the entrails of beaſts ſlain for ſacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others underſtand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, ſinging, or feeding of birds.

By this diſtinction we may perceive the difference between thoſe wiſe men which the kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profeſſion of the *magi* among the ancient *Perſians* was moſt honeſt. For as *Peucer* truly obſerveth, [h] *Præerant religioni Perſicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, ſtudiiſq; veræ philoſophiæ dediti erant: nec quiſquam Rex Perſarum poterat eſſe, qui non antea magorum diſciplinam ſcientiamque percepiſſet.* The *magi* (ſaith he) were the chief miniſters of the *Perſian* religion, as the *Levites* among God's people, and they were given to the ſtudies of true philoſophy: neither could any be king of the *Perſians*, who had not firſt been exerciſed in the myſteries and knowledge of the *magi*. *Sixtus Senenſis* in the defence of *Origen* againſt *Polychronius* and *Theophilus* hath two kinds of magick; his own words are theſe: [i] *Et ne quem moveant præmiſſa Polychronii & Theophili teſtimonia, ſciendum eſt duplicem eſſe magiam; alteram ubique ab Origene damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita aut vere aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origene laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis philoſophiæ pertinet docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium*: That the teſtimonies of *Theophilus* and *Polychronius*, ſaith he, may not move any man, it is to be underſtood that magick is of two ſorts, the one every where condemned by *Origen*; which worketh (whether truly or ſeemingly) by covenants made with devils: the other commended by *Origen*; which appertaineth to the practic part of natural philoſophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural virtues, agent and ſuffering reciprocally. This partition *Jerome* doth embrace in the firſt of

[a] De vit. ſanct. Glyc. Annal. fol. 180. [b] *See upon his Comment.* in Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2. [c] Toto in mundo lucet Trias, cujus Monas eſt princeps. Cuncta namque perfecit pater, & monti tradidit ſecundæ. [d] Pſell. & Ficin. [e] De præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 7. [f] Lib. 2. fol. 46. [g] Laert. l. 1. [h] Peucer. de divinat. in c. de mag. fol. 135, & 136. [i] Bib. l. 6. fol. 424.

his

his commentaries upon *Daniel*; where conſidering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between theſe four kinds of wiſe men formerly remembred, he uſeth this diſtinction; *Quos nos Hariolos, cæteri* ἐπαοιδοὺς *(id eſt) Incantatores interpretati ſunt, videntur mihi eſſe qui verbis rem peragunt; magi, qui de ſingulis philoſophantur; malefici, qui ſanguine utuntur & victimis, & ſæpe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldæis Genethliacos ſignificari puto, quos vulgo mathematicos vocant. Conſuetudo autem communis magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem ſuam, eo quod ſint philoſophi Chaldæorum: & ad artis hujus ſcientiam reges quoque & principes ejuſdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde & in nativitate Domini Salvatoris ipſi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes in ſanctam Bethlehem adoraverunt puerum, ſtella deſuper oſtendente.* They whom we call ſorcerers, and others interpret inchanters, ſeem to me ſuch as perform things by words; magicians, ſuch as handle every thing philoſophically; witches, that uſe blood and ſacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the *Chaldeans* I take them to be ſignified by the name of conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call mathematicians. But common cuſtom takes magicians for witches, who are otherwiſe reputed in their own nation: for they are the philoſophers of the *Chaldeans*: yea kings and princes of that nation do all that they do according to the knowledge of this art: whence at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour they firſt of all underſtood his birth, and coming unto holy *Bethlehem* did worſhip the child, the ſtar from above ſhewing him unto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference between the doctrine of a magician, and the abuſe of the word. For tho' ſome writers affirm, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque*; That he is called a magician now-a-days, who having entered league with the devil, uſeth his help to any matter; yet (as our Saviour ſaid of divorce) it was not ſo from the beginning. For the art of magick is of the wiſdom of nature; other arts which undergo that title were invented by the falſhood, ſubtlety and envy of the devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the uſe of certain ceremonies *per malam fidem*, by an evil faith: in the former no other ill, than the inveſtigation of thoſe virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work to things that ſuffer. And tho' by the *Jews* thoſe excellent magicians, philoſophers and divines, which came to worſhip our Saviour *Chriſt*, were termed *Mechaſchephim*, or *Mecaſphim*; yet had they no other reaſon than common cuſtom therein. *Conſuetudo autem communis magos pro maleficis accipit*; Common cuſtom, ſaith [a] St. *Jerome*, underſtandeth witches under the name of magicians: and antiquity, ſaith [b] *Peter Martyr*, by the word [*magi*] underſtood good and wiſe men. [c] *Quid igitur expaveſcis magi nomen formidoloſe, nomen evangelio gratioſum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, ſed ſapientem ſonat & ſacerdotem?* O thou fearful one, ſaith *Ficinius*, why doubteſt thou to uſe the name of *Magus*, a name gracious in the goſpel, which doth not ſignify a witch or conjurer, but a wiſe man and a prieſt? For what brought this ſlander to that ſtudy and profeſſion but only idle ignorance, the parent of cauſeleſs admiration? [d] *Cauſa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ revera opera naturalia ſunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonum naturas ipſas vel conjungentium, vel commiſcentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta ſunt, opera dæmonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujuſmodi eſt magia naturalis, quam necromantiam multi improprie vocant.* The marvelloufneſs of ſome works, which indeed are natural, hath been the cauſe of this ſlander: but becauſe theſe works have been done by procurement of devils joining the natures together, or mingling them, or howſoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the devils by the ignorant. Among theſe works is natural magick, which men call very improperly necromancy.

Mirandula in his *Apology* goeth further: [e] *For by underſtanding*, ſaith he, *the uttermoſt activity of natural agents we are aſſiſted to know the divinity of Chriſt:* for otherwiſe (to uſe his own words) *Ignoratis terminis potentiæ & virtutis rerum naturalium, ſtat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Chriſtus, poſſe fieri per media naturalia*; The terms or limits of natural power and virtue not underſtood, we muſt needs doubt whether thoſe very works which Chriſt did, may not be done by natural means: after which he goeth on in this ſort: *Ideo non hæretice, non ſuperſtitioſe dixi, ſed veriſſime & Catholice, per talem magiam adjuvari nos in cognoſcenda divinitate Chriſti*; Therefore I ſaid not heretically, not ſuperſtitiouſly, but moſt truly and catholickly, that by ſuch magick we are furthered in knowing the divinity of *Chriſt*. And ſeeing the *Jews* and others the enemies of Chriſtian religion, do impudently and impiouſly object, that thoſe miracles which Chriſt wrought were not above nature, but by the exquiſite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula*, a man for his years fuller of knowledge than any that this latter age hath brought forth, might with good reaſon avow, that the uttermoſt of nature's works being known, the works which Chriſt did, and which (as himſelf witneſſeth) no man could do, do manifeſtly teſtify of themſelves, that they were performed by that hand which held nature therein but as a pencil, and by a power infinitely ſupreme and divine: and thereby thoſe that were faithleſs, were either converted or put to ſilence.

SECT. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient magick is not to be condemned; tho' the devil here as in other kinds, hath ſought to obtrude evil things under the name and colour of good things.

SEEING therefore it is confeſſed by all of underſtanding, that a magician (according to the *Perſian* word) is no other than *Divinorum cultor & interpres*; A ſtudious obſerver and expounder of divine things: and the art itſelf (I mean the art of natural magick) no other, *Quam naturalis philoſophiæ abſoluta conſummatio*, Than the abſolute perfection of natural philoſophy. Certainly then it proceedeth from ignorance, and no way ſorteth with wiſe and learned men *promiſcue*, and without difference and diſtinction, to confound lawful and praiſe-worthy knowledge with that impious, and, to uſe St. *Paul*'s words, *With thoſe beggarly rudiments*, which the devil hath ſhuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceleſs men. For if we condemn natural magick, or the wiſdom of nature, becauſe the devil, who knoweth more than any man, doth alſo teach witches and poiſoners the harmful parts of herbs, drugs, minerals, and excrements: then may we by the ſame rule condemn the phyſician, and the art of healing. For the devil alſo in the oracles of *Amphia-*

[a] Hieron. in Dan. [b] Pet. Mart. loc. [c] Mar. Ficin. part prim. fol. 573. [d] Gul. Pariſien. de lege, c. 14. [e] Fol. 80.

raus,

rans, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in dreams, what herbs and drugs were proper for ſuch and ſuch diſeaſes. Now no man of judgment is ignorant, that the devil from the beginning hath ſought to thruſt himſelf into the ſame employment among the miniſters and ſervants of God, changing himſelf for that purpoſe into an angel of light. He hath led men to idolatry as a doctrine of religion; he hath thruſt in his prophets among thoſe of the true God; he hath corrupted the art of aſtrology, by giving a divine power to the ſtars, teaching men to eſteem them as gods, and not as inſtruments. And (as [a] *Bunting* obſerveth) it is true that judicial aſtrology is corrupted with many ſuperſtitions: but the abuſe of the thing takes not away the art; conſidering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience ſheweth) have and exerciſe their operation upon the inferiour. For the ſun, and the ſtar of *Mars* do dry; the moon doth moiſten, and govern the tides of the ſea. Again, the planets, as they have ſeveral and proper names, ſo have they ſeveral and proper virtues: the ſtars do alſo differ in beauty and in magnitude; and to all the ſtars hath God given alſo their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different) needed not. [b] *He counteth the number of the ſtars, and calleth them by their names.* But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celeſtial influences, the devil ceaſeth not to ſhuffle in his ſuperſtitions: and ſo to the knowledge of the ſecret virtues of nature hath he faſtned his doctrine of characters, numbers and incantations; and taught men to believe in the ſtrength of words and letters: (which without faith in God are but ink or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the all-powerful word of God, or to diminiſh the glory of God's creating word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, He was never ignorant, that both the wiſe and the ſimple obſerve when the ſea-birds forſake the ſhores and fly into the land, that commonly ſome great ſtorm followeth; that the high flying of the kite and the ſwallow betokeneth fair weather; that the crying of crows and bathing of ducks foreſhew rain: for they feel the air moiſtened in their quills. And it is written in *Jeremy* the prophet, [c] *Even the ſtork in the air knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the ſwallow.* Hereupon this enemy of mankind working upon theſe, as upon the reſt of God's creatures, long time abuſed the heathen, by teaching them to obſerve the flying of fowls, and thereby to judge of good or ill ſucceſs in the war: and withal to look into their entrails for the ſame, as if God had written the ſecrets of unſearchable providence in the livers and bowels of birds and beaſts. Again, becauſe it pleaſed God ſometimes by dreams, not only to warn and teach his prophets and apoſtles, but heathen princes alſo; as [d] *Abimelech* to reſtore *Sarah* to *Abraham*; becauſe he admoniſhed *Joſeph*, and by dream informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharaoh*, *Solomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the eaſt, and others. For as it is remembred in *Job*: [e] *In dreams and viſions of the night when ſleep falleth upon men*, &c. *then God openeth the ears, that he might cauſe man to return from his enterpriſe*: therefore, I ſay, doth the devil alſo practiſe his divinations by dreams, or after [f] *Pariſienſis*, *Divinitatis imitationes*, His mock divinity. This in the end grew ſo common, as *Ariſtides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his own dreams: *Mithridates* of thoſe of his concubines. Yea, the *Romans* finding the inconvenience hereof, becauſe all dreams, without diſtinction of cauſes, were drawn to divination, forbad the ſame by a law, as by the words of prohibition, [g] *Aut narrandis ſomniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*, it may appear. Likewiſe by the law of God in *Deuteronomy* xiii. ſeducing dreamers were ordered to be ſlain. Yet it is not to be contemned that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his dream for two grievous diſeaſes that oppreſs'd him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolemy*'s poiſon'd wound; nor that which [h] St. *Auguſtine* reporteth of a *Millanoiſe*, whoſe ſon (the father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his father in a dream where the acquittance lay to diſcharge it; nor that of *Aſtyages* of his daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reaſon of all which, foraſmuch as the cauſe is not in ourſelves, this place denieth diſpute.

SECT. IV.

That Daniel's *miſliking* Nabuchodonoſor's *condemning of the magicians doth not juſtify all their practices.*

BUT it may be objected, that if ſuch divinations as the heathens commonly uſed were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and ſtrange revelations: how came it to paſs that *Daniel* both condemned the haſty ſentence of *Nabuchodonoſor* againſt the magicians of *Chaldea*, and in a ſort forbad it? eſpecially conſidering that ſuch kind of people [i] God himſelf commanded to be ſlain. To this divers anſwers may be given. Firſt, It ſeemeth that *Daniel* had reſpect to thoſe *Chaldeans*, becauſe they acknowledged that the dream of the king, which himſelf had forgotten, could not be known to any man by any art, either natural or diabolical: *For there is no other (ſaid the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whoſe dwelling is not with fleſh*: and herein they confeſſed the power of the ever-living God.

Secondly, It may be conjectured, and that with good reaſon, that among ſo many learned men, ſome of them did not exerciſe themſelves in any evil or unlawful arts, but were merely magicians and naturaliſts: and therefore when the king commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perſuaded the contrary, and called it a haſty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that ſome of thoſe mens ſtudies and profeſſions were lawful, it may be gathered by *Daniel*'s inſtructions: For himſelf had been taught by them, and was called chief of the inchanters; of which ſome were termed *Soothſayers*, others *Aſtrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magi* or *Wiſemen*: and therefore of diſtinct profeſſions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* miſliked and forbad the execution of that judgment, becauſe it was unjuſt. For howſoever thoſe men might deſerve puniſhment for the practice of unlawful arts (tho' not unlawful according to the law of that ſtate) yet herein they were altogether guiltleſs. For it exceeded human power to pierce the king's thought, which the devil himſelf could not know. So then in *Daniel*'s diſlike, and hindering of the execution of ſentence of death pronounced againſt the magicians, there is no abſolute juſtifying of their practice and profeſſion.

[a] Bunt. in Chron. [b] Pſal. 147. 4. [c] Jer. 8. 7. [d] Gen. 12. 17. [e] Job 33. 17. [f] G. Pariſien. de leg. cap. 24. [g] Codex de maleſic. & mathemat. leg. & ſi accepta. [h] Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda. [i] Deut. 13. and 18. Levit. 20.

SECT. V.

The abuſe of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right uſe of them.

NOtwiſtanding this mixture every where of good with evil, of falſhood with truth, of corruption with cleanneſs and purity: the good, the truth, the purity in every kind may well be embraced: as in the ancient worſhipping of God by ſacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the elders, that therefore forbare to offer ſacrifice to the God of all power, becauſe the devil in the image of *Baal*, *Aſtaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like, was ſo adored.

Neither did the abuſe of aſtrology terrify *Abraham* (if we may believe the moſt ancient and religious [a] hiſtorians) from obſerving the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wiſe and learned men in theſe days from attributing thoſe virtues, influences, and inclinations to the ſtars and other lights of heaven, which God hath given to thoſe his glorious creatures.

The ſympathetical and antipathetical working of herbs, plants, ſtones, minerals, with their other utmoſt virtues ſometimes taught by the devil, and applied by his miniſters to harmful and uncharitable ends, can never terrify the honeſt and learned phyſician or magician from the uſing of them to the help and comfort of mankind: neither can the illuſions whereby the devil betrayeth ſuch men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the obſervation of dreams; ſo far as with a good faith and a religious caution they may make uſe of them.

Laſtly, The [b] prohibition to mark flying of fowls (as ſigns of good or evil ſucceſs) hath no reference at all to the crying of crows againſt rain, or to any obſervation not ſuperſtitious, and whereof a reaſon or cauſe may be given. For if we confound arts with the abuſe of them, we ſhall not only condemn all honeſt trades and interchange among men (for there are that deceive in all profeſſions) but we ſhall in a ſhort time bury in forgetfulneſs all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obſcure and cover it over with a moſt ſcornful and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Pliny* teacheth) we ſhould ſhew our ſelves *Ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce*; Unthankful we ſhould ſhew ourſelves toward thoſe, who with pains and care have diſcovered unto us light in this light.

Indeed not only theſe natural knowledges are condemned by thoſe that are ignorant; but the mathematicks alſo and profeſſors thereof; tho' thoſe that are excellently learned judge of it in this ſort. [c] *In ſpeculo mathematico verum illud, quod in omni ſcibili quæritur, relucet; non modo remota ſimilitudine, ſed fulgida quadam propinquitate*; In the glaſs of the mathematicks, that truth doth ſhine, which is ſought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obſcure image, but in a near and manifeſt repreſentation.

SECT. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawful magick.

IT is true that there are many arts, if we may ſo call them, which are covered with the name of magick, and eſteemed abuſively to be as branches of that tree, on whoſe root they never grew. The firſt of theſe hath the name of *Necromancy* or *Goetia*: and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the devil himſelf gives anſwer inſtead of thoſe that ſeem to appear. For certain it is, that the immortal ſouls of men do not inhabit the duſt and dead bodies, but they give motion and underſtanding to the living: death being nothing elſe but a ſeparation of the body and ſoul: and therefore the ſoul is not to be found in the graves.

A ſecond practice of thoſe men, who pay tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring or of raiſing up devils, of whom they hope to learn what they liſt. Theſe men are ſo diſtracted, as to believe that by terrible words they make the devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle (a circle which cannot keep out a mouſe) they therein, as they ſuppoſe, inſconce themſelves againſt that great monſter. Doubtleſs they forgot that the devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodneſs; no, not by the fearful word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to ſit in God's ſeat; that he made no ſcruple to tempt our Saviour Chriſt, whom himſelf called the Son of God. So, forgetting theſe proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet reſolve himſelf, that he can draw the devil out of hell, and terrify him with a phraſe: whereas in very truth, the obedience which devils ſeem to uſe, is but thereby to poſſeſs themſelves of the bodies and ſouls of thoſe which raiſe them up; as his majeſty in his book aforenamed hath excellently taught, *That the devil's obedience is only* ſecundum quid, ſcilicet, ex pacto; reſpective, *that is, upon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can do upon thoſe ſimple and ignorant devils, which inhabit [d] *Jamblicus*'s imagination; but ſure I am, the reſt are apt enough to come uncalled: and always attending the cogitations of their ſervants and vaſſals, do no way need any ſuch inforcement.

Or it may be that theſe conjurers deal altogether with *Cardan*'s mortal devils, following the opinion of [e] *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that theſe kind of devils lived not above a thouſand years: which *Plutarch*, in his treatiſe *De oraculorum defectu*, confirmeth, making example of the great god *Pan*. For were it true, that the devils were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they always fear thoſe words or threats, by which at other times they are willingly maſtered. But the [f] familiar of *Simon Magus*, when he had lifted him up in the air, caſt him headlong out of his claws, when he was ſure he ſhould periſh with the fall. If this perhaps were done by St. *Peter*'s prayers (of which St. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the ſame prank at other times upon his own accord the devil play'd with [g] *Theodotus*: who tranſported (as *Simon Magus* was ſuppoſed to have been) had the ſame mortal fall that he had. The like ſucceſs had *Budas*, a principal pillar of the *Manichean* hereſy, as [h] *Socrates* in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory witneſſeth: and for a manifeſt proof hereof, we ſee it every day, that the devil leaves all witches and ſorcerers at the gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himſelf a *Pegaſus*, to convey them in haſte to places far diſtant, or at leaſt makes them ſo think: [i] *For to thoſe that received not the truth, ſaith St.* Paul, *God ſhall ſend them ſtrong illuſions.* Of theſe their ſuppoſed tranſportations (yet agreeing with their confeſſions) his majeſty, in the 2d book and the 4th chapter of the *Demonology*, hath confirmed by unanſwerable reaſons, that they are merely illuſive. Another ſort there are who take on them to include ſpirits in glaſſes and cryſtals: of whom *Cuſanus*: [k] *Fatui ſunt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt ſpiritum includere: quia ſpiritus non clauditur corpore*; They are fooliſh inchanters which will

[a] Euſeb. ex Artapan. & Polyhiſt. [b] Deut. 18. 10. [c] Cuſan. Comp. Theolog. c. 1. [d] Sunt in mundo genus quoddum poteſtatum valde diviſum, indiſcretum & inconſideratum; & quod neque verum a falſo, neque poſſibile diſcernit ab impoſſibili. L. Vives in cap. 11. l. 10. [e] Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 10. [f] Cuſan. exer. l. 2. [g] Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 16. [h] Lib. 1. c. 21. [i] 2 Theſſ. 2. [k] Exercit. l. 2.

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ſhut up their ſpirits within their nails or in a glaſs; for a ſpirit cannot be incloſed by a body.

There is alſo another art beſides the aforementioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or white magick; a pretended conference with good ſpirits or angels, whom by ſacrifice and invocation they draw out of heaven, and communicate withal. But the adminiſtring ſpirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator: ſo ſeeing they are moſt free ſpirits, there is no man ſo abſurd to think (except the devil have corrupted his underſtanding) that they can be conſtrained or commanded out of heaven by threats. Wherefore let the profeſſors thereof cover themſelves how they pleaſe by a profeſſed purity of life, by the miniſtry of infants, by faſting and abſtinence in general; yet all thoſe that tamper with immaterial ſubſtances and abſtract natures, either by ſacrifice, vow, or inforcement, are men of evil faith, and in the power of Satan. For good ſpirits or angels cannot be conſtrained; and the reſt are devils which willingly obey.

Other ſorts there are of wicked divinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia:* by water, called *Hydromantia:* by the air, called *Matæotechnia*, and the like.

The laſt, and, indeed, the worſt of all other is faſcination or witchcraft: the practiſers whereof are no leſs envious and cruel, revengeful and bloody, than the devil himſelf. And theſe accurſed creatures having ſold their ſouls to the devil, work two ways; either by the devil immediately, or by the art of poiſoning. The difference between necromancers and witches, his majeſty hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a ſort) command, the other obey the devil.

There is another kind of petty witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of beaſts and birds, of which [a] *Pythagoras* was accuſed, becauſe an eagle lighted on his ſhoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the ſame exceeded the art of falconry, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomet*'s dove, which he had uſed to feed with wheat out of his ear: which dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet*'s ſhoulder, and thruſt his bill therein to find his breakfaſt: *Mahomet* perſuading the rude and ſimple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghoſt that gave him advice. And certainly if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have ſhamed all the inchanters in the world: for whoſoever was moſt famous among them, could never maſter or inſtruct any beaſt as he did his horſe.

For the drawing of ſerpents out of their dens, or killing them in their holes by inchantments (which the *Marſians*, a people of *Italy*, practiſed. [b] *Colubros diſrumpit Marſia cantu*, Inchanting *Marſia* makes the ſnakes to burſt.) That it hath been uſed, it appears *Pſalm* lviii. 6. tho' I doubt not, but that many impoſtures may be in this kind; and even by natural cauſes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or deſtroy them; as womans hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other magick or inchantment, than to draw out a mouſe with a piece of toaſted cheeſe.

SECT. VII.

Of divers ways by which the devil ſeemeth to work his wonders.

BUT to the end that we may not doat with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of Gods: that we do not give to the devil any other dominion than he hath (not to ſpeak of his ability, when he is the miniſter of God's vengeance, as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was deſtroyed by evil angels) he otherwiſe worketh but three ways: the firſt is, by moving the cogitations and affections of men: the ſecond, by the exquiſite knowledge of nature: and the third, by deceit, illuſion, and falſe ſemblance. And that they cannot work what they would, G. *Pariſienſis* giveth three cauſes: the firſt a natural impotency: the ſecond, their own reaſon diſſwading them from daring over much, or indeed (and that which is the only certain cauſe) the great mercy of the Creator, [c] *Tenens eos ligatos* (ſaith the ſame author) *velut immaniſſimas belluas.* St. *Auguſtine* was of opinion, that the frogs which *Pharaoh*'s ſorcerers produced were not natural, but that the devil (by betraying of their ſenſes that looked on) made them appear to be ſuch. For as *Vairus* obſerveth, thoſe frogs of the inchanters were not found corrupted as thoſe of *Moſes* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, *Nec ſane dæmones naturas creant, ſed quæ a Deo creatæ ſunt commutant, ut videantur eſſe quod non ſunt*; The devils create not any natures, but ſo change thoſe that are created by God, as they ſeem to be that which they be not: of which in the 83d queſtion he giveth the reaſon, *Dæmon quibuſdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis ſolet*; that is, The devil fills with certain clouds all paſſages of the underſtanding, by which the beam of the mind is wont to open the light of reaſon.

And as *Tertullian* in his book *de anima* rightly conceiveth, if the devil can poſſeſs himſelf of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazle thoſe of the body. For (out of doubt) by the ſame way that God paſſeth out, the devil entreth in, beginning with the fancy, by which he doth more eaſily betray the other faculties of the ſoul: for the [d] fancy is moſt apt to be abuſed by vain apprehenſions.

Aquinas on the contrary held that thoſe frogs were not imaginary, but ſuch indeed as they ſeemed: not made *magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the art, but (according to *Thomas*) *per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem*, By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moſes* could not be deceived by that ſleight of falſe ſemblance; and St. *Auguſtine* in another caſe like unto this, to wit, of the turning of *Diomedes*'s companions into birds, *per activa cum paſſivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: tho' I am not perſuaded that St. *Auguſtine* believed that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, G. *Pariſienſis*, a man very learned, alſo confirmeth. For ſpeaking of natural magick, he uſeth theſe words. [e] *De hujuſmodi autem operibus eſt ſubita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus ſola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adjutoriis, quæ ipſa ſemina naturæ confortant & acuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc neſciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere conſuevit) ſed potentia dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in hiis docti ſunt talia non mirantur, ſed ſolum Creatorem in hiis glorificant*; In ſuch works, ſaith he, the ſudden generation of frogs, and lice, and worms, and ſome other creatures is: in all which nature alone worketh; but by means ſtrengthening the ſeeds of nature, and quickning them; in ſuch wiſe that they

[a] Ælian. l. 6. not. Hiſtor. [b] Lucil. in Satyr. [c] Gul. Pariſ. de univerſo, p. 2. c. 70. [d] Maxima vis eſt phantaſiæ ad errores. [e] De leg. c. 24. fol. 67.

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ſo haſten the work of generation, that it ſeemeth to the ignorant not to be the work of nature, which uſually worketh more leiſurely, but they think it is done by the powers of devils. But they who are learned in theſe arts marvel not at ſuch working, but glorify the Creator. Now by theſe two ways, the devils do moſt frequently work, to wit, by knowing the uttermoſt of nature; and by illuſion: for there is no incomprehenſible or unſearchable power, but of God only.

For ſhall we ſay, he cauſed ſometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempeſts; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compreſs it; who knows not that theſe things are alſo natural? or may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illuſion? it is true, that he ſometimes doth it; but how? in elder ages he ſtole his knowledge out of the predictions of the prophets: and he foretold the death of *Saul*, at ſuch time as he was in his own poſſeſſion and power to diſpoſe of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the world to this day, and obſerved the ſucceſs of every council: he that by reaſon of his ſwift motions can inform himſelf of all places, and preparations: he that is of counſel with all thoſe that ſtudy and practiſe ſubverſion and deſtruction: [a] he that is prince of the air, and can thence better judge, than thoſe that inhabit the earth: if he ſhould not ſometimes, yea if he ſhould not very oftentimes, gueſs rightly of things to come (where God pleaſeth not to give impediment) it were very ſtrange. For we ſee that wiſe and learned men do oftentimes by comparing like cauſes conceive rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore anſwereth by riddles, as,

Cræſus Halym penetrans magnam ſubvertit opum vim.

If *Cræſus* over *Halys* go,
Great kingdoms he ſhall overthrow.

Which anſwer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own kingdom, or of his enemies. And thus far we grant the devil may proceed in predictions, which otherwiſe belong to God only; as it is in *Iſaiah*, *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods: ſhew us at all times and certainly what is to come.* [b] *Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ ac ſapientiæ eſt occulta nôſſe & revelare*; It is only proper to God's underſtanding and wiſdom to know and reveal hidden things.

SECT. VIII.

That none was ever raiſed from the dead by the power of the devil: and that it was not the true Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

TO conclude, it may be objected that the devil hath raiſed from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel* raiſed by the witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed that ſome of the devil's acts exceeded all the powers of nature, falſe ſemblance, and other illuſions. [c] *Juſtin Martyr* was ſometimes of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed: and ſo was *Ambroſe*, *Lyra*, and *Burgenſis*; from which authorities thoſe men borrow ſtrength which ſo believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion: and ſo did St. *Auguſtine*, who at firſt ſeemed to be indifferent: for in his queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament, he accounteth it deteſtable to think that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and theſe be his words elſewhere to the ſame effect: *In requie ſunt animæ piorum a corpore ſeparatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec iſtarum ad vitam æternam, illarum vero ad æternam mortem quæ ſecunda dicitur corpora reviviſcant*; The ſouls of the godly ſeparated from their bodies are at reſt, but thoſe of the wicked ſuffer puniſhment, till the bodies of the juſt riſe to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and ſecond death.

And (beſides [d] St. *Auguſtine*) *Juſtin Martyr*, *Hilarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtom*, and others, believed firmly, and taught it: that the ſouls of men being once ſeparate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all. *Credere debemus* (ſaith *Cyril*) *quum a corporibus ſanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus chariſſimi patris Bonitati divinæ commendari*; We muſt believe when the ſouls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodneſs as into the hands of a moſt dear father. If then they be in heaven, the power of the devil cannot ſtretch ſo high: if in hell, *ab inferno nulla eſt redemptio*, from hell there is no redemption. For there are but two habitations after death; *Unum* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *in igne æterno*; *alterum in regno æterno*; The one in eternal fire; the other in God's eternal kingdom. And tho' it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the Gloſs upon the ſame text finds it ridiculous. [e] *Credunt & male, quia ſunt phantaſmata* (ſaith the Gloſs;) They believe, and they believe amiſs, becauſe they be but phantaſms, or apparitions. For whereas any ſuch voice hath been heard, ſaying, I am the ſoul of ſuch a one; *hæc oratio a fraude atque deceptione diabolica eſt*; That ſpeech is framed by the fraud and deception of the devil, ſaith *Chryſoſtom*. Likewiſe of the ſame faith *Tertullian*. *Abſit ut animam cujuſlibet ſancti, nedum prophetæ, a dæmonio credamus extractam*; God forbid that we ſhould think that the ſoul of any holy man, much leſs of a prophet, ſhould be drawn up again by a devil.

It is true that the ſcriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; ſo do they the wooden images *Cherubins*: and falſe brazen gods are called gods, and the like. And whereas theſe of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26th of *Eccleſiaſticus* (a book not numbered among the canonical ſcriptures) as St. *Auguſtine* himſelf in his treatiſe, if it be his, *de cura pro mortuis agenda*, confeſſeth; yet *Siracides* following the literal ſenſe and phraſe of the ſcriptures, proveth nothing at all: for tho' the devil would willingly perſuade, that the ſouls (yea even of juſt men) were in his power, yet ſo far is it from the promiſes of the ſcriptures, and from God's juſt and merciful nature, and ſo contrary to all divine reaſon, as St. *Auguſtine* (or whoſoever wrote that book before cited) might rightly term it a deteſtable opinion ſo to think. For if God had ſo abſolutely forſaken *Saul*, that he refuſed to anſwer him either by dreams, by *Urim*, or by his prophets: it were ſottiſh to conceive, that he would permit the devil, or a wicked witch to raiſe a prophet from the dead in *Saul*'s reſpect: it being alſo [f] contrary to his own divine law to ask counſel of the dead; as in *Deuteronomy* 18, and elſewhere. Therefore it was the devil, and not

[a] Epheſ. 2. 2. & 6. 12. Diabolus magnum habet rerum uſum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio. Aug. de Anima, c. 26, 27, &c. [b] Guil. Pariſienſis de legib. ca. 24. [c] Juſt. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in reſp. ad Ortho. quæſt. 52. Amor. in Luc. l. 1. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simpl. l. 2. p. 3. De Civitate Dei, l. 13. c. 8. [d] Aug. de verb. Apoſt. 18. Juſt. Mar. ad Orthodox. q. 75. Hilar. pſal. 2. in fine. Tert. de Anima in fin. Athan. q. 13. Chryſoſt. hom. 19. in Evang. Matth. [e] 26. q. 5. Epiſcopi. [f] 1 Kings 17. 22. 2 Kings 4. 34. Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum vere unquam excitavit. Wier. de faſcin.

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the ſoul of a dead body, that gave anſwer and advice.

But becauſe *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raiſed ſome from the dead by the power of God; thoſe devils which St. *Auguſtine* calleth *ludificatores animantium ſibi ſubjectorum*, mockers of their own vaſſals, caſting before their eyes a ſemblance of human bodies, and framing ſounds to their ears like the voices of men, do alſo perſuade their graceleſs and accurſed attendants, that themſelves both poſſeſs, and have power over the ſouls of men: *Eludit diabolus aciem tum ſpectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, ſaith *L. Vives*; The devil beguileth the ſenſe both of the beholders, and of thoſe that ſo imagine. Theſe then are the bounds of the devil's power, whom if we will not fear, we muſt fear to ſin. For when he is not the inſtrument of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himſelf his voluntary vaſſal: *poteſt ad malum invitare, non poteſt trahere*, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, he can allure, but he cannot inforce to evil. Such as think otherwiſe may go into the number remembred by *Lucretius*.

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt: ſic nos in luce timemus.

We fear by light, as children in the dark.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, *and of his wife* Semiramis: *and of other of her acts.*

SECT. I.

Of the magnificent building of Nineveh *by* Ninus: *and of* Babylon *by* Semiramis.

BUT to come back to *Ninus* the amplifier and finiſher of *Nineveh*: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaſter*, it is uncertain. As for the city it ſelf, it is agreed by all prophane writers, and confirmed by the ſcriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and anſwerable magnificence. For it had in compaſs [a] 440 *ſtadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had ſuch a breadth as three chariots might paſs on the rampire in front: theſe walls were garniſhed with 1500 towers which gave exceeding beauty to the reſt, and a ſtrength no leſs admirable for the nature of thoſe times.

But this city (built in the plains of *Aſſyria*, and on the banks of *Tigris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus*'s time; and (as ancient hiſtorians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campſor*, at ſuch time as *Ninus* amplified the ſame, and gave it a wall, and called it after his own name.

For theſe works of *Babylon* and *Nineveh* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldea*, and in *Aſſyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. [b] *Ninus* finiſhed *Nineveh*, *Semiramis Babylon*: wherein ſhe ſought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed in the firſt age when princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded; labouring to build towns and villages for the uſe of themſelves and their people without either walls or towers; and how they might diſcharge the earth of woods, briars, buſhments, and waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that age, when ambition was in ſtrong youth: and purpoſing to follow the conqueſt which her husband had undertaken, gave that beauty and ſtrength to *Babylon* which it had.

SECT. II.

Of the end of Ninus: *and beginning of* Semiramis's *reign.*

THIS ſhe did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had maſtered *Bactria*, and ſubjected unto his empire all thoſe regions between it and the *Mediterranean* ſea and *Helleſpont* (*Aſia* the leſs excepted) and finiſhed the work of *Nineveh*, he left the world in the year thereof 2019 after he had reigned 52 years. *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Semiramis* deſired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the abſolute ſoveraign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Atheneus*, and others, ſpeak of five days. In which time (moved either with deſire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who periſhed for her) ſhe cauſed *Ninus* her husband to be ſlain. But this ſeemeth rather a ſcandal caſt on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Howſoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her after his death the ſole rule of the *Aſſyrian* empire: of which *Ninus* was ſaid to be the firſt monarch, becauſe he changed his ſeat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldea* to *Nineveh* in *Aſſyria*. [c] *Juſtin* reports that *Semiramis* (the better to inveſt herſelf, and in her beginning without murmur or offence to take on her ſo great a charge) preſented herſelf to the people in the perſon of her ſon *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her external form and proportion without any ſenſible difference.

This report I take alſo to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as ſhe ruled long, ſo ſhe performed all thoſe memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and ſubſcribed that letter which ſhe ſent to the king of *India* (her laſt challenge and undertaken conqueſt) by her own name. And were it true that her ſon *Ninias* had ſuch a ſtature at his father's death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very perſonable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that ſhe could have held the empire from him 42 years after by any ſuch ſubtilty (for ſo long ſhe reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleaſures, as it is written of him) was well pleaſed with his mother's proſperous government and undertakings.

SECT. III.

Of Semiramis's *parentage, and education, and metamorphoſis of her mother.*

SOME writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of baſe parentage, calling her after the name of her country, a *Syrian*. *Beroſus* calls her after the name of her city wherein ſhe was born, *Semiramis Aſcalonitis*, of *Aſcalon*, the ancient city and metropolis of the *Philiſtines*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derceta*, a *Courtizan* of *Aſcalon*, exceeding beautiful. Others ſay that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was ſometime a recluſe, and had profeſs'd a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a temple dedicated ſeated on the bank of a lake adjoining to *Aſcalon*; and afterwards falling in love with a goodly young man, ſhe was by him made with child, which (for fear of extreme puniſhment) ſhe conveyed away, and cauſed the ſame to be hid-

[a] Juſtin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. Sabel. l. en. 1. [b] Herod. l. 1. Juſtin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2, & 3. [c] Ælian. l. 7. ex Dione.

den among the high reeds which grew on the banks of the lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild beasts) the same was fed by certain birds, which used to feed upon or near those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoyning to this lake had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of vow; notwithstanding which she was cast from the top of her temple into the lake adjoining, and (as the poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and human shape. It is thought, that from this *Derceta* the invention of that idol of the *Philistines* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a man's face, and a fish's body: into whose temple when the ark of God was brought, the idol fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained only the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so St. *Jerome* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* writ it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a fish, and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my self I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistines* was an idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this city being maritimate (as all those of the *Philistines* were, and so were the best of *Phenicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

SECT. IV.

Of her expedition into India, *and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.*

BUT for her pedigree I leave it to the *Assyrian* heralds: and for her vicious life I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy and ease do more often accompany licentiousness in men and women, than labour and hazard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this lady, then there never lived any prince or princess more worthy of fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon*, and elsewhere, and for the wars she made with glorious success: all but her last enterprise of *India*; from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus*, report that she never returned: and that of all her most powerful army there survived but only 20 persons: the rest being either drowned in the river of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or slain by the sword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbred: so were those that returned less than could have escaped of such an army, as consisted of four millions and upwards. For these numbers which she levied by her lieutenant *Dercetæus* (saith [a] *Suidas*) did consist of footmen three millions; of horsemen one millon; of chariots armed with hooks on each side one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon camels as many; of camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw hides for all uses three hundred thousand; of gallies with brazen heads three thousands, by which she might transport over *Indus* at once three hundred thousand soldiers: which gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every man and beast but fed upon grass) are taken from the authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivilous reports: so *Diodorus* himself hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes*'s expedition into *Greece*, and afterwards: whose army (tho' the same was far inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to overload the belief of any reasonable man. For all authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an army of 1700000 and gathered together (therein to pass the *Hellespont*) three thousand gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the several provinces whence those gallies were taken hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soever the army of *Semiramis* consisted: the same being broken, and overthrown by *Staurobates* upon the banks of *Indus*, *canticum cantavit extremum*, she sang her last song; and (as antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a dove (the bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gave a dove in their ensigns.

SECT. V.

Of the temple of Belus *built by* Semiramis: *and of the pyramids of* Egypt.

AMong all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (besides the wall of the city of *Babylon*) was the temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this city, invironed with a wall carried four square of great height and beauty, having on each square certain brazen gates curiously engraven. In the *Core* of the square she raised a tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a basis of a less circuit) she set a second tower; and so eight in all, one above another: upon the top whereof the *Chaldeans* priests made the observation of the stars, because this tower overtopped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruins of this tower, have many travellers been deceived; who suppose that they have seen a part of *Nimrod*'s tower, when it was but the foundation of this temple of *Bel* (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every year (saith *Herodotus*.) This temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorn with the spoils of *Jerusalem*, and of the temple of *Solomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* redelivered. This temple *Xerxes* evened with the soil; which *Alexander* is said to have repaired by the persuasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might have been in his desire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any such work. the *Egyptians* (saith [b] *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the same superstition of the stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the *Pyramids* by *Memphis*, which were *conspicuæ undique navigantibus*, saith *Pliny*. Of these pyramids [c] *Bellonius*, a careful observer of rarities (who being in *Egypt* mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa sommite, & tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine pouroit l'envoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez.* The best archer standing on the top of one of these pyramids, and shooting an arrow from thence into the air as far as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

[a] Suid. f. 845. lit. S. [b] Procl. in Timæo, l. 1. [c] Bell. l. 2.

The End of the First Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING of the

Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM, *to the Deſtruction of the Temple of* SOLOMON.

The SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham : *And of the uſe of this Queſtion, for the ordering of the Story of the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

SECT. I.

Of ſome of the ſucceſſors of Semiramis : *with a brief tranſition to the queſtion, about the time of the birth of* Abraham.

AFTER the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis* ſucceeded her in the empire, on whom *Beroſus Anniaus* beſtows the conqueſt of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaſter*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, *Oroſius*, and all other approved writers. For *Ninias* being eſteemed no man of war at all, but altogether feminine, and ſubjected to eaſe and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now becauſe there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealouſy he every year changed his provincial governours, and built colleges for the *Chaldean* prieſts, his aſtronomers: nor by *Arius* his ſucceſſor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Caſpians*, revolted (as it ſeemeth) in *Ninias*'s time; nor of *Aralius*, the ſucceſſor of *Arius*, but that he added ſumptuoſity, invented jewels of gold and ſtone, and ſome engines for the war: I will for this preſent paſs them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whoſe ways are warrantable (till we meet theſe *Aſſyrians* again in this ſtory) by whom, and by whoſe iſſues we ſhall beſt give date to the kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes* or *Balanius*. For otherwiſe, if we ſeek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of thoſe times, which the ſcriptures ſet us down without error, by the reigns of the *Aſſyrian* princes, we ſhall but patch up the ſtory at adventure, and leave it in the ſame confuſion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the ſcriptures do not help us (as *Plut. in Theſeo*) *Mirum non eſt in rebus antiquis hiſtoriam non conſtare:* No marvel if then in things very ancient, hiſtory want aſſurance.

The

The better therefore to find out, in what age of the world, and how long theſe *Aſſyrian* kings reigned, as alſo for other good cauſes, we muſt firſt aſſure the time of *Abraham*'s birth, and in what year the ſame happened after the flood. Now ſince all agree, that the forty-third year of *Ninus* was the birth year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the ſcriptures, in what year after the flood the birth of *Abraham* happened, we ſhall thereby ſet all the reſt in ſquare and order. But of this time there is much jangling between thoſe chronologers, which follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the moſt part make 292 or 293 years; others 352 years between *Abraham*'s birth and the flood; a matter often diſputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we find him in *Annius*) makes but 250 years from the flood to *Ninus*: then ſeeing that *Abraham* was born in the forty-third year of *Ninus*, according to *Euſebius* and St. *Auguſtine*, it followeth by the addition of thoſe two numbers, that the year of *Abraham*'s birth was in the year after the flood 293, or, as the moſt part of all chronologers gather, the year 292.

Now, ſince I do here enter into that never-reſolved queſtion, and labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give reaſon for my own opinion: and with ſo much the greater care and circumſpection, becauſe I walk aſide, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, tho' the fewer in number: with whom I rather chuſe to endure the wounds of thoſe darts, which envy caſteth at novelty, than to go on ſafely and ſleepily in the eaſy ways of ancient miſtakings: ſeeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diverſity.

SECT. II.

A propoſal of reaſons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham *was born in the year* 292 *after the flood, and not in the year* 352.

THOSE which ſeeek to prove this account of 292 years, between the general flood and *Abraham*'s birth, ground themſelves, firſt on theſe words of the ſcripture. *So Terah lived* 70 *years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran:* 2dly, Upon the opinion of *Joſephus*, St. *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Iſidore*, and many of the ancient *Hebrews* before them: authorities (while they are ſlightly look'd over) ſeeming of great weight.

From the place of ſcripture laſt remembred, the latter chronologers gather theſe arguments. Firſt, Out of the words as they lie; that *Terah at* 70 *years begat Abraham, Nahor and Haran:* and that *Abraham* being the firſt named, *Abraham* being the worthieſt, *Abraham* being the ſon of the promiſe, ought in this reſpect to be accounted the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, and ſo neceſſarily born in the ſeventieth year of his life. Secondly, It was of *Abraham* that *Moſes* had reſpect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the bleſſing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran:* for the ſcope of this chapter was to ſet down the genealogy of Chriſt, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, That if *Abraham* were not the eldeſt ſon, then there can be no certainty of his age, and ſo are all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more aſſuredly in the 130th year of *Terah*'s age, than in the year 131, 132, *&c.* *Moſes* having no-where ſet down preciſely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year in which his father died.

Fourthly, It is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130 years, ſeeing *Abraham* himſelf thought it a wonder to be made a father at 100 years.

SECT. III.

The anſwer to one of the objections propoſed, ſhewing that Abraham *made but one journey out of* Meſopotamia *into* Canaan: *and that, after his father's death.*

TO anſwer all which objections it is very eaſy, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned divines long ſince, and to which I will add ſomewhat of my own, according to the ſmall talent which God hath given me. Now foraſmuch as the ſtate of the queſtion cannot well be ſcanned, unleſs the time of *Abraham*'s journey into *Canaan* be firſt conſidered of; before I deſcend unto the particular examination of theſe arguments, I will make bold with order and method ſo far, as to ſearch into a ſtrange tradition concerning his travels, that ſerveth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwark againſt all that can be ſaid to the contrary.

But it is conceived that *Abraham* made two journies into *Canaan:* the latter after his father's death, the former preſently upon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not ſtaying for his father's death at *Haran:* a conjecture drawn from a place in the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*; where it is written, [a] *By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed God, to go into a place, which he ſhould afterwards receive for an inheritance: and he went out not knowing whither he went.* This ſuppoſition (if it be granted) ſerves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill ſtand without it. Let us therefore ſee whether we may give credit to the ſuppoſition it ſelf.

Surely that *Abraham* firſt departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his father, the ſame is proved, without the admiſſion of any diſtinction, by theſe words of St. *Stephen:* [b] *And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell,* that was out of *Haran* into *Canaan.* Againſt which place, ſo direct and plain, what force hath any man's fancy or ſuppoſition, perſuading that *Abraham* made two journies into *Canaan*; one before *Terah*'s death, and another after, no ſuch thing being found in the ſcriptures, nor any circumſtance, probability, or reaſon to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledg'd can pick any argument, proving, or affording any ſtrong preſumption, that *Abraham* paſſed into [c] *Canaan*, and then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a ſecond time: then I think it reaſon, that he be believed in the reſt. But that he performed the commandment of God after his father's death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the ſcriptures themſelves are true. *For after his father was dead*, ſaith the martyr *Stephen*, *God brought him into this land.* And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then muſt it be inferred, that *Moſes* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, ſaith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abraham*'s coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moſes*? For if *Stephen* had ſpoken any thing of thoſe times, differing from *Moſes*, he had offered the *Jews* his adverſaries too great an occaſion both of ſcandalizing himſelf and the goſpel of Chriſt. Indeed we ſhall find ſmall reaſon to make us think that *Abraham* paſſed and repaſſed thoſe ways, more often than he was enforced ſo to do, if we conſider, that he

[a] Heb. 11. 8. [b] Acts 7. 4 [c] Heb. 11. 8.

had

had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his faith in God's promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a region of strong and stubborn nations: a nation of valiant and resolved idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to fly into *Egypt* for relief. His wife was old, and he had no son to inherit the promise. And when God had given him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, Let us consider the ways themselves, which *Abraham* had to pass over, the length whereof was 300 *English* miles: and thro' countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great river of *Euphrates*, to travel thro' the dangerous and barren deserts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermon* or *Gilead*: and whether these were easy walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300 miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For if he travelled it twice, then was his journey in all 1800 miles from *Ur* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy, the manner of *Abraham*'s departing from *Haran* hath more proof, that he had not *Animum revertendi*, not any thought of looking backward, than any man's bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written of him: [a] *Then Abraham took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they possess'd, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and to the land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his wife and kinsmen, and their goods; it is not probable, that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a country as that was: or if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and press'd with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a mere stranger both in religion and nation.

What the cause might be of *Abraham*'s return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his father's death: so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over-troublesome. They say, that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his father's death, or some time after, being then by their account 135 years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within four or five years after that time his greatest, or (as may seem) his only care? Did not he [b] bind with a very solemn oath his principal servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a wife for *Isaac* his son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly design any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had been there in person so lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgment, in chusing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other desirable qualities, to be link'd in marriage with his only son, who was then 35 years old, before which age most of the patriarchs after the flood had begotten children, rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any in that country. But let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his business when he was there, or that somewhat happened which no man can devise. What might be the reason, that [c] *Abraham*'s man, in doing his master's errand, was fain to lay open the whole story of his master's prosperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a son in her old age? If *Abraham* himself, a more certain author, had so lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how averse he was from permitting his son to be carried thither, even tho' a wife of his own kindred could not have been obtained without his personal presence. [d] *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a wife of his own lineage; not without God's special approbation, by whose [e] blessing he prospered in that journey: yet he lived there as a servant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himself away from thence by flight. For altho' it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lot's wife*, contains much matter. Let us but consider *Mesopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt* out of which the whole nation of the *Israelites* was delivered: we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the *Hebrews*. When [f] *Hezekiah* was visited with an honourable embassy from *Babel*, it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Isaiah*, made him to know, that the counsel of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they sat down and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that [g] *Sesac* and *Neco* kings of *Egypt* brought calamity upon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Egypt*, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomy* xvii. 16. that God had said, *They should no more return that way*; which is given, as the reason, why their king might not cause the people to return to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that he never did return, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination: and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can persuade those of judgment or understanding: I take it sufficient, that St. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead.

[a] Gen. 12. 5. [b] Gen. 24. [c] Gen. 24. 35, 36, &c. [d] Gen. 24. 6, 8. [e] Gen. 28. [f] 2 Kings 20. [g] Psal. 137. 1 Kings 14. 25. and 2 Kings 23. 29.

And for the reſt, when they ſhew any one ſcripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of *Abraham* are preciſely ſet down in the ſcriptures: as firſt from *Ur* or *Camerina* in *Chaldea*, to *Haran* or *Charran:* and then from *Haran* (after his father's death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Hai:* thence into *Egypt*: from *Egypt* he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, becauſe their flocks and herds of cattle were more than could be fed in that part: from thence the ſecond time he removed to *Mamre*, near *Hebron:* and thence having purſued *Amraphel*, and reſcued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumea*, under *Abimilech:* and after near unto it at *Berſabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his ſon *Iſaac* on the mountain *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one ſtory, either divine or human. Now if it may be ſuppoſed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* in his *Cabala* hath feigned, it ſhould in reaſon be therewithal believed, that he would in thoſe his firſt travels have provided himſelf of ſome certain ſeat, or place of abiding: and not have come a ſecond time, with his wife, kinſmen, family, goods and cattle, not knowing whereon to reſt himſelf. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, paſs'd thro' the north part of *Canaan*, thence to [a] *Sichem*, and the plain of *Moriah:* where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel* and *Hai:* and ſo from nation to nation, to diſcover and find out ſome fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in *Geneſis* xi. *He went forth, going and journeying towards the ſouth*, and always unſettled. By occaſion of which wandring to and fro, ſome ſay, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*. [b] Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the country, we may note, that ere he came to *Bethel* and *Hai*, and at his firſt entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, ſaying, *Unto thy ſeed will I give this land*, ſhewing it him as unto a ſtranger therein, and as a land to him unknown. For *Abraham*, without any other provident care for himſelf, believed in the word of the living God: neither ſending before, nor coming firſt to diſcover it; but being arrived he received a ſecond promiſe from God, that he would give thoſe countries unto him and his ſeed to inhabit and inherit.

Laſtly, What ſhould move any man to think, that *Moſes* would have omitted any ſuch double journey of *Abraham*'s, ſeeing he ſetteth down all his paſſages elſewhere, long and ſhort? As when he moved from *Sichem*, and ſeated between *Hai* and *Bethel*, the diſtance being but twenty miles: and when he moved thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but twenty-four miles; and when he left *Mamre*, and ſat down at *Gerar*, being leſs than ſix miles; no, *Moſes* paſs'd over all the times of the firſt age with the greater brevity, to haſten him to the ſtory of *Abraham:* ſhutting up all between the creation and the flood in ſix chapters; which age laſted 1656 years: but he beſtoweth on the ſtory of *Abraham* fourteen chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175 years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moſes* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham*'s travels, or other actions: or that he would ſet down thoſe ſmall removes of five miles, and omit thoſe of three hundred. For ſuch a journey in going and coming would have miniſtred ſome variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inſerting and adding to *Abraham*'s ſtory.

SECT. IV.

The anſwer to another of the objections propoſed, ſhewing that it was not unlikely, that Terah *ſhould beget* Abraham *in his 130th year.*

NOW touching the objection, where it is ſaid, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* in his 130th year, ſeeing *Abraham* himſelf thought it a wonder to have a ſon at an hundred: this is hardly worth the anſwering. This wonder is indeed miſcaſt, and miſtaken; *Abraham* having reſpect only to *Sarah* his wife, when he ſpake of their many years. For when the angel ſaid unto *Abraham* in his tent door at *Mamre*; *Lo, Sarah thy wife ſhall have a ſon*, it followeth in the next verſe, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and ſtricken in age, and it ceaſed to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed*, &c.

So then, in that it is ſaid *it ceaſed to be with Sarah after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his ſecond wife *Keturah* had many ſons after *Sarah*'s death, as *Zimron*, *Jockſhan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Iſhback* and *Shuah*: and the eldeſt of theſe was born 37 years after *Iſaac*: and the youngeſt 40 years after. What ſtrangeneſs then, that *Terah* being 130 years old ſhould beget *Abraham*, will they ſay, may be gathered from this ſuppoſed deſpair of *Abraham* at 100 years? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145, and *Iſaac* was born in the year 2109, and *Abraham* did not marry [c] *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109 out of 2145, there remaineth 36; and therefore if *Abraham* begat five ſons 36 years after this ſuppoſed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137 years old; it is not ſtrange, that his father *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Boaz*, *Obed* and *Jeſſe*, who lived ſo many years and ages after *Abraham*, begat ſons at 100 years, or near it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130, and *Abraham* others at the ſame age, and ſeven years after.

SECT. V.

The anſwer to two more of the objections: ſhewing that we may have certainty of Abraham's *age from the ſcripture, tho' we make not* Abraham *the eldeſt ſon: and that there was great cauſe, why in the ſtory of* Abraham *his two brethren ſhould be reſpected.*

IT followeth now to ſpeak ſomething to the objection, which brings *Abraham*'s age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70 years old. For *Abraham*'s age being made uncertain, all ſucceeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this propoſition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham*'s age, unleſs we make him the eldeſt ſon, is falſe. For it is plain in the ſcriptures, that when *Terah* was 205, which was the year of his death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceding or ſucceeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I anſwer, that St. *Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham*'s departure followed the death of his father *Terah:* and *Terah* died at 205; ſo as the 75th year of *Abraham* was the 205th year of *Terah:*

[a] Gen. 12. 6. [b] Mont. in Caleb. [c] Origen. homil. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 34. Cajetan. & Perer. in Gen.

which

which known, there can be no error in the account of times ſucceeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is ſaid, That *Moſes* had no reſpect unto *Nachor* and *Haran*, becauſe they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* only, with whom God eſtabliſhed the covenant, and of whom Chriſt deſcended according to the fleſh, *&c.* I anſwer, that *Moſes*, for many great and neceſſary cauſes, had reſpect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the ſucceſſion of God's Church is not witneſſed by *Abraham* alone, but by the iſſues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they idolators or otherwiſe. For *Nahor* was the father of *Bethuel* and *Bethuel* of *Rebecca* the mother of *Iſrael*: and *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Iſaac*, and grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* alſo the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacob*'s great grandmother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is eſpecially noted, in that it pleaſed God to give her a ſon at 90 years, and when by nature ſhe could not have conceived. And therefore, tho' it were not in regard of themſelves, yet becauſe both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and becauſe *Iſaac* married *Rebecca* the grandchild of *Nahor*; and *Jacob* *Leah* and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grandchild alſo of *Nahor*; it was not ſuperfluous in *Moſes* to give light of theſe men's times and ages. And tho' ſometimes they worſhipped ſtrange Gods, as it is *Joſhua* xxiv. 2. yet I ſee no cauſe to think, that they ſtill continued idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their natural country, and city of *Ur* in *Chaldea*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldea*; but *Lot*, his ſon, followed *Abraham* in *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the ſiſter of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* alſo, who remained at *Charran*, gave his ſons daughters to *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, his own kinſmen; he himſelf having alſo married in his own family; not thinking it pleaſing unto God to mix themſelves with ſtrangers and idolaters. And that theſe men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had ſeen the ſervant of *Abraham* ſtanding at the well beſide *Charran*, he invited him to his father's houſe in this manner; [a] *Come in thou bleſſed of Jehovah*, &c. And when this ſervant of *Abraham*'s demanded an anſwer as touching *Rebecca*, then anſwered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and ſaid; [b] *This thing is proceeded of Jehovah*; meaning that it was the will of the true God it ſhould be ſo; wherein he acknowledged God's providence. Likewiſe in the following verſe it is written; *Take, go, that ſhe may be thy maſter's ſon's wife, even as Jehovah hath ſaid.* This their often uſing of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a ſign that they had the knowledge of him.

Now altho' it be the opinion of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and ſome later writers, as *Cajetan* *Oleaſter*, *Muſculus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an idolater, becauſe he retained certain idols or houſhold gods, which *Rachel* ſtole from him; yet that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham*, and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abraham*'s ſervant, bleſſed of *Jehovah*, as aforeſaid. So as for my ſelf, I dare not avow, that theſe men were out of the church, who ſure I am were not out of the faith.

SECT. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *firſt of the three brethren,* Gen. xi. 26. *doth not prove that he was the eldeſt: together with divers reaſons proving that* Abraham *was not the eldeſt ſon of* Terah.

TO the main objection, which I anſwer laſt, becauſe it ſeemeth of moſt ſtrength, by which, thoſe that ſtrive to ſhorten the times, endeavour to prove, that *Abraham* was the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, and born in the 70th year of *Terah*'s life: grounding themſelves firſt and chiefly on this place of the ſcripture, [c] *And Terah lived 70 years, and begat Abraham, Nahor and Haran:* To this I ſay, that altho' *Abraham* in this verſe be firſt named, yet the ſame is no proof at all that he was the eldeſt and firſt-born ſon of *Terah*. For it is no neceſſary conſequence, that the firſt named in ſcriptures was therefore eldeſt in blood and birth, neither doth it appear that it pleaſed God to make eſpecial choice of the firſt ſons in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the firſt-born of *Adam*, nor *Iſaac* of *Abraham*, nor *Jacob* of *Iſaac*, nor *Judah* and *Joſeph* of *Jacob*, nor *David* the eldeſt ſon of *Jeſſe*, nor *Solomon* of *David*, as is formerly remembred.

But it is written of *Noah*; *Noah was five hundred years old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham and Japhet:* ſhewing that at the 500th year of his age he began to get the firſt of thoſe three ſons. For according to St. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking generally, [d] *Nec attendendus eſt in his ordo nativitatis, ſed ſignificatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excellit Abraham*; The order of nativity is not here to be reſpected, but the ſignification of the future dignity: in which *Abraham* was preferred. And therefore as in the order of the ſons of *Noah*, ſo is it here; where it is ſaid, *That Terah lived 70 years and begat Abraham, Nahor* and *Haran*: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget ſons, himſelf being begotten by his father *Nachor* at 29, as others his anceſtors were at 30. The like alſo happened to *Noah*; for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 130, *Enoſh* *Kenan* at 90, *Kenan* *Mahalaleel* at 70, *Mahalaleel* *Jared* at 60, *Noah* was yet 500 years old when he began to beget the firſt of his three ſons as aforeſaid. And St. *Auguſtine* in the place before-cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the youngeſt of *Terah*'s ſons, than otherwiſe: tho' for his excellency he was worthily named firſt. His own words are theſe: *Fieri enim potuit ut poſterior ſit generatus Abraham: ſed merito excellentiæ, qua in ſcripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus.* It might be, ſaith he, that *Abraham* was begotten later; but was firſt named in regard of his excellency, for which in ſcripture he is much commended. So as the naming firſt or laſt, proveth nothing who was firſt or laſt born: either in thoſe iſſues of *Noah* or in theſe of *Terah*: neither hath God any reſpect of the eldeſt in nature, as touching his election or ſpiritual bleſſing: for *Moſes* nameth firſt the children of the promiſe, and the eldeſt and firſt in God's favour. *Pietas ergo vel ipſa potius electio divina, quæ comitem ſecum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, & Abrahamo in liberis Thare.* Piety, ſaith he, or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it piety and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to *Shem* among the children of *Noah*, and to *Abraham* among thoſe of *Thare*.

For the reſt it is manifeſt, that [e] *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75th year of his age. And it was in

[a] Gen. 24. 31. [b] Gen. 24. 50. [c] Gen. 11. 26. [d] Aug. quæſt. ſuper Gen. 25. [e] Gen. 12. 4.

Canaan

Canaan that [a] *Hagar* bare him *Iſmael*, when *Abraham* had lived 86 years. It was at *Gerar* (the ſouth border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Iſaac*, when *Abraham* had conſumed 100 years. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* roſe out, when he [b] reſcued *Lot* and overthrew *Amraphel*: and he had then but the age of 83 years: and it is as manifeſt that he parted from *Haran* after his father *Terah* was dead. But if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70 years old, then muſt *Abraham* have been 135 years when he firſt ſet his foot in *Canaan*: ſeeing *Terah* muſt be dead ere he parted, and ſo 70 added to 135, made 205, the true age of *Terah*, which is contrary to all thoſe places of ſcripture before remembred. For he entred at 75, he reſcued *Lot* at 83, he had *Iſmael* at 86, he had *Iſaac* at 100, proved by the former places.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, and born in the 70th year of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Iſaac* had been 35 years old, and *Iſmael* 49, both which muſt then have been born in *Meſopotamia*, and therein foſtered to that age: unleſs we ſhould either deny credit to St. *Stephen*, who ſaith that *Abraham* departed from *Meſopotamia* after his father's death; or elſe give credit to the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, ſaith it was about his father's death: becauſe the *Greek* word μετὰ may be tranſlated by the *Latin ſub*, as well as by *poſt*: which tho' elſewhere it may be, yet cannot it be ſo in this place. For it were moſt improperly ſpoken, to ſay that thoſe things were done about *Terah*'s death, which were 60 years before. Wherefore, ſuppoſing *Abraham* to have been born in the 70th year of *Terah*, we muſt give thoſe times and places of birth to *Abraham*'s children, which no authority will warrant; for *Abraham* had no children in *Ur* of *Chaldea*, nor in *Haran*: nor in 10 years after his arrival into *Canaan*. For the year of *Terah*'s death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the year of the world 2083: and the year of *Iſmael*'s birth was the world's year 2094, which maketh 10 years difference. And that *Iſaac* was born in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the mountain *Moriah* therein, 39 miles from *Berſabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three angels firſt of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of *Abraham*'s ſons were born in *Meſopotamia*: nor while *Terah* lived: nor in leſs than 10 years after *Terah*'s death: and then conſequently was not *Abraham* the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, nor born in the 70th year of *Terah*'s age.

Thirdly, Whereas [c] *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75, if *Terah* had begotten him at 70, then had *Terah* lived but 145, for 70 and 75 make 145, which muſt alſo have been the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* lived 205 years; and therefore was not *Abraham* born in the 70th year of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifeſt, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldeſt brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iſcah* wanted but 10 years of *Abraham*'s age: *Iſaac* being born when *Abraham* was 100, and *Sarah* 90 years old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* muſt have begotten *Sarah* at 9 years old: for granting that *Haran* was born but one year after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within 10 years as old as *Abraham*, then of neceſſity muſt *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but 9 years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iſcah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, ſaith he, bearing the ſame ſignification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word *Iſcah* or *Iiſhcah* inſerted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? for to ſpeak of any thing ſuperfluous it is not uſed in God's books: and if *Iſcah* had not belonged to the ſtory, it had been but an idle name to no purpoſe remembred.

Now if it had been true (as thoſe of the contrary opinion affirm) that *Moſes* had no reſpect of *Nahor* and *Haran*, who were notwithſtanding the parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*, and of Chriſt: what regard then had *Moſes* of *Iſcah* in this place, were ſhe not *Sarah*, but otherwiſe an idle name of whom there is nothing elſe firſt or laſt?

The age alſo of *Lot* diſproveth the elderſhip of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old man when *Abraham* was but 83 years: and if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were father to *Lot*, *Sarah* and *Milcah*, *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran*'s daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* alſo being within 10 years as old as *Abraham*: it may appear to every reaſonable man (not obſtinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who alſo died firſt and before his father left *Ur* in *Chaldea*. Alſo *Lyra* reaſoneth againſt the opinion of *Abraham*'s elderſhip, upon the ſame place of *Geneſis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10 years younger than *Abraham* himſelf. *Lyra*'s words are theſe; *Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipſo Abraham, ſequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram: imo nec octo, &c.* and afterwards, *& ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem: & quia ponendus erat caput ſtirpis & generationis ſequentis: & quia primo facta eſt ei repromiſſio expreſſa de Chriſto, ſicut ſupra dictum eſt de Sem, &c.* If therefore (ſaith *Lyra*) *Haran* was younger than *Abraham* himſelf, it followeth, that he was not 10 years old when he begat *Sarah*; and therefore it ſeemeth better to be ſaid, that *Abraham* was the laſt born of the three ſons of *Thare*, nevertheleſs he is named firſt for his dignity, both becauſe he was to be ordained head of the ſtock and generation following, and becauſe the promiſe of Chriſt was firſt made unto him, as before it is ſaid of *Sem*.

SECT. VII.

A concluſion of this diſpute, noting the authors on both ſides: with an admonition that they which ſhorten the times make all ancient ſtories the more unprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the ſcriptures, with nature, time, and reaſon, that *Haran* was the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was born in the 130th year of *Terah*'s life, and not in the 70th year. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after [d] *Terah* died, according to St. *Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed when he was [e] 75 years old, theſe two numbers added make 205 years, the full age of *Terah*: ſeeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my ſelf, I have no other end herein, than to manifeſt the truth of the world's ſtory: I reverence the judgments of the fathers; but I know they were miſtaken in particulars. St. *Auguſtine* was doubtful, and could not determine this controverſy. For whatſoever is borrowed from him out of his 16th book *de Civitate Dei*, c. 15. the ſame may be anſwered out of himſelf in his 25th

[a] Gen. 16. 16. [b] Acts 7. 4. & Gen. 14. [c] Gen. 12. [d] Acts 7. 4. [e] Gen. 12. 4.

queſtion

queſtion upon *Gen.* But St. *Auguſtine* herein followed *Joſephus*, and *Iſidore*: and *Beda* followed St. *Auguſtine*. And it was out of a fooliſh pride and vanity, that the *Hebrews* and *Joſephus* ſought to make *Abraham* the firſt-born: as if God had had reſpect to the eldeſt in nature. So did *Joſephus*, together with *Nicholas Damaſcenus* (thinking thereby to glorify the *Jewiſh* nation) make *Abraham* a king, intitling *Sarah* by the name of queen *Sarah*: and ſaid that *Abraham* was followed with 318 captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit: quorum ſingulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharaoh* invading him with a great army, took from him his wife *Sarah*. Such fables argue that *Joſephus* is not to be believed, but with diſcreet reſervations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292 years from the flood to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how ſhould we value the opinion of ſuch chronologers, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their judgment in ſuch matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in ſetting down the ſucceſſion of the *Perſian* kings, under whom they lived, whoſe hiſtory was not ſo far remote in time, as theſe antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet groſly have they erred therein, and ſo familiar are their miſtakings in all things of like nature, that we ſeldom find their opinion rehearſed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* religion are alſo generally on the ſame ſide: it being a thing uſual among them, to maintain whatſoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwiſe, of the more ancient *Theodoret*, and ſome following him: of later times *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Doct. Gibbons*, and *Moor*, with divers of the *Proteſtants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130th year of his father *Terah*. From theſe (as in a caſe not concerning any point in religion) divers of the ſame religion, and thoſe nevertheleſs good authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Funcius* and others, are very averſe herein, eſpecially *Joſephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calviſius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an arch-heretick in chronology, and condemning this opinion of his as poiſonous. Contrariwiſe *Auguſtinus Torniellus* a prieſt of the congregation of St. *Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free writer, whoſe annals are newly ſet forth, very earneſtly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered: not alledging *Beroaldus*, nor any proteſtant writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thanks to hereticks. For my ſelf, I do neither miſlike the contrary opinion, becauſe commonly thoſe of the *Romiſh* religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this large account of times, becauſe many notable men of the *Proteſtant* writers have approved it; but for the truth it ſelf. To ſtrengthen which, after all theſe former reaſons, and teſtimonies of ſcripture, I will add thus much more to the reſt. Firſt, it is apparent to all men of judgment, that the beſt approved hiſtorians, divine and prophane, labour to inveſtigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the ſtories and forepaſs'd actions of the world: and not the truth of hiſtories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to our ſelves; which of thoſe two accounts give the beſt reputation to the ſtory of the ſcriptures; teaching the world's new plantation, and the continuance of God's church; either that of *Joſephus*, and thoſe which follow him, who make but 292 years, or thereabouts, between the flood and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352 years between the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the firſt-born of *Thare*, in the 70th year of his life: the other a younger ſon of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130 years. And if we look over all, and do not haſtily ſatisfy our underſtanding with the firſt things offered, and thereby being ſatiated do ſlothfully and drowſily ſit down; we ſhall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to ſome editions, make it above 1072 years between the flood and *Abraham*'s birth: than to take away any part of thoſe 352 years given. For if we adviſedly conſider the ſtate and countenance of the world, ſuch as it was in *Abraham*'s time, yea, before *Abraham* was born, we ſhall find that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reaſon, to pare the times over-deeply between *Abraham* and the flood: becauſe in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole ſtory might perchance bleed thereby, were not the teſtimony of the ſcripture ſupream, ſo as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withal this precept of St. *Auguſtine*, that whereſoever any one place in the ſcriptures may be conceived diſagreeing to the whole, the ſame is by ignorance of interpretation miſunderſtood. For in *Abraham*'s time, all the then-known parts of the world were peopled: all regions and countries had their kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent cities: and ſo had *Paleſtina*, and all the bordering countries: yea, all that part of the world beſides, as far as *India*: and thoſe not built with ſticks, but of hewen ſtones, and defended with walls, and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity, than thoſe other men have ſuppoſed. And therefore, where the ſcriptures are plaineſt, and beſt agreeing with reaſon and nature, to what end ſhould we labour to beget doubts and ſcruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving alſo ſtrength thereby to common cavillers, and to thoſe mens apiſh brains, who only bend their wits to find impoſſibilities and monſters in the ſtory of the world and mankind.

SECT. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Aſſyrians, *and others, grounded upon the times noted in the ſtory of* Abraham.

IN this ſort therefore for the reaſons before alledged, I conclude, that from the general flood, to the birth of [a] *Abraham*, 352 years were conſumed: and taking the *Aſſyrian* hiſtory with us, the ſame number of years were ſpent from the flood to the 43d year of *Ninus*: in which 43d year of *Ninus* *Abraham* was born: which happened in the year of the world 2009.

Now of this time of 352 years, we muſt give one part as well to the increaſe of thoſe people which came into *Shinar*, as to thoſe that ſtaid in the eaſt, to wit, 30 years to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which tho' the ſcriptures are ſilent, yet becauſe thoſe of the ſame time had that age when they begat their firſt ſons, we may the more ſafely give the like allowance to theſe. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34, *Peleg* *Regu* at 30, *Regu* *Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth *Gen.* x. which [b] St. *Auguſtine* approveth. Giving then 30 years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and 5 years to

[a] An. mundi 2008. dil. 352. natus Abraham. Euſeb. Auguſt. de Civitate Dei, l. 16. c. 17. [b] Aug. de Civitate Dei.

the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, may be gathered that 65 years were consumed ere *Nimrod* himself was born: and that *Raama* had that age ere any of his sons were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for [a]*Peleg*, the 4th from *Noah*, as *Raama* was, begat *Regu* in the same year of his life.

Let us then allow 60 years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel:* for sure we are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65 and 60 make 125: the rest of the time of 131 (in which year they arrived in *Shinar*, whereof there were 6 years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the east: because they were pestered with women, children and cattle: and, as some ancient writers have conceived, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept always the mountains sides, for fear of a second flood. Now if we take this number of 131 out of 352, there remains 221, of which number [b]*Berosus* bestoweth 65 on *Belus*, and 42 on *Ninus*, before *Abraham* born: both which St. *Augustine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221, there remaineth 114 years of the 352, from the flood to *Abraham*'s birth: which number of 114, necessity bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

And if it be objected that this time given to *Nimrod*, is over-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over-short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but 179 years: whereof he reigned 112: whereas *Sale*, who was the son of *Arphaxad* the son of *Sem*, lived 403 years: and of the same age of the world was *Nimrod*, the son of *Chus*, the son of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was born,

Ninus reigned 9 years: which added to 43, make 52.

Ninus dieth and leaveth *Semiramis* his successour.

Semiramis governed the empire of *Babylonia* and *Assyria* 42 years, and died in the 52d year [c] compleat of *Abraham*'s life.

Ninias or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38 years, in the 2d year of whose reign *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85 years old, he rescued his nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by surprise *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38 years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23 years after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75th year of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seem to have been this *Ninias* the son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23d year, as aforesaid, being the 75th year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85th year of *Abraham*, and the 33d year of his own reign: after which he reigned 5 years: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Assyrian* kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set them down, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the story of *Abraham*, it is most certain: unless we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses*'s computation, which were impiety: or account the whole history of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction: which were to condemn all ancient historians for fablers.

SECT. IX.

That Amraphel, *one of the four kings whom* Abraham *overthrew*, Gen. xiv. *may probably be thought to have been* Ninias *the son of* Ninus.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes king of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85th year of *Abraham*'s life, that is, in the 33d year of the reign of *Ninias Zameis* the king of the *Assyrians*, the son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time king of *Babylonia: Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it self as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel:* who invaded *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and overthrew those five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was king of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia:* and the times before accounted make him to be the successour of *Ninus* and *Semiramis:* and it falleth out with the 85th year of *Abraham*'s life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest monarch: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, tho' *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the 1st verse of the xivth chapter of *Genesis*. For the kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis* or of the five cities, were the vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel:* as it is written: [d] *Twelve years were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the 13th year they rebelled, and in the 14th year came Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him:* and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principal in this enterprise, who was then king of *Elam*, which is *Persia:* Now *Persia* being seated over *Tigris*, and to the east of *Amraphel*'s country: and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the west of *Shinar* or *Babylonia: Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it self, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* been so great a prince as prophane historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other kings for this expedition. But tho' *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four kings (as it is manifest that he was: for these little kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrha*, &c. were his vassals, and not *Amraphel*'s) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a downright fall at the time of this war: tho' not long before it commanded all the kingdoms between *India* and the *Phenician* sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

SECT. X.

Of Arioch *another of the four kings: and that* Ellas, *whereof he is said to have been king, lies between* Cœlesyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOW the two other kings joined with *Amraphel*, and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one king of *Ellassar*, the other of the nations. For *Ellassar*, *Aquila* and *Jerome* write *Pontus:* so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellespont:* which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is only to defend the *Latin* translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellespont* far distant, and out of the way to send any armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa:* which countries these four kings chiefly invaded,

[a] Gen. 11. 18. [b] An. a salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonicum sub nostro Saturno patre Jovis Beli qui imperavit annis 65. Berosus. [c] *Of the world* 2017. *Of the flood* 761. 2059. mundi, 403. a dil. 2083. 427. 2093. 437. [d] Gen. 14. 4.

besides

beſides that, it is certain, that the *Aſſyrians* (when they were greateſt) had never any dominion in *Aſia* the leſs. For at ſuch time as the *Aſſyrians* feared the invaſion of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, they ſent not into *Aſia* the leſs as commanders: but uſed all the art they had to invite [a] *Cræſus* to their aſſiſtance: perſuading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himſelf, and the other kings of thoſe parts, than the ſucceſs of the *Medes* againſt the *Aſſyrians*. But examine the enterpriſe what it was. [b] *Theſe kings* (ſaith the text) *made war with Bera, king of Sodom, Birſha king of Gomorrha, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemebar king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela which is Zoar.* All which five kings had not ſo much ground as *Middleſex:* being ſuch a kind of *Reguli*, as *Joſhua* found in the land long after: namely, lords of cities and ſmall territories adjoining; of which *Canaan* had 33 all ſlain or hanged by *Joſhua*. Neither can the other countries, which in the text they are ſaid alſo to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in kings from *Pontus* or *Helleſpont*, had manifeſted a great impotence and weakneſs in the kings of *Babylon* and *Perſia*.

And tho' it be alledged for an example, that divers kings far off, came to aſſiſt *Pompey* againſt *Ceſar:* yet theſe ſame examples, without like occaſions and circumſtances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cauſe to fear the greatneſs of theſe petty kings, or of the other countries: but the eyes of the world were fixed on *Ceſar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other princes no leſs doubtful than fearful: but the whole country by theſe four kings maſtered in their paſſage, was afterwards given to the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, *Gad*, and *Ruben:* a narrow valley of ground lying between *Jordan* and the mountains of *Seir:* incloſed by the river of *Arnon* on the ſouth-ſide, and by *Libanus* on the north, conſiſting of the two ſmall provinces of *Traconitis* or *Baſan*, and the region of the *Moabites:* a conqueſt far unvaluable, and little anſwering to the power of the *Aſſyrian* empire, if the ſame had remained in any comparable eſtate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who ſubjected all the great kings of that part of the world, without the aſſiſtance of any of the kings of *Helleſpont*, or any other part of *Aſia* the leſs. But as the *Vulgar* and *Aquila* convert *Ellaſſar* by *Pontus:* ſo *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a king of the *Scythians*, a king indeed, as far fetched to join with the *Aſſyrians* in this war, as the world had any at that time. The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellaſſar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the mountains whereof the ark did reſt, ſo do they in this place retain the *Hebrew* word *Ellaſſar*, being doubtful to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himſelf remembreth other opinions far more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Helleſpont:* yet he dares not avow his liking of them, becauſe the *Latin* tranſlation hath it otherwiſe. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Grecian* coſmographer, findeth the city of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœleſyria*. And St. *Jerome* calleth *Ellas* the city of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now altho' the ſame be ſeated by *Stephanus* in *Cœleſyria*, yet it ſtandeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly joined with *Ninus* in all his conqueſts, being of the ſame family, and deſcended from *Cham* and *Chus:* after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrews* written *Arioch:* and afterwards again *Aretas:* as in the [c] *Maccabees:* the kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of [d] St. *Paul*, who was ſought to be betray'd by the lieutenants of *Aretas* commanding in *Damaſcus*. They were princes for the moſt confederate and depending upon the *Aſſyrian* empire. It is true, that we find in *Daniel* ii. that in the time of *Nabuchodonoſor*, one *Arioch* was general of his army, and the principal commander under him, who was a king of kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here ſpoken of, the ſon of that *Arioch*, confederate of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia:* regions far removed from the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name alſo of *Arioch* who commanded under *Nabuchodonoſor* is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of *King of the Elymeans*, who are a nation of *Perſians* bordering *Aſſyria*, according to *Stephanus*; tho' *Pliny* ſets it between the ſea-coaſt, and *Media:* and if any brother of the *Arabian* kings, or other of that houſe (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta* or *Aretas*) had the government of that *Perſian* province called *Elymais* (as it ſeemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the ſame was in *Nabuchodonoſor*'s time. But this *Arioch* here ſpoken of, may with more reaſon be taken for the king of *Arabia*, the ſon of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus:* whoſe ſons held league as their fathers did, being the next bordering prince of all on that ſide towards the weſt to *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea:* and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own houſe, and blood: which [e] *D. Siculus* alſo confirmeth.

SECT. XI.

Of Tidal *another of the four kings.*

THE fourth king by *Abraham* overthrown was *Tidal*, king of the nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mix'd people: *Calvin* of runnagates without habitation: *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, finds that *Galilea* was inhabited by divers nations, which were a mix'd people: namely of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phenicians*. [f] *Nam tales ſunt qui Galilæam habitant*; Such are the inhabitants of *Galilee*, ſaith *Strabo:* and therefore was *Tidal* called king of theſe nations, as they ſuppoſe. And it may be ſo: but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this queſtion. For *Galilea* was not peopled at this time as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the [g] *Canaanite* was then in the land, howſoever they might be afterwards mix'd; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adjoining to *Phenicia*, and *Paleſtina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcedice*, *Caſſiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all theſe do alſo join themſelves to *Meſopotamia* on the north, and to *Arabia* on the eaſt. And that theſe nations gathered themſelves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probableſt conjecture.

SECT. XII.

That Chedorlaomer *the chief of the four kings was not of* Aſſyria, *but of* Perſia: *and that the* Aſſyrian *empire at this time was much impaired.*

LAſtly, whereas it is conceived that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Aſſyrian* emperor, and that *Amraphel* was but a ſatrape, viceroy, or provincial governor of *Babylonia*, and that the other kings named were ſuch alſo, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moſes* was too well acquainted with the names of *Aſſur*, and *Shinar*, to call the *Aſſyrian* a king of *Elam:* thoſe kings being in the ſcriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldea*, *Shi-*

[a] Xenophon. [b] Gen. 14. [c] 2 Macc. 5. 2. [d] 2 Cor. 11. 32. [e] Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. [f] Strab. l. 16. fol. 523. [g] Gen. 12. 6.

nar,

nar, *Babylonia* or *Aſſyria*: but never by *Elam*; and *Chedorlaomer* or *Kedarlaomer* was ſo called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim*, which in the *Hebrew* ſignifieth *regale*: for ſo Q. *Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Perſian* kings ware on their heads.

Neither do I believe that the *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian* empire ſtood in any greatneſs at the time of this invaſion, and my reaſons are theſe: Firſt, Example and experience teach us, that thoſe things which are ſet up haſtily, or forced violently, do not long laſt: *Alexander* became lord of all *Aſia* on this ſide of *Indus*, in a time of ſo ſhort a life, as it laſted not to over-look what itſelf had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual: for his empire died at once with himſelf: all whoſe chief commanders became kings after him. *Tamerlane* conquered *Aſia* and *India* with a ſtorm-like and terrible ſucceſs: but to prevalent fury God hath adjoined a ſhort life: and whatſoever things nature herſelf worketh in haſte, ſhe taketh the leaſt care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories periſhed with him, if not before.

Ninus being the firſt whom the madneſs of boundleſs dominion tranſported, invaded his neighbour princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, inſolent and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her paramour, enlarged the *Babylonian* empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her ſon having changed nature and condition with his mother, proved no leſs feminine than ſhe was maſculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual ſmart, put the patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other; ſo thoſe kings adjoining (whoſe ſubjection and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not ſleep, when the advantage was offered by ſuch a ſucceſſour. For *in Regno Babylonico hic parum reſplenduit*; This king ſhined little (ſaith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) in the *Babylonian* kingdom. And likely it is, that the necks of mortal men having been never before galled with the yoke of foreign dominion, nor having ever had experience of that moſt miſerable and deteſted condition of living in ſlavery; no long deſcent having as yet inveſted the *Aſſyrian* with a right, nor any other title being for him pretended than a ſtrong hand; the fooliſh and effeminate ſon of a tyrannous and hated father, could very ill hold ſo many great princes and nations his vaſſals, with a power leſs maſtering, and a mind leſs induſtrious than his father and mother had uſed before him. And he that was ſo much given over to licentious idleneſs, as to ſuffer his mother to reign 42 years, and thereof the greateſt part after he came to man's eſtate, witneſſed thereby to the world, that he ſo much preferred eaſe before honour, and bodily pleaſures before greatneſs, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

Theſe conſiderations being joined to the ſtory of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moſes*, by which we find that *Amraphel* king of *Shinar* was rather an inferiour to the king of *Perſia*, than either his ſuperiour or equal, make it ſeem probable, that the empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken aſunder, and reſtrained again to *Babylonia*.

For concluſion I will add theſe two arguments confirming the former: Firſt, That at ſuch time as it pleaſed God to impoſe that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldea* to *Charran*, and then to *Candan* a paſſage of 700 miles, or little leſs, with women, children, and carriages: the countries thro' which he wandred were then ſettled, and in peace. For it was in the 23d year of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23 years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour princes had recovered their liberty and former eſtates. For [a] *Semiramis*'s army of four millions, with herſelf, utterly conſumed in *India*, and all her arms and engines of war at the ſame time loſt, gave an occaſion and opportunity even to the pooreſt ſouls, and weakeſt hearted creatures of the world, to repurchaſe their former liberty.

Secondly, It is affirmed by the beſt and ancienteſt hiſtorians, that *Arius* the ſon of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians* and *Caſpians*, and again ſubjected them: which needed not if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus*'s death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, ſo did *Baleus* or *Balaneus*, otherwiſe *Xerxes*, reduce the reſt revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is ſaid, that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *id eſt*, *Victor & triumphator*, a conquerour and triumpher, which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madneſs, had not thoſe countries freed themſelves from the *Babylonian* ſubjection. Now if we ſhall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the conqueſt of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the reſt of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feigned: but if we grant this re-conqueſt, then is it true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Aſſyrian* empire was torn aſunder, according to that which hath been gathered out of *Moſes*, as before remembred.

SECT. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the four kings had no dominion in the countries named, but that they had elſewhere with their colonies planted themſelves: and ſo retained the names of the countries whence they came: which if it be ſo, we need not ſay that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our ſelves with many other difficulties.*

THE conſent of all writers, whoſe works have come to my peruſal, agreeing as they do, that theſe four kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and thoſe fellows were lords of thoſe regions, whereunto they are or ſeem intitled: doth almoſt inforce us to think, that the hiſtory muſt be ſo underſtood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often elſewhere in the ſcriptures, the names of countries may be ſet for people of thoſe lands, or if (as *Jerome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was ſaid to be of the nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of ſundry regions: then may we otherwiſe conceive of this hiſtory, removing thereby ſome difficulties which men perhaps have been unwilling to find, becauſe they could not find how to reſolve them. For as it had been a ſtrange conjecture to think that *Arioch* was drawn to aſſiſt the *Perſian*, againſt the *Sodomite*; as far as from *Pontus*, where it very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almoſt impoſſible that the vale of *Siddim* ſhould have been once named: ſo in true eſtimation it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were king of *Perſia* alone, ſhould paſs thro' ſo great a part of the world, as the countries of *Aſſyria*, *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia* and *Canaan*, to ſubdue thoſe five towns, whoſe very names how they ſhould

[a] Strabo, Lib. 15.

come

come to his ear, being disjoined by so many great nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly conjecture. And if all the countries bordering *Persia*, together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea the kingdom of *Elassar*, and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed, were become his dependants, what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*? and when he should have sought the establishment of his new-gotten empire, by rooting out the posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) than to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other kings, against five petty towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great city of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer unto him, unsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alledged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his re-conquest of these five cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the text it self. For first, what madness had it been in that small province, to rebel against so powerful a monarch? Or if it were so, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them: was it not more than madness in them, when his terrible army approached, still to entertain hope of evasion: yea, to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the nations between *Euphrates*, yea between themselves and the river of *Indus*? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should find no great wisdom, if he knowing the weakness of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any lieutenant, with small forces, he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little country was not sufficient to countervail one month's charges of so huge an army. How small then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the wasting of that valley, wherein he left the cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the country, altho' he had broken their army in the field? Now the scriptures do not make any fearful matter of this invasion, tho' supposed to be so great: but compose the two armies as equally match'd, saying they were four kings against five; yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find in *Genesis* xiv. 17. that *Abraham* slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no history makes mention: neither will the reign of *Ninas*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he should have died so soon; neither would histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that these four kings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title, lords and commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a colony, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troop of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the country which lay about them to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoveries, conquests and plantations, in the infancy of *Greece*, or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almost as many kings as several armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoveries, passages and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceive, that it was neither unusual for the leaders of colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and break them again, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the slothful quality of *Ninias* then reigning in *Assyria*; whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking spirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accustomed, in the reign of *Semiramis*, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded; whilst others more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the consent of the whole stream of writers upon this place make this conjecture disagreeable to the text, to the authority whereof all human reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selves to the former conjecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*: and that the power of his ancestors being by his sloth decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not satisfy, we may say that *Amraphel* was an under-king or *satrape* of *Shinar*, under *Ninias*; who may be supposed to have had his imperial seat in his father's city *Nineveh*: and to have preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the city of his mother, whom he hated as an usurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any man's salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might err: then can I think that the opinion, that these four kings were leaders of colonies, sent out of the countries named in the text, and not kings of the countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the scripture. And hereto add that *Chedorlaomer* seems rather called a *Persian* king, than king of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a man of action, or being a worthy man's son, was very well pleased to give passage and assistance to these captains or petty kings. These and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or, if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the reader's pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he shall find any that shall seem better than these. But of what countries or people soever these four were kings, this expedition is the only publick action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his story, and of his sons, and of his nephews *Esau* and *Jacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand upon things generally known to all christians, nor to repeat what hath been elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we pass them here in silence. And because in this story of *Abraham* and his posterity, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears that even in the time of *Abraham* it was a settled and flourishing kingdom, it will not be amiss in the next place to speak somewhat of the antiquities, and first kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the kings of Egypt *from the first peopling of it after the flood, to the time of the delivery of the* Israelites *from thence.*

SECT. I.

A brief of the names and times of the first kings of Egypt: *with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.*

SOON after the confusion at *Babel*, as it seems, *Cham*, with many of his issue and followers (having doubtless known the fertility of *Egypt* before the flood) came thither and took possession of the country: in which they built many cities, and began the kingdom one hundred and ninety one years after the deluge. The ancient governors of this kingdom till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewn in the table following.

An. Mundi.	*An. Dil.*	
1847	191	*Cham.*
2008	352	*Osiris.*
2269	613	*Typhon*, *Hercules.*
2276	620	*Orus.*
2391	735	*Sesostris* the Great.
2424	768	*Sesostris* the Blind.
2438	782	*Busiris* or *Orus* the second.
2476	820	*Acenchere* or *Thermutis* or *Meris.*
2488	832	*Rathoris* or *Athoris.*
2497	841	*Chencres* drowned in the *Red* sea.

The table, and especially the chronology, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity manifest and resistless truth cannot be found. For St. *Augustine*, a man of exceeding great judgment, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the books of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* kings; which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* story, was the ambition of the priests: who, to magnify their antiquities, filled the records, which were in their hands, with many leasings: and recounted unto strangers the names of many kings that never reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent works and royal buildings in *Egypt*, such as are never found but in states that have greatly flourished, witness that their princes were of marvellous greatness: and that the reports of the priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* history, was the too much credulity of some good authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best; have confirmed them, and as it were enforced them upon us, by their authority. A third and general cause of more than *Egyptian* darkness in all ancient histories, is the edition of many authors by *John Annius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned I may add mine) I think thus: that *Annius* having seen some fragments of those writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true histories, where approved writers confirm him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass that the account of authors, either in the chronology or genealogy of the *Egyptian* kings, runs three altogether different ways. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: many late writers follow the edition of *Annius*'s authors: the profane histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

SECT. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, *and otherwise, it appears that* Cham's *reign in* Egypt *began in the year after the flood* 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient kings, about whom is most controversy, the best mean is by help of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties*, besides the authority of approved authors, hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the histories of the *Assyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, and others, *&c.* The beginning of the 16th *Dynasty* is joined by general consent with the 43d year of *Ninus*, in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve, which were called the greater gods: so that all the years of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynasty* endured fourteen years; the fourteenth, twenty-six; the fifteenth, thirty-seven. These three last are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161 years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dynasties* was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annius* in such wise limits out their time; so I cannot reject the account upon this only reason, that *Annius* hath it so; considering that both hitherto it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty*, in the year of *Abraham*'s birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the sum of 161 years, which according to our account were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of 352 years, which were between the flood and *Abraham*'s birth, shew that the beginning of the first dynasty, which was the beginning of *Cham*'s reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into *Shinar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Anno a diluvio* 131. In building the tower were consumed forty years, as *Glycas* recordeth; whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their wives, children, cattle, and substance, thro' all *Syria* then desolate, and full of bogs, forests and briars (which the deluge and want of culture in one hundred and seventy one years had brought upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Egypt*, we allow 20 years: and these sums being added together, to wit one hundred thirty-one years after the flood, before they arrived at *Babel*, 40 years for their stay there, and 20 for *Cham*'s passage into *Egypt* and settling there, make up the sum of one hundred and ninety one years: at which time we said that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynasty*. And to this sum of 191 years, if we add the 161 years of the 15 first *Dynasties*,

naſties, as they are numbred in common account, we ſhall fall right with the year of *Abraham*'s birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto, omitting many other reaſons, which might be brought to prove that theſe firſt *Dynaſties* muſt needs have been very ſhort, and not containing in the whole ſum of their ſeveral times above 161 years: let it ſuffice that had they laſted longer, then either muſt *Egypt* have been peopled as ſoon as *Babel* after the flood: or the *Dynaſties* (as *Mercator* thinks) muſt have been before the flood. That the arrival at *Babel* was many years before the plantation of *Egypt*, after the flood, enough hath been ſaid to prove: and that the *Dynaſties* were not before the flood, the number of the long-liv'd generations between *Adam* and the flood, which was leſs than the number of the *Dynaſties*, may ſufficienly witneſs. Or if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynaſties*, then may this have been as well after the flood, as before: conſidering that the ſons of *Noah* did not in every country erect ſuch form of policy, as had been uſed in the ſame ere the deluge: but ſuch, as the diſpoſition of the people, the authority and power of the conductor, together with many other circumſtances, did induce or inforce them to.

SECT. III.

That theſe Dynaſties *were not divers families of kings, but rather ſucceſſions of regents, oft-times many under one king.*

THE ſhort continuance of the *Dynaſties*, doth ſhew that they were not ſeveral races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to ſtile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in reſtitutions of decay'd antiquities, it is more eaſy to deny than to affirm. But this may be ſaid, partly upon good circumſtance, partly upon the ſureſt proof, that it was the manner of the *Egyptian* kings, to put the government of the country into the hands of ſome truſty counſellor, only reſerving the ſoveraignty to themſelves, as the old kings of *France* were wont to the maſters of the palace, and as the *Turk* doth to the chief viſier. This is confirmed firſt, by the number of the *Dynaſties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Oſiris* or *Mizraim*; and muſt therefore have been ſucceſſions, not of kings, but rather of counſellors and regents. Secondly, by cuſtom of ſuch princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the ſcriptures: of whom *Abimilech* the *Philiſtine*, in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Iſaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol*, captain of his hoſt; tho' in taking *Abraham*'s wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleaſure. Likewiſe of *Abimilech* the ſon of *Gideon*, it was ſaid: *Is not he the ſon of Jerubbal? and Zebulis his officer?* alſo *Iſhboſheth* the ſon of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the captain of the hoſt. Yea, *David* himſelf hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not puniſh him, in regard of his greatneſs, which was ſuch, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite* living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and diſpoſition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the ſcriptures: therefore likely both for his own idleneſs and pleaſure, to have laid the burthen of government upon others; and upon jealouſy, the companion of unworthineſs, to have changed his lieutenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joſeph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* ſaid to *Joſeph*; *Only in the king's throne will I be above thee: behold I have ſet thee over all the land of Egypt.* [a] *William*, archbiſhop of *Tyre*, who flouriſhed about the year of our Lord one thouſand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like or very ſame form of government by viceroys, was in his time practiſed in *Egypt*, having there been in uſe (as he believed) ever ſince the time of *Joſeph*. He plainly ſhews, that the ſoldans of *Egypt* were not lords of the country, however they have been ſo deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the duty of ſubjects unto the *Caliph*: who reſiding in a moſt magnificent palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not only of civil government, but the power of making war and peace, with the whole office and authority royal into the ſoldan's hands. He that ſhall read in [b] *William* of *Tyre*, the ſtate of the caliph, or *Mulene Elhadech*, with the form of his court, ſhall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a lieutenant, as great in authority as *Joſeph* was, tho' far inferiour in wiſdom.

To think that many names of ſuch regents or lieutenants as *Joſeph* was, have crept into the liſt of the *Egyptian* kings, were no ſtrange imagination, For *Joſeph*'s brethren called him, [c] *The man that is lord of the land, and the lord of the country*: beſides, it is not unlikely that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* prieſts would as eaſily report him a king to poſterity, as ignorant men and ſtrangers deem him ſuch, under whoſe hand all diſpatches of importance, and royal managing of the ſtate had paſs'd, whilſt that the king himſelf intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How ſtrangers have miſtaken in this kind, the example already cited of *Joſeph*'s brethren, doth ſufficiently witneſs. The reports of prieſts do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, ſay; *Diodorus*, that *Seſoſtris* was the 19th king after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332d after *Menas*: which could not have been if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, that the *Dynaſties* were not ſo many races of kings, but ſucceſſions of regents, appointed by the kings of ſo many ſundry lineages or ſorts of men. Now by whatſoever means a *Dynaſty* or regency continued: whether in one family, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: ſure it is that it was the king's gift, and free choice, that gave the office. But the crown royal always paſſed by deſcent, and not by election: which (beſide conſent of authors) the ſcriptures alſo prove. For whereas *Joſeph* bought all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the crown had paſſed by election, then ſhould *Pharaoh*'s children hereby either have been inthralled amongſt the reſt of the people, to the next ſucceſſour: or enjoying their father's land, tho' not his eſtate, have been more mighty than the king: as landlords of all *Egypt*, and the king himſelf their tenant. Likewiſe we find in *Exod.* xii. that *God ſmote the firſt-born of Pharaoh, that was to ſit on his throne*: and in *Iſaiah* it is ſaid of *Pharaoh*, [d] *I am the ſon of the ancient king.*

SECT. IV.

Of Cham, *and his ſon* Mizraim, *or* Oſiris.

THAT the ſucceſſion of kings began, and continued in ſuch wiſe as the table hath ſhewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to ſhew. *Egypt* is called in the ſcripture, [e] *the land of Ham*. That this name is not given to it becauſe the poſterity of *Cham* did reign there, but for that himſelf did firſt plant it, we may gather by many circumſtances. For I think it is no-where found, that the countries of *Cuſh*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as

[a] William Tyr. de bell. ſacro, l. 19. c. 17, 18, 19, & 20. [b] Lib. 19, 20. [c] Gen. 42. 30, & 33. [d] Iſa. 19. [e] Pſal. 78. 51. 105. 23, 27. 106. 22.

Egypt,

Egypt, were called the land of *Ham*. Further it is found in [a] *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Oſiris* calleth himſelf the eldeſt ſon of *Cham*, ſaying; *Mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium junior:* alſo, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoſo ortum:* which muſt needs be underſtood of *Cham:* for this *Saturnus Egyptius* was *Cham:* as it was ſaid, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inſcription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewiſe the temple of *Hammon* not far from *Egypt* doth teſtify, that *Ham* reſided in thoſe parts: and St. *Jerome in Quæſtionibus Hebraicis*, ſaith, that the *Egyptians* themſelves did in his days call their country *Ham:* as in four ſeveral places in the *Pſalms* this country is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Oſiride*, that in the ſacrifices of the *Egyptians* this country of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia: ut puto* (ſaith he) *a Chamo Noes filio*, to which alſo he addeth out of *Iſidore*, *Ægyptum uſque hodie Ægyptiorum lingua Kam vocari:* That *Egypt* unto this day in the tongue of the *Egyptians* is called *Kam*. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham*'s reign, the ſame reaſons may ſuffice to be alledged, which I have already given in proof of the time ſpent in the 15 firſt *Dynaſties:* neither is it ſtrange that the reign of *Cham*, ſhould laſt ſo long as 161 years: conſidering that *Sem* lived 600. *Arphachſhad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But ſtrange it had been, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in thoſe long-lived generations reigned there 19 years, and with *Bæon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the ſame brood, obſcured the fame and glory of *Oſiris*, *Orus* and *Seſoſtris*. *Reineccius*, *in hiſtor. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwiſe called *Oſiris* according to *Diodorus:* who ſaith he was the ſon of *Hammon: Krentzhemius* ſaith that *Mizraim* and *Oſiris* are words of near affinity and ſound in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howſoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the ſon of *Cham*, was lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authority in this caſe, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their own language *Mezre*. Neither do I ſee cauſe of doubt whether *Oſiris* were the ſame with *Mizraim*. It is more neceſſary, and hard to ſhew manifeſtly, how long *Mizraim* or *Oſiris* reigned. For whereas the year of his death is no-where preciſely ſet down, we muſt be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly ſaid by *Annius*'s *Beroſus* to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynaſty* of the *Thebæi* began, it appeareth, firſt, by the authority of *Euſebius*, who avoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who ſaith that he inhabited *Thebes:* which habitation of *Oſiris* there, that it might be cauſe of that *Dynaſty*, I can well believe: aſſenting ſo far to *Reineccius*, who thinks the *Dynaſties* were named only, according to the ſeveral feats of the kings.

SECT. V.

Of the time when Oſiris's *reign ended: and that* Jacob *came into* Egypt *in the time of* Orus *the ſon of* Oſiris.

THE death of *Oſiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The only conjecture that I know, is made thus. *Lebabim* the ſon of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Libyus*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his father's death, on the aſſociates of *Typhon*, in the 41ſt year of *Baleus* king of *Aſſyria:* before which year he had made many great wars in *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Libya*, and *Spain:* and having ended his *Egyptian* wars, left the kingdom to *Orus*. Thus far *Beroſus*, or authors following *Beroſus*. That *Orus* laſt of all the gods (as they were ſtiled) held the kingdom of *Iſis*, [b] *Diodorus Siculus* plainly ſaith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all hiſtories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon infers, that ſix years may be allowed to the wars, which *Hercules* made in ſo many countries, after the *Egyptian* wars were ended: ſo ſhould the death of *Oſiris* have been the 34th of *Baleus:* when himſelf had reigned 297 years. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater ſcholar than ſoldier. For ſurely in thoſe days when commerce was not ſuch as now, but all navigation made by coaſting, a far longer time would have been required to the ſubduing of ſo many countries. An allowance of more time, tho' it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtleſs) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Oſiris* had been the 34th of *Baleus*, then muſt *Iſrael* have come into *Egypt* but ſeven years before the death of *Oſiris:* and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon*. A thing not eaſily believed. For it was the ſame king who advanced *Joſeph*, bad him ſend for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his father's funeral: as may eaſily be gathered out of the book of *Geneſis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Oſiris*, cannot be extended by any poſſible allowance in account of times, beyond the 7th year of *Iſrael*'s coming into *Egypt:* we muſt needs cut off 23 years from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectured his reign to have continued: namely, ſeven which he ſhould have lived after *Jacob*'s coming into *Egypt:* nine in which *Joſeph* had there flouriſhed, ere his father's coming: and other ſeven in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Oſiris*, yet before *Joſeph*'s advancement.

Neither will this diſagree with the time of *Hercules Libyus*'s wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is ſaid to have indured 10 years: after which proportion we may well give not only ſix years, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23 more to ſo many wars in ſo many and ſo far diſtant countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13 years, which paſſed between the time of *Joſeph*'s being ſold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement: conſidering that *Putiphar* who bought him, and whoſe daughter he may ſeem to have married, continued all that while chief ſteward unto *Pharaoh:* a thing not likely to have been, if ſo violent alterations had happened the whilſt in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous uſurpation of *Typhon* muſt needs have brought in. If citing ſome fragment of a loſt old author, I ſhould confidently ſay, that *Putiphar*, for his faithfulneſs to *Orus*, the ſon of *Oſiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reign made his chief ſteward: at which time buying *Joſeph*, and finding him a juſt man, and one under whoſe hand all things did proſper, he rather committed his eſtate into *Joſeph*'s hands, than unto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either falſe-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troubleſome days of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected againſt this. Perhaps I might proceed further, and ſay, that when the ſaying of *Joſeph* pleaſed *Pharaoh*, and all his ſervants: then *Putiphar* prieſt of *On*, being chief officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Joſeph*, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious impriſonment: whereupon he gave him his daughter to wife: and being old reſigned his office of chief ſteward unto him: who afterwards in regard of *Putiphar*, did favour the prieſts, when he bought the lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appear to ſome a tale

[a] Diod. Sic. l. 1. [b] Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. l. de Iſide & Oſir.

not

not unlike to the frierly book of *Aſenath*, *Putiphar*'s daughter: but unto ſuch as conſider that God works uſually by means: and that *Putiphar* was the ſteward of that king, under whom *Jacob* died: it would ſeem a matter not improbable, had it an author of ſufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the wars of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he ſhould have ſpent 42 years after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumſtance which (the length of his *Italian* wars conſidered, and his former enterpriſes and atchievements proportioned to them) doth not make againſt us, but for us: or if it were againſt us, yet could it not ſo weaken our ſuppoſition, as theſe probabilities collected out of the undiſputable truth of ſcripture do confirm it. Nevertheleſs I freely grant that all theſe proofs are no other, than ſuch as may be gathered out of authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in ſuch obſcurity, otherwiſe than by likelihoods, anſwerable to the holy text.

SECT. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, *and the two* Seſoſtres, *ſucceſſively reigning after* Miſraim: *and of divers errors about the former* Seſoſtris.

CONcerning the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that preciſely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is ſo peremptory without proof, as if his own word were ſufficient authority, in many points very queſtionable; alledging no witneſs, but as it were ſaying *Teſte meipſo:* yet herein we may think him to ſpeak probably, foraſmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very ſoon undertake his father's revenge, and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other wars, in the ſame quarrel, as hath been ſhewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Beroſus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon:* yet ſeeing *Aventinus*, a follower of *Beroſus*, hath it ſo, I will alſo believe it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, ſeven years were ſpent, howſoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* 7 years after the death of *Oſiris:* forgetting to ſet down his reaſons, which, in a matter ſo probable, I think he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90 years of the 18th *Dynaſty* to *Oſiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus:* it ſeems that the reign of *Orus* laſted 115 years. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, there paſſed 122 years by our account: who (according to *Beroaldus*, and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the 130th year of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the flood to the birth of *Abraham* —— —— 352

From that time to the { vocation of *Abraham* 75 / departure out of *Egypt* 430 } total —— 857

which ſum divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there do remain (as is aforeſaid) only 122 years from the death of *Orus:* we are now to conſider how many of them are to be allowed unto *Seſoſtris* or *Seſonchoſis*, who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiaſtes Apollonii*; not without good probability. For this great king or conqueror, is by many hiſtories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Aſia:* to have built a fleet of ſhips on the *Red* ſea; and ſo to have entred into *India:* likewiſe with another fleet on the middle-earth ſeas, to have paſſed into *Europe*, and ſubdued many nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Juſtin* erring in account of his time, calleth *Vexoris:* for *Juſtin* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus:* whereby it would follow that *Seſoſtris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Oſiris* (otherwiſe *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Aſia*) till the father-in-law of *Solomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, took *Gerar*, and gave it to his daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy hiſtory of the bible) after which time *Seſac* oppreſſed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* ſought paſſage thro' the land of *Iſrael*, when he made his expedition againſt the *Chaldeans*. Of king *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of queſtion, that neither of them was the great king *Seſoſtris*. Of *Seſac* it is doubted by ſome, foraſmuch as he came into *Judea*, with a great army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unleſs it be ſufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himſelf placeth *Seſoſtris* next to *Orus*; following the *Scholiaſtes Apollonii*. But further anſwer may be made to ſhew that they were not one. For as *Juſtin* witneſſeth, *Seſoſtris*, otherwiſe *Vexoris*, made war on people far removed, abſtaining from his neighbours. *Seſac* came up purpoſely againſt *Jeruſalem*. *Seſoſtris*, as *Diodorus* witneſſeth, had but 24000 horſe: *Seſac* had 60000: *Seſoſtris* had 8020 chariots, *Seſac* but 1200. *Seſoſtris* made his expedition for no private purpoſe, but to get a great name: *Seſac*, as moſt agree, had no other purpoſe than to ſuccour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign, whom he had favoured even againſt *Solomon:* therefore *Seſoſtris* muſt needs have reigned whilſt *Iſrael* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus:* becauſe thoſe hiſtorians affirm that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Oſiris* did ſucceed thoſe 15 gods, namely, the 12 greater and 3 leſſer: himſelf alſo (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as alſo *Minæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignity: tho' miſtaken by ſome as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus:* the *Hebrew* word *Meni* ſignifying an arithmetician: which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Oſiris:* who was a great conqueror, philoſopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giving good laws, and teaching profitable arts. In proweſs and great undertakings *Seſoſtris* was no whit inferiour to *Oſiris*. For he ſought victory not for gain, but for honour only: and being well contented, that many nations had acknowledged his power, and ſubmitted themſelves to his will and royal diſpoſition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great treaſon, the houſe, in which he was, being by his own brother purpoſely fired: which nevertheleſs he is ſaid to have eſcaped, and to have reigned in all thirty-three years: after which time he choſe rather to die than to live: becauſe he fell blind. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Seſoſtris* left a ſon, whoſe name was *Pheron* or *Pherones*; who afterwards took the name of *Seſoſtris:* but was nothing like to his father in glory: for he ſhortly fell blind. The cauſe of his blindneſs *Herodotus* attributes to his aſſaulting the river *Nilus* with a javelin: which tale *Diodorus* having likewiſe heard, yet reports as a fable, ſaying, that perhaps he took the diſeaſe naturally from his father. How long this man reigned it is no where expreſ-

ſed: yet foraſmuch as *Orus* the ſecond (otherwiſe *Buſiris*) who ſucceeded him, began 14 years after that this *Seſoſtris* had been king, it muſt needs be that this reigned 14 years at leaſt. That *Buſiris* began not until theſe 14 years at leaſt were expired, the very account of time from the firſt of *Buſiris*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, plainly ſhews, being almoſt generally agreed upon, to have been 75 years. That none came between *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, and *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, it ſtands only upon probabilities: which are theſe. After *Seſoſtris* had reigned ſomewhile, he fell blind: after certain years he recovered his ſight, as is ſaid: which may have been true, but is more like to have been a fable: ſurely the manner of his recovery, as it is ſet down, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking upon a woman, or waſhing his eyes with her water, who had only known her own husband, he got his ſight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindneſs, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14 years: ſo his works, which were great, do much more ſtrongly argue, that his reign was not very ſhort. His works, are largely ſet down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus:* a part of which may ſeem to have been the finiſhing of that which his father had begun, about the channels and ſluices of *Nilus:* whom I think he rather frighted (as his father had done) with ſpades and ſhovels, than with darts and javelins: and by his diligent overſight of that work, was like enough to loſe both his eye-ſight and his people's love: whom his father had very buſily employ'd in exceſſive labour about it.

SECT. VII.

Of Buſiris *the firſt oppreſſor of the* Iſraelites: *and of his ſucceſſour queen* Thermutis *that took up* Moſes *out of the water.*

AND herein (if I may preſume to conjecture) *Buſiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the ſon of *Solomon*. For that *Buſiris* himſelf was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared, by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Iſrael* in his buildings: if therefore he were employ'd by the great *Seſoſtris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Solomon*, in the overſight of thoſe buſineſſes, he had good opportunity to work his greatneſs with the king by induſtry: and afterwards with the people by incenſing them againſt their new king: as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one prince's hands, they will not at another's: unleſs he have either an equal ſpirit, or a ſurer foundation. If moreover he ſought to derive all the pain and labour of publick works from the *Egyptians*, to the *Iſraelites:* he ſurely did that which to his own people was very plauſible, who (as appears in *Exodus* i.) were nothing ſlack in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the 2d, or *Buſiris*, was the king that firſt oppreſſed *Iſrael*, and made the edict of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (ſaith *Cedrenus*) laſted 10 months: it is a common opinion of many great and moſt learned writers, who alſo think that hereupon grew the fable of *Buſiris* ſacrificing ſtrangers. It is alſo a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* i. that the king, who knew not *Joſeph*, was a king of a new family. That *Buſiris* was of a new family, *Reinecius* doth ſhew: who alſo thinks him author of the bloody edict. Nevertheleſs true it is, that *Buſiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reign 5 years after the birth of *Moſes*; before whoſe birth it is moſt manifeſt, that the law was made, and much more that the perſecution began: which *Bunting* thinks to have laſted 87 years, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore conſider, beſides the blindneſs of *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, how great the power of the regents or viceroys in *Egypt* was: and how great confidence the kings did put in them: ſeeing *Joſeph* ruled with ſuch full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the ſame time the beſt of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing: ſeeing alſo that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh* for bread, *Pharaoh* ſaid to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to Joſeph: what he ſaith to you, do ye.* If to a ſtranger born, lately fetch'd out of priſon, a king well able to have governed himſelf, would give ſuch truſt, and ſoveraign authority: it is not unlikely that a blind prince ſhould do it to a man of eſpecial reputation. For God often proſpers, not only the good (ſuch as *Joſeph* was) but wicked men alſo, as his inſtruments againſt the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many have done) reſign his kingdom to him, tho' his reign was not accounted to have begun, till the death of *Seſoſtris*. But whether *Buſiris* did uſurp the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king reſigned it, keeping the title: or whether *Buſiris* were only regent, whilſt the king liv'd, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himſelf: it might well be ſaid that *Pharaoh*'s daughter took up *Moſes*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Iſrael:* ſeeing he both at that time was king in effect, and ſhortly after king in deed and title both. It were not abſurd for us to ſay, that the blind king *Seſoſtris* the 2d oppreſs'd *Iſrael:* but foraſmuch as it may ſeem that the wicked tyrant ſhewed his evil nature even when he firſt aroſe, I think it more likely, that *Buſiris* did it, uſing at firſt the power of a king, and ſhortly after the ſtile. Thus of the 122 years which paſſed between the beginning of *Seſoſtris*'s reign, and the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, 47 being ſpent: the 75 which remain, are to be accounted to *Buſiris* or *Orus* the 2d, and his children. *Buſiris* himſelf reigned 30 years, according to *Euſebius:* whom very many judicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who took *Moſes* out of the water, is ſaid, by all that I have read, to have reigned 12 years: her name was *Thermutis Phareis*, or *Muthis*, according to *Cedrenus: Euſebius* calls her *Acencris:* and out of *Artabanus*'s hiſtory, *Meris: Joſephus* calls her both *Acenchere* and *Thermutis. Epiphanius* in *Panario* ſaith, that ſhe was honoured afterwards of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Amenoph*, the ſon of *Pharaoh*. Of this laſt title queſtion might be made, and much ſpoken: for the ſcriptures call her not *Pharaoh*'s ſon's daughter, but *Pharaoh*'s daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is placed next before *Buſiris*, or *Orus* the ſecond, by *Euſebius*, and others: but whether he were a king, or only a regent, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient hiſtorians name the ſon of *Seſoſtris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis:* and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the niece or grandchild, than the daughter of *Pharaoh*, becauſe of the glory of *Seſoſtris*, and the diſreputation of his ſon. If ſo, and if that *Buſiris* or *Orus* the 2d marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture ſtrengthened, and then was ſhe both daughter, grandchild, and wife unto *Pharaoh:* and ſurviving him, queen of the land, twelve years. But if ſhe were daughter of *Orus* the ſecond, and ſiſter of *Athoris*, or *Ratboris*, as many think, to whoſe conjecture I will

will not oppoſe mine, then may it ſeem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

SECT. VIII.

Of the two brethren of queen Thermutis: *and what king it was, under whom* Moſes *was born: and who it was that periſhed in the* Red *ſea.*

SHE had two brethren: the one was *Ratboris*, or *Atheris*, who ſucceeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is only named by *Euſebius*: but his lineage and off-ſpring deſcribed by *Reineccius*. *Ratboris*, after his ſiſter's death, reigned nine years: after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his ſon, reigned ten, and then periſhed in the *Red* ſea. During the reign of *Chencres*, *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Io*: of which hiſtory elſewhere he reporteth otherwiſe. After the death of *Chencres* (whom ſome call *Acencheres*: but all or moſt do ſtile αὐθάμαχον a fighter againſt God) *Acherres* reigned eight years: and then *Cherres* fifteen. This deſcent ſeems from father to ſon. In the eleventh year of *Cherres* it is ſaid by *Euſebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt* built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwiſe was not unlikely, *viz.* That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the deſtruction of her king and army in the *Red* ſea: elſe could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his poſterity, ſeems to have taken all from *Cherres* the grandchild of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is ſaid to have reigned four years after *Cherres*, and *Armeſis* one after *Armais*, theſe two kings are by *Euſebius* and others accounted as one, and his reign ſaid to have been five years. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwiſe *Danaus*; and his pedegree thus deſcribed by *Reineccius* in *Hiſtoria Julia*.

Telegonus.
Epaphus,
Libya, who had
Agenor, *Belus* and *Buſiris.*

Ægyptus or *Rameſſes*, who gave name to the country, having expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermneſtra.*

Danaus or *Armeus*, expelled by his brother *Ægyptus*, after he had reigned five years, became king of *Argos* in *Greece*: was father to *Hypermneſtra.*

How it might come to paſs that the nephews ſons of *Epaphus* ſhould have occupied the kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to ſay: conſidering that *Epaphus* himſelf is reported by *Euſebius* to have been born in the time of *Chencres*. But foraſmuch as the hiſtory of *Epaphus*'s birth, is diverſly related by *Euſebius*, it may ſuffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*, otherwiſe called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally diſtant from *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, with *Cherres* the grandchild of *Chencres*. And that the poſterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the hiſtory of theſe two brethren, *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*: of whom the former had 50 daughters, the latter 50 ſons: perhaps, or rather queſtionleſs, by divers women: yet ſurely they began to beget children in their firſt youth: howſoever it were, the general conſent of writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did ſucceed *Cherres*: and, according to *Euſebius* and good authors approving him, reigned five years. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned ſixty-eight years. This *Rameſſes* or *Ægyptus* is that *Armoſeſmiamum* or *Armeſeſmiamus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moſes* was born; and the cruel edict made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reign ſeems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mercator*'s opinion. For whereas the Lord ſaid to *Moſes*, *Go, return to Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Exod.* iv. 19. *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the ſame king under whom *Moſes* was born, and under whom he ſlew the *Egyptian* at the 40th year of his age; and fled into the wilderneſs, and there abode for fear: all which circumſtances could agree with none but this *Rameſſes* who reigned ſo long: wherefore deſirous rather to hold a true paradox, than a common error, he placeth one *Aliſfragmuthoſis* (whoſe name is found in the liſt of *Egyptian* kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an age 112 or 113 years more ancient than others left him in: and ſo continuing the catalogue of his ſucceſſors from *Themoſis* (whom *Euſebius* calls *Amaſis*) downwards with no other variation of the length of each man's reign, than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Euſebius*, he finds *Moſes* born under *Armeſeſmiamum*, and *Iſrael* delivered in the days of his ſon *Amenophis*. The very name of *Aliſfragmuthoſis* ſeems to him with little alteration to ſound like *Pharatates*, of which name one was thought to have flouriſhed either as a king, or a wiſe man, about the time of *Iſaac*. For, ſaith he, from *Aliſfragmuthoſis* to *Phragmuthoſis*, *Pharmuthoſis* or *Pharatates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and induſtry: and one to whom the world is bound for his many notable works; yet my aſſent herein is with-held from him, by theſe reaſons. Firſt, I ſee all other writers agree, that *Chencres* was the king who was drowned in the *Red* ſea. Secondly, The place, *Exod.* iv. *all are dead*, &c. may better be underſtood of *Buſiris* and all his children, than of one king alone. Thirdly, St. *Cyril*, in his firſt book againſt *Julian* the apoſtate, ſaith, that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moſes* was 120 years old, *Rameſſes*, which was this *Armeſeſmiamum*, being then king of *Egypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned nineteen years, who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the king that periſhed in the *Red* ſea: of which our opinion being already laid open, I think it moſt expedient to refer the kings enſuing to their own times (which a chronological table ſhall lay open) and here to ſpeak of that great deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*: which, for many great conſiderations depending thereupon, we may not lightly overpaſs.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Iſrael *out of* Egypt.

SECT. I.

Of the time of Moſes's *birth, and how long the* Iſraelites *were oppreſſed in* Egypt.

TRUE it is that the hiſtory it ſelf is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of *Moſes*'s birth, who was the excellent and famous inſtrument of this and other great works of the *Higheſt*, the different opinions are very near as many, as the men that have written of that argument.

Lud.

Lud. Vives, in his annotations upon St. *Auguſtine*, citeth very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyry* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moſes* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: but if he did mean the firſt *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for beſides that the ſame is contrary to all ſtories divine and human; while that *Semiramis* lived, ſhe commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof abſolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while ſhe ruled, in *rerum natura*.

A ſecond opinion he remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolemy* a prieſt of the *Mendes*, who ſaith that *Moſes* was born while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Ameſis* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greek* hiſtory, the firſt book: that *Moſes* was born while *Apis* the third king ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Aſſyrius*, who, tho' he cites ſome authorities that *Moſes* lived after the *Trojan* war, is himſelf of opinion, that *Moſes* was far more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, He ſetteth down the teſtimony of *Numenius* the philoſopher, who took *Muſæus* and *Moſes* to be one: confirming the ſame out of *Artapanus*, who confeſſeth that *Moſes* was called *Muſæus*, by the *Grecians*; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the ſame which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. [a] *Euſebius* alſo affirmeth, that *Eupolemus* in his firſt book *De bono*, *Moſes vir Deo conjunctiſſimus* is called *Muſæus Judæorum*. *Euſebius*, in his chronology, finds that *Moſes* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moſes*'s birth, *Thumoſis* or *Thmoſis*: the ſame perchance which *Appion* the grammarian will have to be *Amoſis*, and elſewhere *Amenophis* the father of *Sethoſis*: to whom *Lyſimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gave the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it ſeems moſt probable, that while *Saphrus*, called alſo *Spherus* or *Ipherius*, governed *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criaſus* the *Argives*; that then (*Seſoſtris* the ſecond ruling in *Egypt*) *Moſes* was born. For if we believe St. *Auguſtine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops*'s time, that *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*: [b] *Eduxit Moſes ex Egypto populum Dei noviſſimo tempore Cecropis Athenienſium regis*: *Moſes*, ſaith he, led the people of God out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Cecrops*'s time, king of the *Athenians*. In this ſort therefore, is the time of *Moſes*'s birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* beſt proved. St. *Auguſtine* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moſes* was born, : *Saphrus* governing *Aſſyria*: and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops*'s time. Now *Saphrus* ruled twenty years; his ſucceſſor *Mamelus* thirty years; *Sparetus* after him forty years: in whoſe fourth year *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Aſcatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the empire forty-one: So as *Moſes* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criaſus*, *Argos* (for theſe three kings lived at once at his birth, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moſes* was in the nineteenth year of the *Aſſyrian Saphrus*: for take one year remaining of twenty (for ſo long *Saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamelus*, and the forty years of *Sparetus*, theſe make ſeventy-one, with which there were waſted three years of *Cecrops*'s fifty years; then take nine years out of the reign of *Aſcatades*, who was *Sparetus*'s ſucceſſor, thoſe nine years added to ſeventy-one make eighty, at which age *Moſes* left *Egypt*: and add theſe nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly ſpent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops*'s fifty: and ſo it falleth right with St. *Auguſtine*'s words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops*'s time, *Moſes* led the people of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time, in which the *Hebrews* were oppreſs'd in *Egypt*, ſeemeth to have had beginning ſome eight or nine years before the birth of *Moſes*, and fifty-four years, or rather more, after *Joſeph*; between whoſe death and the birth of *Moſes* there were conſumed ſixty-four years: ſome of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great ſervitude and miſery. For as it is written in *Exodus* i. *They ſet task-maſters over them, to keep them under with burdens; and they built the cities, Pithom and Ramaſes*, &c. *And by cruelty they cauſed the children of Iſrael to ſerve; and made them weary of their lives, by ſore labour in clay and brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage*. All which, laid upon them by a maſtering power and a ſtrong hand, they endured to the time by the wiſdom of God appointed: even from fifty-four years, or not much more after the death of *Joſeph*, who left the world when it had laſted 2370 years, to the eightieth year of *Moſes*, and until he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the world's age 2514 towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account 2513. And becauſe thoſe things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be underſtood, I think it neceſſary to ſpeak a few words of the principal places therein named, in this diſcourſe.

SECT. II.

Of divers cities and places in Egypt, *mentioned in this ſtory, or elſewhere in the ſcripture.*

THIS city which the *Hebrews* call [c] *Zoan*, was built ſeven years after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and ſo doth *Jeremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Joſephus*, *Protaidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoineth to the land of *Goſen*, and is the ſame wherein *Jeremy* the prophet was ſtoned to death, for preaching againſt the *Egyptian* and *Jewiſh* idolatry.

Zoan or *Taphnes* was in *Moſes*'s time the metropolis of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly reſided; and not unlikely to be the ſame city where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Euſebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read aſtronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* king of *Egypt*. *Alexander Polyhiſtor* out of *Eupolemus*, hath it otherwiſe, ſaying, that *Abraham* inſtructed the *Egyptian* prieſts, and not the king; both which authorities [d] *Euſebius* citeth. The *Septuagint* and the *Vulgar* edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*; *Pagninus*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh*, call it *On*; and *Ptolemy*, *Onium*. There are two cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the ſouth; the other ſomewhat lower on the eaſter-moſt branch of *Nilus*, falling into the ſea at *Peluſium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the ſouth of the river *Trajan*, was the ſame which *Vatablus* and our *Engliſh* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the ſcriptures take certain knowledge: the ſame which *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy War*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Babalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Putiphar* prieſt, or prince, whoſe daughter *Joſeph* married

[a] Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 3. c. 3. [b] Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de Civit. Dei. [c] Numb. 33. Ezekiel 30. Jer. 2, 43, 44, 46. Joſeph. l. 1. c. 9. Tyr. de Bel. ſac. l. 19. c. 23. [d] Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. Gen. 12. 15. Iſa. 19. 11.

married. In the territory adjoining *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this city, *Onias*, the high prieſt of the *Jews*, built a temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferiour to that of *Jeruſalem* (*Ptolomy Philopater* then governing in *Egypt*) which ſtood in the time of *Veſpaſian*, 333 years after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Joſephus* falſely reporteth herein to have fulfilled a prophecy of *Iſaiah c.* 19. *In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti*; In that day ſhall the altar of the Lord be in the midſt of the land of *Egypt*. *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jews*, gave the occaſion for the erecting of this temple in *Egypt*. Laſtly, There it was, that our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus remained, while *Joſeph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which, ſaith *Brochard*, the fountain is ſtill found, called *Jeſus-well*, whoſe ſtreams do afterward water the gardens of *Balſamum*, no where elſe found in *Egypt*. And hereof ſee more in *Brochard*, in his deſcription of *Egypt*.

There is alſo the city of *Noph*, remembred by [a] *Iſaiah* and *Ezekiel*; the ſame which *Hoſea* the prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it took from a mountain adjoining ſo called; which mountain [b] *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great city which was called *Memphis*; and ſo the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalenſis*, *Mizraim*.

Peluſium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*, is not the ſame with *Damiata*, as [c] *Gul. Tyrius* witneſſeth. In the time of *Baldwin* III. *Peluſium* was called *Belbeis*: *Belbeis*, ſaith *Tyrius*, *quæ olim dicta eſt Peluſium*; *Belbeis*, that in times paſt was called *Peluſium*.

The city of *No*, the [d] *Septuagint* call *Dioſpolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Jerome* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, becauſe it was ſo called in the future.

Bubaſtus (for ſo *Jerome* and *Zeigler* do write it) is the ſame which the [e] *Hebrews* call *Pibeſeth*.

To make the ſtory the more perceivable, I have added a deſcription of the land of *Goſen*, in which the *Iſraelites* inhabited, with thoſe cities and places ſo often remembred in the ſcripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethſemes*, *Balſephon*, *Succoth* and the reſt; together with *Moſes*'s paſſage thro' the deſarts of *Arabia* the ſtony. For all ſtory, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleaſure, ſo it no way enricheth the knowledge and underſtanding of the reader; neither doth any thing ſerve to retain what we read in our memories, ſo well as theſe pictures and deſcriptions do. In which reſpect I am driven to digreſs in many places, and to interpoſe ſome ſuch diſcourſe, otherwiſe ſeeming impertinent; taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man *Arias Montanus*; who, in his preface to the ſtory of the *Holy Land*, hath theſe words: *Si enim abſque locorum obſervatione res geſtæ narrentur, aut ſine topographiæ cognitione hiſtoriæ legantur, adeo confuſa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obſcurum, nihil non difficile elici poſſit*; If narration, ſaith he, be made of thoſe things which are performed, without the obſervation of the places wherein they were done, or if hiſtories be read without topographical knowledge, all things will appear ſo intricate and confuſed, as we ſhall thereby underſtand nothing but obſcurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greateſt difficulty.

SECT. III.

Of the cruelty againſt the Iſraelites *young children in* Egypt: *and of* Moſes's *preſervation, and education.*

BUT to return to the ſtory it ſelf. It appeareth that notwithſtanding the labour and ſlavery which the *Iſraelites* endured, yet they decreaſed not in numbers: inſomuch as *Pharaoh* conſidering the danger of diſcontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppreſſed multitude, how perilous they might be to his eſtate, by ſuggeſtion of the devil reſolved to ſlaughter all the male children of the *Hebrews*, as ſoon as they ſhould be born. To which end he ſent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the moſt famous and expert amongſt them; *Quæ præerant*, ſaith *Comeſtor*, *multitudini obſtetricum*; who had command given them over all midwives; by whom (as it ſeemeth) he gave order to all the reſt for the execution of his edict. For to have called all the midwives of *Egypt* together, had been a ſtrange parliament. Now whether theſe two before named, were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diverſly diſputed. St. *Auguſtine* calls them *Hebrews*, becauſe it is written *Exodus* i. 16. *The king of* Egypt *commanded the midwives of the* Hebrew *women*, &c. But [f] *Joſephus*, *Abulenſis*, and *Pererius* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whoſoever they were, when it pleaſed God to fruſtrate the execution of that ſecret murder, to the end the world might witneſs both the wickedneſs of the *Egyptians*, and the juſt cauſe, thereby made manifeſt, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding theſe women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publickly, or howſoever, to deſtroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his dominions.

Now beſides the doubts which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greateſt part of whom he might have aſſured, by affording them the juſtice which every king oweth to his vaſſals, and the reſt he might have employed or ſent away at his pleaſure, [g] *Joſephus* giveth another cauſe of his rage againſt them; namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* prieſt, that among the *Hebrews* there ſhould be born a child, who growing to man's eſtate, ſhould become a plague and terror to his whole nation. To prevent which (and preſuming that he could reſiſt the ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the laws of heaven and of nature) he ſtreched out his bloody and mercileſs hand to the execution of his former intent. The ſame prevention *Herod* long after practis'd, when fearing the ſpiritual kingdom of Chriſt, as if it ſhould have been temporal, he cauſed all the male children at that time born to be ſlaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had ſome kind of foreknowledge of the future ſucceſs, it may be gathered by theſe his own words, in *Exodus* v. 10. *Come, let us work wiſely with them, leſt they multiply; and it come to paſs, that if there be war, they join themſelves alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and get them out of the land.* But we ſee, and time hath told it us, from the beginning, how God derideth the wiſdom of the worldly men, when, forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own moſt feeble, and altogether

[a] Iſa. 19. 13. Ezek. 34. Hoſea 9. 6. [b] Lib. 2. [c] G. Tyr. l. 20. c. 17. lib. 2. c. 5. [d] Ezek. 30. 15, 16. [e] Ezek. 30. 17. [f] Joſeph. Ant. l. 2. c. 5. Abul. & Perer. in Exod. [g] Joſeph. Ant. l. 2. c. 5.

darkned underſtanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great prophet and miniſter of God's marvellous works taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an ark of reeds, a ſucking and powerleſs infant. And this princeſs having beheld the child's form and beauty, tho' but yet in the blouth, ſo pierced her compaſſion, as ſhe did not only preſerve it, and cauſe it to be foſtered; but commanded that it ſhould be eſteemed as her own, and with equal care to the ſon of a king nouriſhed. And for memory that it was her deed, ſhe called the child *Moſes*, as it were *extractus* or *ereptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the water; or after *Joſephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expreſſing water, and *hiſes*, as much as to ſay, that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. [a]*Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moſes* was circumciſed, before he was put into the ark of reeds, and that *Amram* his father, had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care and at the charge of *Pharaoh*'s daughter; and by men of the moſt underſtanding taught and inſtructed: *Quem regio more educavit, præfectis ei ſapientibus Ægyptiorum magiſtris, à quibus erudiretur*, ſaith *Baſil*; Unto whom ſhe gave princely education, appointing over him wiſe maſters of the *Egyptians* for his inſtructors. Thereby (ſaith *Joſephus* and [b]*Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which alſo the *Martyr Stephen* in the ſeventh of the *Acts* confirmeth. *And Moſes was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians.* Which wiſdom or ſapience, ſuch as it was, or at leaſt ſo much thereof as *Sixtus Senenſis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moſes* and the reign of *Joſhua*.

SECT. IV.

Of Moſes's *flying out of* Egypt; *and the opinions of certain ancient hiſtorians of his war in* Ethiopia; *and of his marriage there:* Philo's *judgment of his paſtoral life: and that of* Pererius *of the books of* Geneſis *and* Job.

WHEN *Moſes* was grown to man's eſtate, *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten years war that he made againſt the *Ethiopians*: of the beſieging of *Saba*, afterwards by *Cambyſes* called *Meroe*; and how he recovered that city by the favour of *Tharbis*, a daughter of *Ethiopia*, whom he took to wife. So hath *Comeſtor* a pretty tale of *Moſes*, How after the end of that war, *Tharbis* reſiſting his return into *Egypt*, *Moſes*, moſt ſkilful in *Aſtronomy*, cauſed two images to be engraven in two precious ſtones: whereof the one increaſed memory, the other cauſed forgetfulneſs. Theſe he ſet in two rings, whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reſerving the other of memory for himſelf: which ring of forgetfulneſs, after ſhe had a while worn, ſhe began to neglect the love ſhe bare her husband: and ſo *Moſes* without danger returned into *Egypt*. But leaving theſe fancies to the authors of them: it is true, that about the 40th year of *Moſes*'s age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the oppreſſed *Hebrews*, moved by compaſſion in reſpect of his brother, and ſtirred up by diſdain againſt the other, in the contention he ſlew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which act, finding a diſpoſition in ſome of his own nation to accuſe him, for whoſe defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whoſe choſen ſervant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering country to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forſaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a nation of barbarous ſtrangers; and who in future times were the irreconcileable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleaſed God (working the greateſt things by the weakeſt worldly means) to make the watering of a few ſheep, and the aſſiſting the daughters of *Raguel* the *Midianite*, an occaſion whereby to provide him a wife of one of thoſe, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and ſuſtained him in a country neareſt *Egypt*, fitteſt to return from; neceſſary to be known, becauſe interjacent between *Egypt* and *Judea*, thro' which he was to lead the *Iſraelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occaſion, which God preſented, beſt ſerved. And laſtly, where the glory of the world ſhined leaſt, amidſt mountainous deſarts, there the glory of God, which ſhineth moſt, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a king's ſon, or an adopted child of great *Pharaoh*'s daughter, but as a meek and humble ſhepherd, ſitting at a mountain foot; a keeper and commander of thoſe poor beaſts only.

In that part of *Arabia*, near *Madian*, he conſumed 40 years. And tho' (as *Philo* in the ſtory of *Moſes*'s life obſerveth) he did not neglect the care of thoſe flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that paſtoral knowledge; yet in that ſolitary deſart he enjoy'd himſelf: and being ſeparated from the preſs of the world, and the troubleſome affairs thereof, he gave himſelf to contemplation, and to make perfect in himſelf all thoſe knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the ſame author alſo judging, that his paſtoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the principality, which he afterwards obtained. *Eſt enim* (ſaith *Philo*) *ars paſtoralis, quaſi præludium ad regnum, hoc eſt, ad regimen hominum, gregis manſuetiſſimi. Quemadmodum bellicoſa ingenia præexercent ſe in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod poſtea in militia & bello perfectura ſunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero præfectura manſueti pecoris habet quiddam ſimile cum regno in ſubditis; ideoque reges cognominantur paſtores populorum, non contumeliæ ſed honoris gratia*; The art of keeping ſheep is, as it were, an introductory exerciſe unto a kingdom, namely, the rule over men, the moſt gentle flock: even as warlike natures do beforehand exerciſe themſelves in hunting, practiſing on wild beaſts thoſe things, which after they will accompliſh in warfare: thoſe brute beaſts affording matter, wherein to train themſelves, both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattle, hath a kind of reſemblance unto a kingly rule over ſubjects; therefore, kings are ſtyled ſhepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.

That *Moſes*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the book of *Job*, as *Pererius* ſuppoſeth, I cannot judge of it, becauſe it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I ſubſcribe to [c]*Pererius*'s opinion, that *Moſes*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the books of *Geneſis*; altho' I cannot deny the reaſon of *Pererius*'s conjecture, that by the example of *Job*'s patience he might ſtrengthen the oppreſſed *Hebrews*: and by the promiſes of God to *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, put them in aſſurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, and of the land of reſt, and plenty promiſed.

Of his calling back into *Egypt* by the angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to perſuade *Pharaoh*, that he was

[a] Strom. l. 1. [b] Phil. de vita Moyſ. [c] Perer. in Exod. 3.

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the meſſenger of the moſt High, the particulars are written in the firſt 14 chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needleſs. But for the firſt, it is to be noted, that when [a]*Moſes* deſired to be taught by God, by what name he ſhould make him known, and by whom he was ſent; he received from God ſo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivered him in the firſt part of his anſwer, a name to be conſidered of by the wiſeſt: and in his ſecond, to be underſtood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it ſelf, but the eternal: which truly is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment: their ſubſtance waſteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one ſtay, nor being the ſame ſo long, as while one may ſay, Now. Likewiſe, whatſoever is conſumed in the longeſt continuance of time, the ſame in every ſhorteſt piece of time ſuffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one ſtate. [b]*Una eſt Dei & ſola natura, quæ vere eſt: id enim quod ſubſiſtit non habet aliunde, ſed ſuum eſt. Cætera quæ creata ſunt, etiamſi videntur eſſe, non ſunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & poteſt rurſum non eſſe, quod non fuit*; It is the one and only nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himſelf, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, altho' they ſeem to be, yet they are not; for ſometimes they were not: and that which hath not been, may again want being. And with this, in reſpect of the divine nature, the ſaying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra eſt, aut inanis, aut fallax*; The whole nature of things is but a ſhadow, either empty or deceitful: in compariſon of whom, ſaith *Iſaiah* xl. 17. *All nations are as nothing, leſs than nothing, and mere vanity.*

Of the ten plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were ſtricken, the firſt was by changing the rivers into blood: God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of *Revel.* xvi. 5. may be fitly applied. *And I heard the angel of the waters ſay, Lord, thou art juſt, which art, and which waſt: and holy, becauſe thou haſt judged theſe things; for they ſhed the blood of thy ſaints and prophets, and therefore haſt thou given them blood to drink.*

The reſt of the plagues by frogs, lice, flies, or ſtinging waſps; by the death of their cattle; by leprous ſcabs; by hail and fire; by graſhoppers; by darkneſs; after which *Pharaoh* forbad *Moſes* his preſence: moved the hardned heart of the unbelieving king no longer than the pain and peril laſted, till ſuch time as his own firſt-born, and the firſt-born of all his nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his own life (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ſtood upon no condition: whereas before, he firſt yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women and children, reſerving their beſtial; but he was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the ſilver, gold and jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being paſt) he ſuddenly repented him, as his purſuit after them proved. For when every one of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moſes* received) ſlain a lamb, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the paſſover (a ſacrament of the moſt clean and unſpotted Saviour) and with the blood thereof coloured the poſt and lintern of the doors; the angel of God in the dead of the night ſmote every firſt-born of *Egypt*, from the ſon of the king, to that of the beggar and ſlave: the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible judgment of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is ſaid, to their departure. The *Egyptians*, ſaith [c]*Epiphanius*, did in after-times imitate this colouring with blood, which the *Iſraelites* uſed after the paſſover; aſcribing an exceeding virtue to the red colour: and therefore they did not only mark their ſheep and cattle, but their trees bearing fruit, to preſerve them from lightning and other harms.

SECT. V.

Of Pharaoh's *purſuit of the* Iſraelites: *and of their paſſage towards the* Red *ſea, ſo far as* Succoth.

NOW, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many calamities and plagues, in ſuffering them to depart with the ſpoils of his people, and in deſpight of himſelf. And having before this time great companies of ſoldiers in readineſs, he conſulted with himſelf, what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. He knew that the ſhorteſt and faireſt paſſage was thro' the country of the *Philiſtines*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike nation, and in all probability of his allies, he ſuſpected that *Moſes* meant to find ſome other out-let, to wit, thro' the deſart of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the country was exceeding mountainous, and of hard acceſs, and that *Moſes* was peſtered with multitudes of women, children, and cattle, he thought it impoſſible for the *Iſraelites* to eſcape him that way. In the mean while hoving gathered together all the chariots of [d]*Egypt*, and 600 of his own, and captains over them; he determined to ſet upon them in the plains of *Goſen*, which way ſoever they turned themſelves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in thoſe chariots, armed with broad and ſharp hooks on both ſides, in faſhion like the mower's ſcythe. Which kind of fight in chariots, but not hooked, the *Britains* uſed againſt the *Romans*, while they made the war for the conqueſt of this land. Of this army of *Pharaoh*, [e]*Joſephus* affirmeth, that it conſiſted of 50000 horſe, and 20000 foot; which were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to aſſail the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to deſtroy them in *Goſen*; and refuſed them paſſage, till ſuch time as he had prepared an army to ſet on them. For, as it is written in the firſt of *Exodus*, he doubted two things; either that the *Hebrews* might join themſelves to his enemies within the land; or being ſo multiplied, as they were, might leave his ſervice, and get themſelves thence at their pleaſure. But the plagues which God grieved him withal, enforc'd him at this time to give an aſſent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwiſe, and *Joſephus* partial in this affair, yet by the words of the text *Exod.* xiv. 7. it appeareth, that he gathered all the chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haſte. For *Moſes* made but three days march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heels; and yet the laſt day he went on ſixteen miles: which, in ſo hot a country, and to drive their cattle and ſheep with them, peſtered with a world of women and children, was a march witneſſing the dread of a powerful enemy at hand. Now, as *Moſes* well knew, that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his underſtanding in all his enterprizes: ſo he lay not ſtill in the ditch crying for help, but uſing the underſtanding

[a] Exod. 3. 13, 14, 15. [b] Hieron. ad Dam. [c] Epiphan. lib. 1. cont. Hæreſ. [d] Exod. 14. 7. [e] Joſeph. Ant l. 2. c. 6.

derſtanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed, becoming a wiſe man, and a valiant and ſkilful conductor; as by all his actions and counſels from this day to his death well appeared.

When *Moſes* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged againſt him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his preſence: after that he had warned *Iſrael* of the paſſover, he appointed a general aſſembly or rendezvous of all the *Hebrews* at *Ramaſes*, in the territory of [a] *Goſen*, a city ſtanding indifferent to receive from all parts of the country the diſperſed *Hebrews*; and gave commandment, that every family ſhould bring with them ſuch ſtore as they had of dough and paſte, not ſtaying to make it into bread; knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having conſidered the great ſtrength of *Pharaoh*'s horſemen and chariots, of which kind of defence *Moſes* was utterly unprovided (tho', as it is written, the *Iſraelites* went up armed) he marched from *Ramaſes* [b] eaſtward towards the deſarts of *Etham*, and encamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the 15th day of the month *Abib*. Which month from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the firſt month of the year. Whether in former times they had been accuſtomed to begin their year in ſome other month, following the manner of the [c] *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moſes* to the rule of their forefathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politick year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by ſome ſolemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and ſtill continued in uſe. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, midſt or ending of the year; that diſtinction of the ſacred, and the politick year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every month, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that *Moſes* himſelf in forty years ſpace, did ſufficiently inſtruct the prieſts, to whoſe care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in truſt: but that any rule of framing their kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now becauſe time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to ſhew here at their firſt ſetting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* year: with the difference between them and other nations, in ordering the account of time.

SECT. VI.

Of the ſolary and lunary years: and how they are reconciled: with the form of the Hebrew *year, and their manner of intercalation.*

The *Hebrew* months are thus named.

The firſt month, *Niſan*, or *Abib*.	1. *March*.
The ſecond, *Jar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.	2. *April*.
The third, *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.	3. *May*.
The fourth, *Tamuz*.	4. *June*.
The fifth, *Ab*.	5. *July*.
The ſixth, *Ehul*.	6. *Auguſt*.
The ſeventh, *Tyſri*, or *Ethavin* or *Ethanim*.	7. *September*.
The eighth, *Marcheſuan*, or *Mechaſuan*, or *Bul*, or with [d] *Joſephus*, *Marſonane*.	8. *October*.
The ninth, *Chiſleu* or *Caſleu*.	9. *November*.
The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.	10. *December*.
The eleventh, *Sebeth* or *Sabath*.	11. *January*.
The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.	12. *February*.

Ve Adar was an intercalary month, added, ſome years, unto the other twelve, to make the ſolar and lunary year agree; which (beſides the general inconvenience that would otherwiſe have riſen, by caſting the months of ſummer into the winter ſeaſon, to the great confuſion of all account) was more neceſſarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, becauſe of the [e] divine precept. For God appointed eſpecial feaſts to be celebrated preciſely in ſuch a month of the year, and withal on a ſet day, both of the moon and of the month; as, the feaſt of the firſt-fruits, the new moons, and the like: which could not have been ſo kept, if either the day of the moon had fallen in ſome other part of the month, or the month it ſelf been found far diſtant from his place in the ſeaſon of the year.

Other nations, the better to obſerve their ſolemnities in the due time, and to aſcertain all reckonings and remembrances (which is the principal commodity of time, that is the meaſure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding ſometimes, and ſometimes abating one or more days, as the error committed in foregoing years required. The error grew at firſt by not knowing what number of days made up a compleat year. For tho' by the continual courſe of the ſun, cauſing ſummer and winter duly to ſucceed each other, it is plain enough even to the moſt ſavage of all people, when a year hath paſſed over them; yet the neceſſity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a ſhorter tally, makes this long meaſure of whole years inſufficient for the ſmaller ſort of more daily affairs. Therefore men obſerved the monthly conſpicuous reſolution of the moon, by which they divided the year into 12 parts, ſubdividing the month into [f] 29 days and nights, and thoſe again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are ſenſible and eaſily diſcerned: ſo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the underſtanding. Twelve revolutions of the moon, containing leſs time by 11 days or thereabouts, than the yearly courſe of the ſun, thro' the zodiac, in the ſpace of 16 years, every month was found in the quite contrary part of the year to that wherein it was placed at the firſt. This cauſed them to add ſome days to the year, making it to conſiſt of 12 months, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courſes of the ſun and moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the ſun determine his yearly revolution by any ſet number of whole days; neither did the moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and leſſer fractions were to be obſerved by him, that would ſeek to reduce their motions (which motions alſo were not ſtill alike) into any certain rule. Here lay much wiſdom and deep art, which could not ſoon be brought to perfection. Yet as making an eſtimate at random, the *Athenians* held the year to contain 360 days, wherein moſt of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That 360 days filled up the *Grecian* year (beſides many collateral proofs) it is manifeſt by that which [g] *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the ſtatues, erected in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, which were (ſaith he) 360, whilſt as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account neither did any certain age of the moon begin or end their months; neither could their months continue many years, in their own places: but muſt needs be ſhifted by little and little, from winter to ſummer, and from ſummer to winter, as the days forgotten to be inſerted into the almanack

[a] *The territory of* Goſen *was afterwards called* Ramaſes, *after the name of this city, as appeareth in* Gen. 47. *and* Numb. 33.
[b] Exod. 13. [c] Exod. 23. 16. *and* c. 34. 22. [d] Ant. c. 4. [e] Deut. 16. [f] 30, and 29. [g] Plin. l. 34. c. 6.

by

by men, but not forgotten by the ſuperiour bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, becauſe the ſolemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full moon, and withal on the fifteenth day of the month *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *June*) they were careful to take order, that this month might ever begin with the new moon; which they effected by adding ſome two days to the laſt month of every year: thoſe games being held once in four years. This intercalation ſufficed not to make the matter even; which cauſed them ſometimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the ſecond of the month *Bædromian*; agreeing nearly with our *Auguſt*, ſometimes not to omit it, or, which is all one, to inſert another for it in their fourth lunary year, accounting by the moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding, their month of *June* would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not ſought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other's *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth year one whole month, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one month of 29 days, another of 30, and ſo ſucceſſively thro' the whole year. Thus with much labour they kept their year as near as they could, unto the high way of the planets; but theſe marks which they obſerved, were found at length to be deceitful guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth year's intercalation, that it ſhould not deceive them in 11 hours and 18 minutes at the leaſt, or ſome ways in 34 hours and 10 minutes, or 36 and 41 minutes; which differences would in few ages have bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth year's intercalation, deviſed a *Cycle* of 19 years, where the moon having 235 times run out her circuit, met with the ſun in the ſame place, and on the ſame day of the year, as in the 19th year before paſt ſhe had done. This invention of *Meton* was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the kalendar in golden letters, being called the golden number; which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been uſed; for by the intercalation of ſeven months in the 19 years, all was ſo even, that no ſenſible difference could be found. Yet that errour, which in one year could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of thoſe *Cycles*; the new moons anticipating in one *Cycle*, ſeven hours, and ſome minutes of the preciſe rule. Therefore *Calippus* deviſed a new *Cycle* containing four of *Meton*'s, that is to ſay, 76 years; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a noble *Aſtrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus*'s periods, each of them finding ſome errour in the former obſervations, which they diligently corrected. The laſt reformation of the kalendar was that which *Julius Ceſar* made, who, by advice of the beſt *Mathematicians* then to be found, examining the courſes of thoſe heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in uſe with us, containing 365 days and ſix hours, which hours, in four years make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24th of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* year by pope *Gregory* XIII. *Anno Domini* 1582, is not as yet entertained by general conſent; it was indeed but as a note added unto the work of *Ceſar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obſerved, that the ſun, which at the time of the *Nicene* council, *Anno Dom.* 324, entered the equinoctial on the 21ſt day of *March*, was in the year 1582, ten days ſooner found in that time, pope *Gregory* ſtruck out of the kalendar ten days, following the fourth of *October*, ſo that inſtead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the moveable feaſts depending on the ſun's entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in ſuch time, as at the *Nicene* council they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the council of *Trent* ordained, that from thenceforward in every hundredth year, the leap-day ſhould be omitted, excepting ſtill the fourth hundredth; becauſe the ſun doth not in his yearly courſe take up full ſix hours above the 365 days, but faileth ſo many minutes, as in 400 years make about three whole days.

But the *Cycle* of 19 years, which the *Hebrews* uſed, was ſuch as neither did need any nice curioſity of hours, minutes, and other leſſer fractions to help it; neither did in ſumming up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the moon, confounding one moon with another. For with them it fell out ſo, that always the kalends or firſt day of the month was at the new moon, and becauſe that day was feſtival, they were very careful as well to obſerve the ſhort year after the moon, paſſing thro' all the 12 ſigns in one month, as that longer of the ſun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. Firſt therefore, they gave to *Niſan* their firſt month, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30 days; to *Jar* their ſecond month 29 days; and ſo ſucceſſively 30 to one, 29 to another. Hereby it came to paſs, that every two months of theirs contained ſomewhat evenly two revolutions of the moon, allowing 29 days 12 hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The ſpare minutes were beſtowed among the ſuperfluous or epact days, which made up ſeven months in 19 years; to ſix of which ſeven were commonly given 30 days; to one of them 29 days, or otherwiſe as was found requiſite. Their common year (as appeareth by the ſeveral days of each month) contained 354 days, which fail of the year; wherein the ſun finiſheth his courſe, 11 whole days, with ſome fractions of time. But theſe days, and other broken pieces, howſoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle* of 19 years were ſo diſpoſed of by convenient intercalations, that ſtill at the end of that *Cycle*, both the ſun and moon were found on the ſame day of the year, month and week, yea commonly on the ſame hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it 19 years before.

Divers have diverſly ſet down the form of the *Hebrew* year, with the manner of their intercalations. [a] *Sigonius* tells us, that every ſecond year they did add a month of 22 days; every fourth year a month of 23, in the regard of 11 days and a half wanting in 12 moons to fulfil a year of the ſun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the moon doth never finiſh her courſe in 22 or 23 days: and therefore to have added ſo many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the faſhion of all the months in the years following, which could not have begun as they ought, with the new moon. [b] *Genebrard* ſaith, that every third year, or ſecond year, as need required, they did intercalate one month, adding it at the year's end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of conſideration) methinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evenneſs until the very laſt of the 19 years. For (to

[a] Sig. de rep. Hebr. l. 3. c. 1. [b] Geneb. Chron. l. 2.

omit ſuch as err groſly) ſome there are who ſay, that after three years, when beſides the days ſpent in 36 courſes of the moon, 33 days are left remaining, that is, 11 days of each year; then did the *Hebrews* add a month of 30 days; keeping three days as it were in pluſſage unto the next account. The like, ſay they, was done at the end of the ſixth year; at which time, beſides the intercalary month, remained ſix days, namely, three ſurmounting that month, and the epact of three years, beſides the three formerly reſerved. Thus they go on to the 18th year; at which time they have 18 days in hand: all which with the epact of the 19th year, make up a month of 29 days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle* makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet ſurely it muſts needs have bred a great confuſion, if in the 18th year every month were removed from his own place by the diſtance of 48 days, that is, half a quarter of the year and more; which inconvenience by ſuch a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore I prefer the common opinion, which preventeth ſuch diſlocation of the months, by ſetting down a more covenient way of intercalation in the 8th year. For the ſix days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the 3d and 6th years, added unto the 22 days, ariſing out of the epacts of the 7th and 8th years, do fitly ſerve to make up a month, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is ſo far from cauſing any diſorder, that indeed it helps to make the years enſuing vary the leſs from the proper ſeaſon of every month. This may ſuffice to be ſpoken of the *Hebrew* months and years, by which they guided their accounts.

SECT. VIII.

Of the paſſage of Iſrael *from* Succoth *towards the* Red *ſea: and of the divers ways leading out of* Egypt.

FROM *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* towards the deſart of *Etham*, to recover the mountain foot, by the edge of that wilderneſs, though he intended nothing leſs than to go out of that way, of all other the neareſt. But being aſſured of the multitude of horſemen and armed chariots, that followed him, he kept himſelf from being incompaſſed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he reſted but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the ſouth; the diſtance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia* being then in ſight thereof, it ſeemeth to proceed from three reſpects; the firſt two natural; the third divine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moſes* took, perſuaded himſelf, that the numbers which *Moſes* led, conſiſting of above a million, if not two millions of ſouls (for as it is written *Exodus* the 12th, *Great multitudes of ſundry ſorts of people went out with them* [a]) could not poſſibly paſs over thoſe deſart and high mountains with ſo great multitudes of women, children, and cattel, but that at the very entrance of that faſtneſs he ſhould have overtaken them, and deſtroy'd the greateſt numbers of them. For theſe his own words, *They are entangled in the land, the wilderneſs hath ſhut them in*, do ſhew his hopes and intents; which *Moſes* by turning another way did fruſtrate. Secondly, *Moſes*, by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the eaſt ſide of the land of *Goſen*, or *Rameſes*: from whence (miſſing *Moſes* there) his purſuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the way; and howſoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the mountain foot on the left hand, they were better ſecured from the over-bearing violence both of the horſe and chariots. Thirdly, *Moſes*'s confidence in the all-powerful God was ſuch, by whoſe ſpirit, only wiſe, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an eſcape the next way, or by the ſtrength of his multitude, conſiſting of 600000 men, to caſt the ſucceſs upon his own underſtanding, wiſe conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the valley of *Pihacheroth*, 16 miles diſtant; and ſat down between two ledges of mountains adjoyning to the *Red* ſea; to wit, the mountains of *Etham* on the the north, and *Baalzephon* towards the ſouth: the ſame which *Oſorius* calleth [b] *Climax*: on the top whereof there ſtood a temple dedicated to *Baal*. And as *Phagius* noteth, the word ſo compounded, is as much to ſay, as *Dominus ſpeculæ ſive cuſtodiæ*, Lord of the watch tower. For the *Egyptians* believed, or at leaſt made their ſlaves believe, that if any of them offered to eſcape that way into *Arabia*, this idol would both arreſt them, and force them to return to their lords and maſters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turns. *Ægyptii Diis fœcundi*; the *Egyptians* were fruitful in gods, ſaith St. *Jerome*. But *Moſes*, who incamped at the foot of this mountain with a million of ſouls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this lord of the watch tower aſleep, or out of countenance.

Now theſe two paſſages leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm land [c] *Moſes* refuſed, as well that of *Peluſium* and *Caſiotis*, the faireſt and ſhorteſt of all other, in reſpect of *Judea*, as the other by *Etham*; from which he reflected, for the reaſons before remembred, and took the way by the valley of *Pihacheroth*, between the mountains, which made a ſtraight entrance towards the ſea. After whom *Pharaoh* made ſo great ſpeed with his horſemen and chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to reſt them after ſo long a march; but got ſight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and waſh of the ſea: inſomuch as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh*'s ſudden approach, began to deſpair, and to mutiny, at that time when it behoved them moſt to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moſes*'s charge, that themſelves foreſaw thoſe perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, [d] *which*, ſaith the book of *Wiſdom, is the betraying of thoſe ſuccours which reaſon offereth*, made them both deſpair in God's former promiſes, and to be forgetful of their own ſtrength and multitudes.

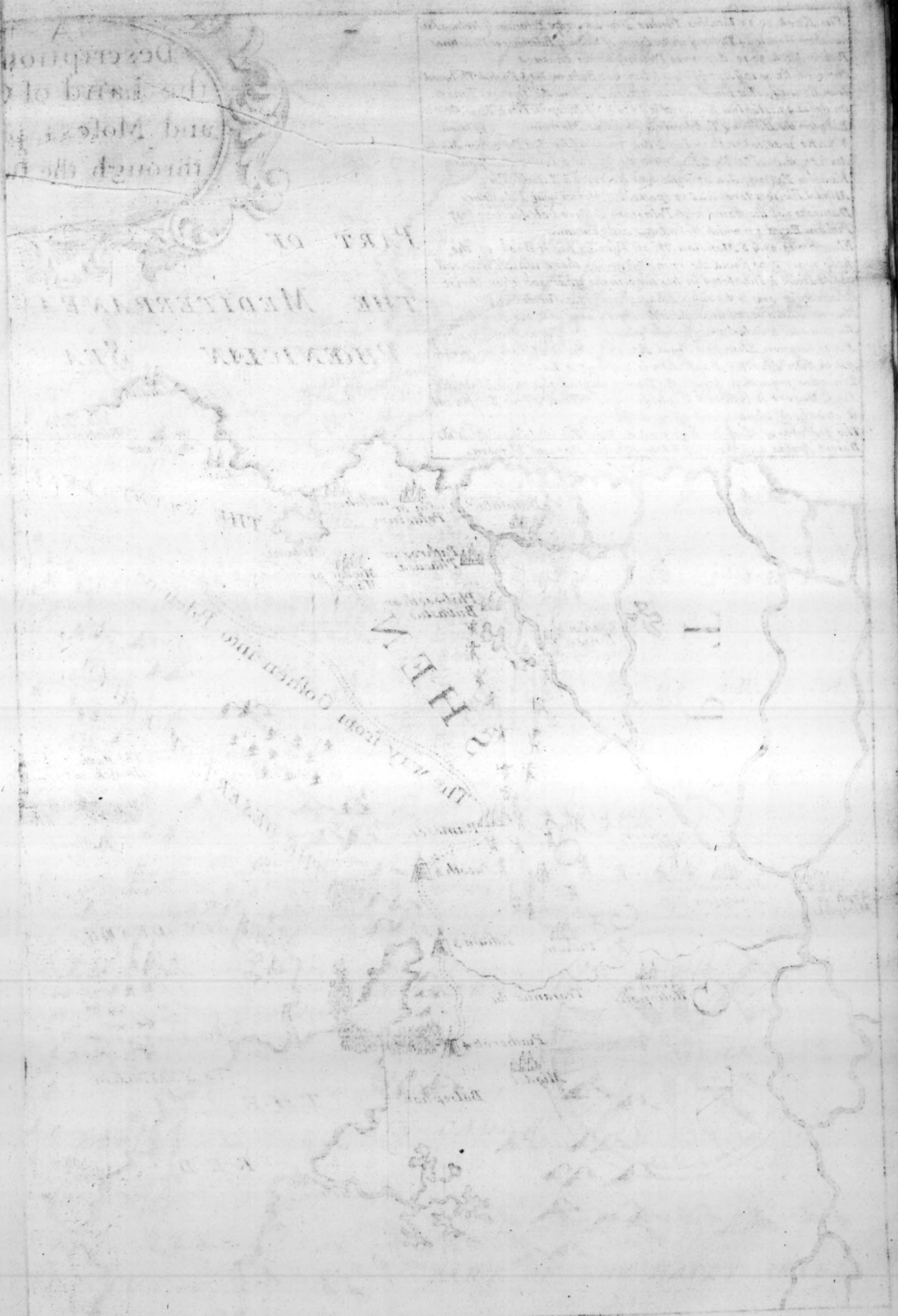
SECT. VIII.

Of their paſſage over the Red *ſea: and of the* Red *ſea it ſelf.*

BUT *Moſes*, who feared nothing but God himſelf, perſuaded them to be confident in his goodneſs, who hath never abandoned thoſe, that aſſuredly truſt in him; uſing this comfortable and reſolved ſpeech: [e] *Fear not*, &c. *for the Egyptians, whom you have ſeen this day, ye ſhall never ſee them again. The Lord ſhall fight for you.* After which *Moſes* called on God for ſuccour, received encouragement, and commanded to go on, in theſe words: [f] *Wherefore crieſt thou unto me? ſpeak unto the chil-*

[a] *It is probable that all thoſe* Egyptians *and others brought by the* Hebrews *to the knowledge of the true God, followed* Moſes *at his departure.* [b] Climax *is rather ſo called in reſpect of a paſſage up and down, than that it is any proper name.* [c] Exod. 13. 17. [d] Wiſd. 17. 11. [e] Exod. 14. 13, 14. [f] Exod. 14. 16.

dren



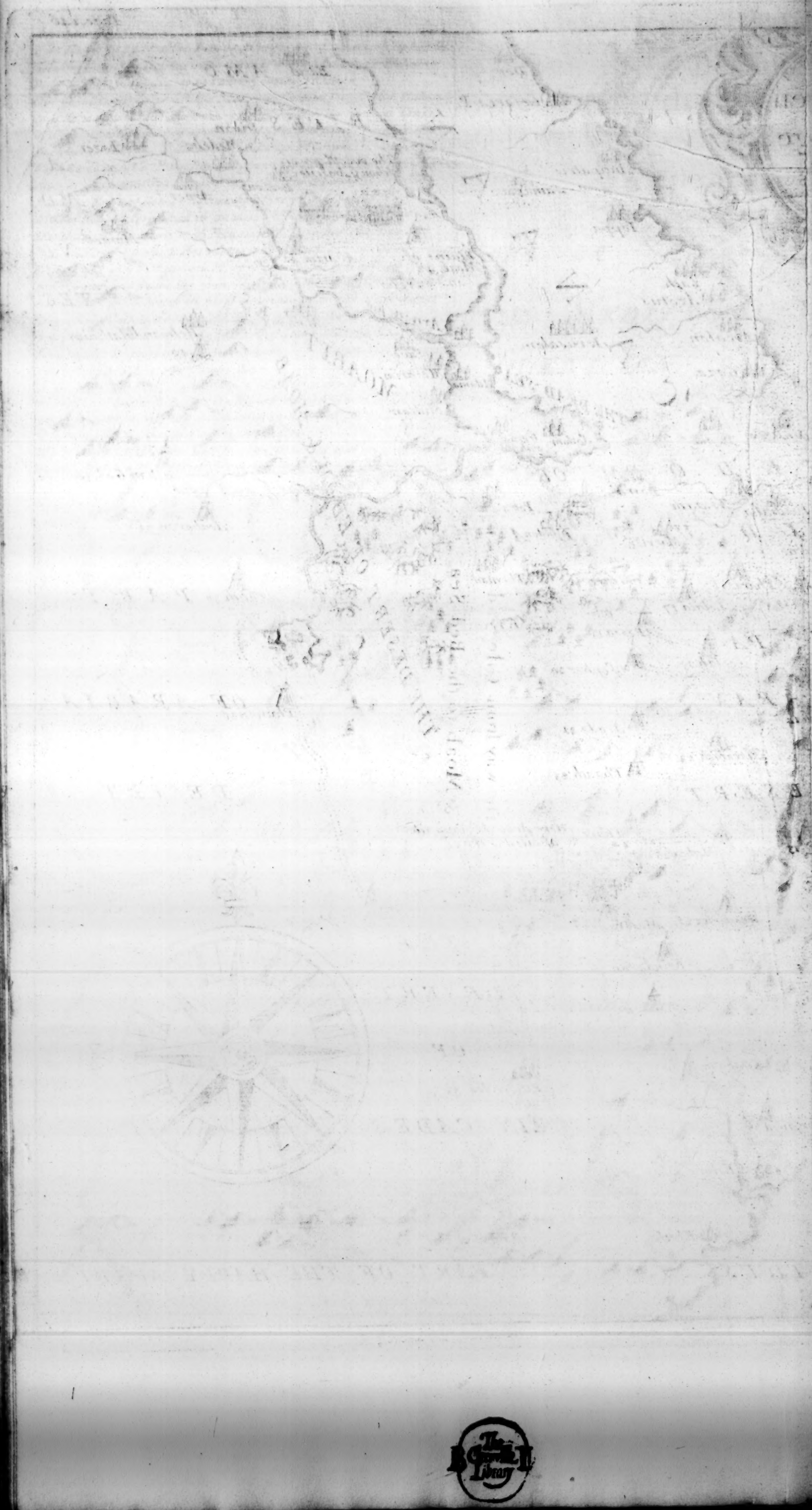
Sin. Ezek. 30.15. Vatablus. Iunius. Hierom writes Pelusium & Septuag: Sais
Casluhim. Gen: 10.14 Ptolomy writes Casius of whom & Palestines or Philistines
Pathros Ezek: 30.14. Gen: 10.14 Ptolomy writes Phacusa
Phibeseth Ez: 30.17. & Sept: & Vulgar & Iun: write Bubastus. Vat & English Phibeseth
Zoan Ez: 30.14. 30 Vat: Iun: Eng: write it the Vul: Taphnis the Septuag: Tanis
On. Ge: 41.45. 50 Vat: Iun: Eng: write it & Vul & Sep: Heliopolis Plin & Mela Solis
Babylon the Hebrews Tudalensis & Postellus Mesraim. Oppidum
Noph Ez: 30.16. 30 Vat: Pagm Iun: & Eng: write it & Sep: Chad: Par: & Hier: Mephis
Aven Ez: 30.17. 30 Vat: Pag: & Eng: write the Sep: Vul: & Iunius Heliopolis
Rameses Ex: 12.37. Gen: 47. Goshen the Hebrews and Chald: Par:
Migdol Ex: 14:1 Ieremi 46.14 speaketh of Migdol near Pelusium
Damiata not the same with Pelusium. G. Tyre bel: Sac: l: 20. c: 17
Pithom Exod: 1.11. which Herodotus calls Putamos
Elim Ex: 15.27. & 6 Mansion. W. of Tyre in his 11 Book of the
holy warr c: 20 found the ruins of a City there which was still
called Helis & Inhabited in his time in the year 200 after Christ
Etham & Sur one & the same Etham Numb: 33.8. Sur. Ex: 15.2
Pharan so call'd in Ptol: time who finds a City of & name near the Red Sea =
Sin: Zincades & Cadesbarne distinct places Paran Numb: 13.14.27.
Sin is between Elim and Sinai Ex: 16.1. Sin stretcheth no farther
North then Alus. for Raphidim is without it Ex: 17.
Zincades joyneth to Arabia the Desert and Cadesbarne to Idumea.
Sinai Desert is between Raphidim and Mount Sinai Ex 19.2 and
it stretcheth Southward towards Midian.
The Deserts of Moab lye East from the Dead Sea and joyne upon the
Desert Arabia and those of Edom between Hor and Theman.

A Descript... the Land ... and Mose's ... through the ...

PART OF THE MEDITERRANEA... PHŒNICIAN SEA

Ostracin
Rinocorur...
Casius
Laris
THE SANDY DE...
Damiata
Casluhim or Pelusium
Sirbonis
Pathros or Phacusa
Migdol or Magdol
Phibeseth or Bubastus
Zoan or Tanis
The way from Gosheu into Palestine
THE DESERT OF ETHA...
The Battle b... Amalek and ...
Rameses
On or Heliopolis
Succoth 2
Alus
Daphca 3
Mara 5
SIN DESERT
Elim 6
Sin 6
Mizraim or Babylon
Noph or Memphis
Pithom
Etham 3
Aven or Heliopolis
Trajanus flu
Redsea 7
Piatheriot 4
Migdol
Midian
Balsephon
THE RED SEA
Arsinoe
AEGYPTUS

Dor
Cæsaria P.
Edrai
AMO
RITES
Dibon
Medeba
Iazer
A
MO
NI
TES
Antipatris
Samaria
The overthrow of Sehon K. Amorite
Esebon
Aroer
Ioppa
Mumeth
Plains of Moab 42
Abarim 41
Nebo
Gath
Azotus
Ascalon
Ierusalem
Arnon
Mathana
Helmond Blathaim 40
Gaza
Zebul
Save
Kemrim
Idam
MOABITES
THE DEAD SEA
Midian
Anthedon
Dinhaba
Dumah
Sodom
Gomorrah
Dibon Gad 39
EDOM OR
Bosra
Petra
Dinhaba
Asarim
Iealbarim 38
IDUMÆA
Marrisa
Eldan
Cadesbarne
Theman
Phares 16
Obdath 37
PART
Rethma 15
Lebna 17
Ressa 18
Ceelath 19
Sepher 20
Phunon 36
OF ARABIA
RAN
Haseroth 14
Arado 21
Maceloth 22
Thaath 23
DESERT
The way from Gilead to the Red Sea
& Moab
THE DESERT OF EDOM & MOAB
DESERT
Thare 24
Here Arad the Cananite assailed Israel
Kibroth 13
Mithca 25
Alus 10
Salinona 35
Hesmona 26
Maseroth 27
Hor 34
THE
Bemaaran 28
DESERT
Galgad 29
OF
Getabatha 30
Zin cades 33
ZIN CADES
Ebronah 31
Esion-gaber
Eloth
INUS
ANITICUS
PART OF THE HAPPY ARABIA



dren of Iſrael that they go forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and ſtretch out thine hand upon the ſea, and divide it, and let the children of Iſrael go on dry ground through the midſt of the ſea. *Moſes* obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night finding the ſands uncovered, paſs'd on towards the other ſide and coaſt of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being ſpent ere he entred the ford, which it pleaſed God by a forcible eaſtern wind, and by *Moſes*'s rod, to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the ſame dry ground which *Moſes* trod on. Therefore as it is written, *The angel of God which went before the hoſt of Iſrael, removed, and went behind them: alſo the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and ſtood behind them*; which is, that it pleaſed God therein either by his immediate power, or by the miniſtry of his angel, to interpoſe his defence between the *Hebrews* and their enemies; to the end that the [a]*Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in ſuch ſort as they could not purſue *Iſrael* with any harmful ſpeed. But in the morning watch *Moſes* ſeiſed the other bank of *Arabia* ſide: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of day began to illighten the obſcure air) finding a beginning of the ſeas return, haſted himſelf towards his own coaſt: [b]*But Moſes ſtretched forth his hand, and the ſea returned to his force*; that is, the ſea moved by the power of God, ran back towards the land with irreſiſtible fury and ſwiftneſs, and overwhelmed the whole army of *Pharaoh*, ſo as not one eſcaped. For it is written, *that God took off their chariot-wheels*, that is, when the waters began to cover the ſands, the *Egyptians* being ſtricken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and miſſing the path by which they had paſs'd on after the *Hebrews*, their wheels ſtuck faſt in the mud and quick-ſands, and could not be drawn out: the ſea coming againſt them with ſupernatural violence.

Lyranus upon *Exodus* xiv. and others, following the opinions or old traditions of the *Hebrews*, conceived, that after *Moſes* had by the power of God divided the *Red* ſea, and that the children of *Iſrael* were fearful to enter it, *Aminadab*, prince or leader of the tribe of *Juda*, firſt made the adventure, and that therefore was that tribe ever after honoured above the reſt, according to the prophecy of *Jacob*, *Gen.* xiix. 8. *Thy fathers ſons ſhall bow down unto thee.* But *Jerome* upon the 11th of *Hoſea* condemns this opinion. And tho' it be true, that *Juda* had the firſt place in all their marches in the deſart, and, as we now call it, led the vanguard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he alſo led the way through the *Red* ſea) yet that *Moſes* himſelf was the conducter of *Iſrael* at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the lxxviith *Pſalm*, *Thou didſt lead thy people like ſheep by the hand of Moſes and Aaron.*

The *Hebrews* have alſo another fancy, that the *Red* ſea was divided into 12 parts, and that every tribe paſs'd over in a path apart, becauſe it is written in the cxxxvth *Pſalm*, according the *Vulgar*, *Diviſit mare rubrum in diviſiones*; He divided the *Red* ſea in diviſions. Alſo that the bottom of the ſea became as a green field or paſture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulenſis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to conſider, that there were not 12 pillars nor 12 armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written *Pſalm* lxxvii. 16. *Thy way is in the ſea*; not *thy ways*; and in the laſt of the book of *Wiſdom*, ver. 7. *In the Red ſea there was a way.*

Now this ſea, through which *Moſes* paſs'd, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwiſe called *Chencres*, periſhed in the 16th year of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the *Red* ſea; tho' the ſame differ nothing at all in natural colour from other waters. But as *Philoſtratus* in his 3d book noteth, and our ſelves know by experience, it is of a blueiſh colour, as other ſeas are. It entreth at a narrow ſtrait between *Arabia* the happy and *Ethiopia*, or the land of the *Abyſſins*: the mouth of the indraught from the cape, which *Ptolemy* calleth *Poſſodium*, to the other land of *Ethiopia*, hath not above ſix leagues in breadth: and the ſame alſo filled every where with iſlands, but afterwards it extendeth it ſelf 58 leagues from coaſt to coaſt: and it runneth up between *Arabia* the happy, and *Arabia Petræa*, on one ſide, and *Ethiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the uttermoſt end and indraught of that ſea: where the *Turk* now keepeth his fleet of gallies. The coſmographers commonly give it the name of the *Arabian* gulf: but the north part towards *Sues*, and where *Moſes* paſs'd, is called *Heropolites* of the city *Hero*, ſometime *Troy*: and of later times *Sues*. [c]*Pliny* calls it *Cambiſu*, by which name it was known, ſaith he, before it was called *Hero*, many years. The *Arabians* call this ſea towards the north, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*: king *Juba Læniticum*: others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the port and city *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call [d]*Elath*: *Ptolemy Elana*: *Pliny Læna*: [e] *Joſephus Ilana*, and *Marius Niger Aila*: there is alſo *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, to which *Salmanaſſar* carried the *Iſraelites* captive, 2 *Kings* viii. 11. which *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elaa*: and in the 1ſt of *Chron.* the 5th *Ala*. But as for this *Red* ſea, or the parts thereof, thus diverſly named, the *Moors* and *Arabians* (vaſſals to the *Turks*) know it by no other appellation, than the gulf of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomet*'s town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the ſea *Erythræum*: of a king called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and becauſe *Erythros* in the *Greek* ſignifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the ſon of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda*, yet it took the name of the *Red* ſea, as *Quin. Curtius* conjectureth: which [f]*Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it ſeemeth to me by the view of a diſcovery of that ſea in the year 1544, performed by *Stephen Gama*, viceroy of the eaſt *India*, for the king of *Portugal*, that this ſea was ſo called from a reflection of redneſs, both from the banks, cliſts, and ſands of many iſlands, and part of the continent bordering it. For I find by the report of *Caſtro*, a principal commander under *Gama* (which diſcourſe I gave Mr. *Richard Hacluit* to publiſh) that there is an iſland called *Dalaqua*, ſometimes *Leques*, containing in length 25 leagues, and 12 in breadth, the earth, ſands, and cliſts of which iſland, being of a reddiſh colour, ſerve for a foil to the waters about it; and make it ſeem altogether of the ſame colour. Secondly, the ſame *Caſtro* reporteth, that from 24 degrees of ſeptentrional latitude, to 27 (which make in length of coaſt 180 miles, lying as it doth northerly and ſoutherly) all the cliſts and banks are of red earth, or ſtone, which by reflection of the ſun-beams, give a kind of reddiſh luſter to the waters. Thirdly, thoſe *Portugals* report, and we know it by many teſtimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this ſea towards the ſhore, great abundance of red ſtones, on which the great ſtore of coral grows, which is carried into moſt parts of *Europe*, and elſewhere. There are alſo on the iſlands of this ſea many red trees, ſaith *Strabo*, and thoſe growing under water, may alſo be a cauſe of ſuch a colour. Of theſe appearances of redneſs by the ſhadows of theſe ſtones, ſands, earth, and cliſts, I ſuppoſe that it firſt took

[a] Joſhua 24. 7. [b] Exod. 14. 27. [c] Plin. l. 6. c. 29. [d] 3 Kings 9. [e] Joſ. Ant. 8. c. 2. [f] Arian, de geſt. Alex. mag. l. 8. Strab. l. 6.

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the name of the *Red* ſea, becauſe in ſo many places it ſeemeth to be ſuch: which *Johannes Barros*, in his ſecond decade, eighth book, and firſt chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this ſea from *Elana*, or *Ezion Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the ancient coſmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which waſheth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16 or 17 leagues together, along northward towards *Sues*, ſome three leagues or nine *Engliſh* miles over, and from this port of *Toro*, to *Sues*, and the end of this ſea, it is in length about 28 leagues, of which the firſt 26 have 9 miles breadth as aforeſaid, and afterwards the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thruſt themſelves into the ſea, and ſtraiten it ſo faſt, as for 6 miles together it is not above 3 miles over; from thence upward the land on *Egypt* ſide, falleth away, and makes a kind of bay or cove for ſome 10 miles together, after which the land grows upon the ſea again, and ſo binds it into the very end thereof, at 4 miles breadth, or thereabouts, in which tract it was that *Moſes* paſs'd it over, tho' others would have it to be over againſt *Elana* or *Toro*; but without judgment: for from *Ramaſes* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30 miles interjacent, or 35 miles at moſt, which *Moſes* paſs'd over in three days: and between the land of *Egypt* oppoſite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the diſtance is above 80 miles. For *Ramaſes* to which city *Moſes* came (being the metropolis of *Goſen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zoan*, and took his laſt leave, ſtandeth in 30 degrees 5 minutes of ſeptentrional latitude: and *Migdol*, or the valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the mountain *Climax*, or *Baalſephon*, in 29 and a half, which made a difference of 35 *Engliſh* miles: the way lying in effect north and ſouth.

SECT. IX.

That the paſſage through the Red *ſea was miraculous, and not at a low ebb.*

THE *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other heathen writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrews*, have objected that *Moſes* paſs'd over the *Red* ſea at a low ebb, upon a great ſpring-tide, and that *Pharaoh* conducted more by fury than diſcretion, purſued him ſo far, as before he could recover the coaſt of *Egypt*, he was overtaken by the flood, and therein periſhed, did not well conſider the nature of this place with other circumſtances. For not to borrow ſtrength from that part of the ſcriptures, which makes it plain, that the waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an eaſterly wind, and by the hand and rod of *Moſes* (which authority to men that believe not therein perſuadeth nothing) I ſay, that by the ſame natural reaſon unto which they faſten themſelves, it is made manifeſt, that had there been no other working power from above, or aſſiſtance given from God himſelf to *Moſes*, and the children of *Iſrael*, than ordinary and caſual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his army have periſhed in that purſuit.

For whereſoever there is any ebbing of the ſea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the land: and run downward towards the ocean: leaving all that part towards the land as far as the ſea can ebb, or fall off, to be dry land. Now *Moſes* entring the ſea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) muſt have left all that end of the *Red* ſea towards *Sues*, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a paſſage were made by falling away of the water, 10 or 12 miles farther into the ſea than *Sues*, and between it and where *Moſes* paſs'd; who enter'd the ſame ſo far below it, and towards the body of the ſame ſea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the ſleeve or ſtrait, had been by the ebb of a ſpring-tide diſcovered, when *Pharaoh* found the flood increaſing, he needed not to have returned by the ſame way toward *Egypt* ſide, but might have gone on his return before the tide, on his right hand: and ſo taken ground at the end of that ſea, at *Sues* itſelf, or elſewhere. But the ſcriptures do truly witneſs the contrary, that is, That the ſea did not fall away from the land, as naturally it doth; but that *Moſes* paſs'd on between two ſeas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwiſe, *Pharoah* by any return of waters could not have periſhed, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great army's deſtruction, prove the cauſe to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himſelf. Again, thoſe words of the ſcriptures, that *God cauſed the ſea to run back by a ſtrong eaſt-wind*, do rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was cauſed an ebb more than ordinary: for that ſea doth not lie eaſt and weſt, but, in effect, north and ſouth. And it muſt have been a weſt and north-weſt wind, that muſt have driven thoſe waters away thro' their proper channels, and to the ſouth-eaſt into the ſea. But the eaſt-wind blew athwart the ſea, and cut it aſunder: ſo as one part fell back towards the ſouth and main body thereof: the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the north: which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was check'd by that ſea, which uſed in all times before to ebb away, the flood preſs'd him and overwhelmed him. Thirdly, ſeeing *Joſephus* avoweth, that *Moſes* was not only of excellent judgment generally, but alſo ſo great a captain, as he overthrew the *Ethiopians* in many battles, being employed by *Pharaoh*, and won divers cities ſeeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this groſsneſs, and diſtraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardneſs of a mountainous paſſage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have truſted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and preſs'd him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it ſeemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaoh*'s approach, cried out againſt *Moſes*, and deſpaired altogether of their ſafety: and when *Moſes* prayed unto God for help, he was anſwered by God: *Wherefore cryeſt thou unto me? ſpeak unto the children of Iſrael that they go forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and ſtretch out thy hand upon the ſea, and divide it:* which proves that there was not at the time of *Pharaoh*'s approach any ebb at all; but that God did diſperſe and cut thro' the weight of waters, by a ſtrong eaſt-wind, whereby the ſands diſcovered themſelves between the ſea on the left hand towards *Sues*, from whence the waters moved not, and the ſea which was towards the ſouth on the right hand, *So that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left hand*, *Exod.* xiv. 22. that is, the waters ſo defended them on both ſides, as the *Egyptians* could only follow them in the ſame path; not that the waters ſtood upright as walls do, as ſome of the ſchoolmen have fancied. For had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any ſuch buildings in the ſea, they would ſoon have quitted the chace and purſuit of *Iſrael*. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all nations in the obſervations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes,

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and refluxes of the ſea, in his own country, on his own coaſt, and in his own moſt traded and frequented ports and havens, and wherein his people having had ſo many hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, thro' ignorance, nor by any foreknown or natural accident, but by God's powerful hand only; which then falleth moſt heavily on all men, when looking thro' no other ſpectacle but their own proſperity, they leaſt diſcern it coming, and leaſt fear it. Laſtly, if the army of the *Egyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the flood, before they could recover their own coaſt; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the flood which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that ſea, and not have been caſt aſhore on that coaſt of *Arabia* where *Moſes* landed, to wit, upon the ſea-bank over-againſt *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* ſide: where it was that the *Iſraelites* ſaw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the *Red* ſea, to which place the ordinary flood would have carried them: which flood doth not any-where croſs the channel, and run athwart it, as it muſt have done from *Egypt* ſide to *Arabia*, to have caſt the *Egyptians* bodies there; but it keeps the natural courſe towards the end of that ſea: and to which their carcaſes ſhould have been carried, if the work had not been ſupernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the lives of the fathers affirmeth, that thoſe of the *Egyptians* which ſtay'd in the country, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the purſuit of *Iſrael*, did ever after honour thoſe beaſts, birds, plants, or other creatures, about which they were buſied at the time of *Pharaoh*'s deſtruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden made a god of that plant or root, about which he was occupied: and ſo of the reſt. But how thoſe multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reaſon ſhall be given elſewhere. *Oroſius*, in his firſt book and tenth chapter againſt the *Pagans*, tells us, that in his time, who lived ſome 400 years after Chriſt, the prints of *Pharaoh*'s chariot wheels were to be ſeen at a low water on the *Egyptian* ſands: and tho' they were ſome time defaced by wind and weather, yet ſoon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Iſraelites *from the* Red *ſea, to the place where the law was given them: with a diſcourſe of laws.*

SECT. I.

A tranſition, by way of recapitulation of ſome things touching chronology: with a continuance of the ſtory, until the Amalekites *met with the* Iſraelites.

BUT to go on with the ſtory of *Iſrael*, in this ſort I collect the times. [a] *Moſes* was born in the year of the world 2434. *Saphrus* then governing *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sycionia*, or *Peloponneſus*; *Criaſus*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Deucalion*, *Theſſaly*. He fled into *Midian*, when he had lived 40 years, in the year of the world 2474, and two years after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the year 2514, in the laſt month of that year. On the 14th day of the firſt *Hebrew* month *Abib*, or the 15th of that month, beginning the day (as they) at ſun-ſetting, in the year of the world 2514, was the celebration of the paſſover; and in the dead of the night of the ſame day were all the [b] firſt-born ſlain thro' *Egypt*, or in all thoſe parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. The [c] 15th day of the firſt month of the *Hebrews* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the world 2514, *Moſes* with the children of *Iſrael* removed from the general aſſembly at *Ramaſes*, and marched to *Succoth*.

And departing thence they made their third ſtation at [d] *Etham*: and journeying from *Etham* they incamped in the valley of *Pihacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the mountain [e] *Baalzephon*; and in the ſame night after midnight, they paſſed the *Red* ſea: *Pharaoh* and his army periſhing in their return, about the firſt dawn of the day. *Moſes* having recovered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of *Iſrael*; and making no ſtay on that coaſt, entred the deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*, but finding no water in that paſſage, he incamped at [f] *Marah*, in the deſart of *Etham*, which in *Exodus* xv. 22. is alſo called *Sur*, twenty-five miles from the ſea: where the children of *Iſrael*, preſs'd with extreme thirſt, murmured againſt [g] *Moſes* a ſecond time; firſt at *Pharaoh*'s approach in *Pihacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moſes* taking the branches of a tree, growing near a lake of bitter water, and caſting the ſame thereinto, made the ſame ſweet: a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who upon the tree of the croſs changed the bitterneſs of everlaſting death, into the ſweetneſs of eternal life. *Pliny* remembers theſe bitter fountains in his ſixth book and 29th chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Seſoſtris* firſt, *Darius* after him, and laſtly *Ptolemy* the ſecond, began to cut an artificial river, thereby by boats and ſmall ſhipping to trade and navigate the *Red* ſea, from the great cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to [h] *Elim*, the ſixth manſion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelve fountains of ſweet water, and ſeventy palm-trees, he reſted divers days.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a town or city in *Moſes*'s time, I cannot affirm. And yet the ſcarcity of waters in that region was ſuch, as *Helim*, which had twelve fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William* archbiſhop of *Tyre*, in his hiſtory of the holy war, found at *Helim* the ruins of a great and ancient city. And at ſuch time as *Baldwin* the firſt paſs'd that way into *Egypt*, [i] *Ingreſſus*, ſaith he, *Helim*, *Civitatem antiquiſſimam populo Iſraelitico aliquando familiarem*; *ad quam cum perveniſſet*, *loci illius incolæ*, *regis adventu prænognito*, *naviculam ingredientes in mare vicinum ſe contulerunt*; Entring *Helim* a very ancient city, well known ſometime to the people of *Iſrael*; whither when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the king's approach, took boat, and ſhifted themſelves into the ſea, lying near them. From *Elim* he returned again towards the ſouth, and ſat down by the banks of the *Red* ſea: the ſeventh manſion. For it ſeemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalek*, who prepared to reſiſt his paſſage thro' that part of *Arabia*. And *Moſes*, who had not as yet trained thoſe of the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear arms: nor aſſured the minds of the reſt, who encountering with the leaſt miſery, were more apt to return to their quiet ſlavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every-where accompanied them in that paſſage, or at this time to undertake

[a] Acts 7. Joſhua 14. [b] Exod. 12. [c] Numb. 33. [d] Exod. 13. Numb. 33. [e] Exod. 14. [f] Numb. 33. [g] Exod. 15. Numb. 33. [h] Exod. 15. Numb. 33. [i] Will. Tyr. l. 11. c. 19.

dertake or ſuſtain ſo dangerous an enemy: he therefore made ſtay at this manſion, until the fifteenth of the ſecond month called *Zim*, or *Ijar*; and made the eighth manſion in the deſart of [a] *Zin*; where the children of *Iſrael* mutinied againſt *Moſes* the third time, having want of food. In the ſixteenth chapter of *Exodus*, *Moſes* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red* ſea, but in the collection of every ſeveral encamping, in the thirty-third of *Numbers* it is ſet down.

Here it pleaſed God to ſend ſo many flights of quails, as all the country about their incamping was covered with them. The morning following it alſo rained manna, being the ſixteenth of their month, which ſerved them inſtead of bread. For [b] now was the ſtore conſumed which the people carried with them out of *Egypt*. And tho' they had great numbers of cattle and ſheep among them, yet it ſeemeth that they durſt not feed themſelves with many of thoſe: but reſerved them both for the milk to relieve the children withal, and for bread to ſtore themſelves when they came to the land promiſed.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two removes of twenty miles; the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Aluſ*, diſtant from *Raphidim* ſix miles. Here being again preſs'd with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themſelves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beaſts, than to ſuffer a caſual and ſometimes neceſſary want, and to undergo the hazards and travels which every manly mind ſeeketh after, for the love of God and their own freedoms. But [c] *Moſes*, with the ſame rod which he divided the ſea withal, in the ſight of the elders of *Iſrael*, brought waters out of the rock, wherewith the whole multitude were ſatisfied.

SECT. II.

Of the Amalekites, Midianites, *and* Kenites, *upon occaſion of the battle with the* Amalekites, *and* Jethro's *coming: who being a* Kenite, *was prieſt of* Midian.

AND while *Moſes* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites*, who had knowledge of his approach, and gueſſed that he meant to lead the children of *Iſrael* thro' their country (which being barren of it ſelf, would be utterly waſted by ſo great a multitude of people and cattle) thought it moſt for their advantage to ſet upon them at *Raphidim*; where the want of water, and all other things needful for the life of man infeebled them. On the other ſide *Moſes* perceiving their reſolutions, gave charge to [d] *Joſhua*, to draw out a ſufficient number of the ableſt *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalek*. Between whom and *Iſrael*, the victory remained doubtful, for the moſt part of the day: the *Hebrews* and *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulſes for many hours. And had not the ſtrength of *Moſes*'s prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all reſiſtance and attempt made by the bodies of men, that valiant and warlike nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprize. For thoſe bodies which are unacquainted with ſcarcity of food, and thoſe minds whom a ſervile education hath dulled, being beaten, and deſpaired in their firſt attempts, will hardly, or never be brought again to hazard themſelves.

After this victory *Jethro* repaired to *Moſes*, bringing with him *Moſes*'s wife, and his two ſons, which either *Jethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moſes* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalek* the better aſſured himſelf of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written *Exodus* xviii. 1. *When Jethro the prieſt of Midian, Moſes's father-in-law, heard all that God had done for Moſes*, &c. of which the laſt deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalek*, gave *Jethro* courage and aſſurance, he then repaired to his ſon-in-law *Moſes*, at *Sinai*; where, amongſt other things, he adviſed *Moſes* to appoint judges, and other officers, over *Iſrael*; being himſelf unable to give order in all cauſes and controverſies, among ſo many thouſands of people full of diſcontentment and private controverſy.

This *Jethro*, altho' he dwelt amongſt the *Midianites*, yet he was by nation a *Kenite*, as in *Judges* iv. 11, 17. it is manifeſt; where it is written, *Now Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, to wit, the ſon of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moſes, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his tents until the plain of Zaanaim, which is by Kedeſh.* Likewiſe in the firſt of *Samuel*, [e] *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, leſt he ſhould deſtroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountains of *Sin Kadeſh*, and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the plains, according to the ſaying of *Balaam*, ſpeaking of the *Kenites*; [f] *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou haſt put thy neſt in the rock*. And that [g] *Saul* ſpared this nation, he giveth for cauſe, that they ſhewed mercy to all the children of *Iſrael*, when they came up from *Egypt*. For theſe *Kenites* were a nation of the *Midianites*, and the *Midianites* were of the iſſues of [h] *Midian*, one of the ſix ſons which *Abraham* begat on *Keturah*: and might alſo take that name of *Kenites* from *Keturah*, of whom they deſcended by the mother, who as it ſeemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moſes*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Midian*, and married the daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them idolaters) have made *Jethro*'s daughter the mother of his children. And altho' the *Kenites* are named amongſt thoſe nations, which God promiſed, that the ſeed of *Abraham* ſhould root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by theſe, who are deſcended from *Abraham* himſelf: but by ſome other nation bearing the ſame name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in *Geneſis* xv. 19. theſe *Kenites* or *Chuſites* are liſted with the *Hittites* and *Perezites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergeſites* and *Jebuſites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But theſe *Kenites* deſcended from [i] *Abraham*, had ſeparated themſelves from among the reſt, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, [k] *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to ſay, from thoſe *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedeſh* or *Kadeſh*. Again, *Moſes* nameth that nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham*'s other ſons were born: which he did (referring my ſelf to better judgment) rather, becauſe they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the *Kenites*, ſo we may conſider of the [l] *Midianites*, parted by *Moſes* into five tribes. For ſome of them were corrupted, and heathens; as thoſe of *Midian* by the river *Zared* afterwards deſtroyed by *Moſes*. But the *Midianites* near the banks of the *Red* ſea, where *Moſes* married his wife *Zipporah*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalek*, ſeem likewiſe not to have been corrupted. For theſe

[a] Exodus 16. [b] Exod. 16. [c] Exod. 17. [d] Exod. 17. [e] 1 Sam. 15. 16. [f] Numb. 24. 21. [g] 1 Sam. 15.
[h] Gen. 25. [i] Gen. 15. [k] Judg. 4. 11. [l] Gen. 25. 4.

Midianites

Midianites with the *Kenites* assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the desarts. But the *Midianites* in *Moab*, and to the north of the metropolis of *Arabia*, called *Petræa*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoining to the *Red* sea were not touched.

And tho' it may be doubted, whether those of *Midian*, of whom *Jethro* was priest, and the other cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000 *Israelites*, as far back as the *Red* sea, from the plains of *Moab*, to have destroy'd that *Midian*, where his wife's kindred inhabited: seeing himself coming with 600000 able men, was encountred by *Amalek* in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable desarts, wherein himself and *Israel* had wandred 40 years.

That *Jethro* or *Jothor*, *Raguel* or *Revel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*; and our *English*, *Revel*; *Exod.* ii. 18. calls him *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Exod.* iii. 1. iv. 18. xviii. 1. *and* vi. 9, 10, 12. and in *Numbers* x. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

SECT. III.

Of the time when the law was given: with divers commendations of the invention of laws.

THE rest of the months of this year 2515, were spent in the desart of *Sinai*, near the mountain of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the 12th mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were distinct mountains: *Jerome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many scriptures. For in *Exod.* iii. 1. it is called *Horeb:* and in *Exod.* xxiv. 16. it is written *Sinai*. In *Psalm* cvi. 19. *Horeb:* in *Exod.* xix. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called *Galatians* iv. 24. and again, *Deut.* iv. 10, 15. and *Deut.* v. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the 1st of *Kings* viii. 6. and the 2d of *Chron.* v. 10. and in *Malachy* iv. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* xlviii. 7. they are named as one. *Which heardst* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgment of the vengeance.* Somewhat they are disjoined at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius:* who in the year 1588, pass'd out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumet* of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb: Sinai* being by far the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very fair spring of water into the valley adjoining: where he found two monasteries of christian *Marronites*, containing some 100 religious persons of divers nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same [a] author) give entertainment to all strangers, which pass that way.

Now, that there was some such torrent of water near *Sinai* in *Moses*'s time, it is very probable: First, because he incamped thereabout almost a year, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, because it is written *Exod.* xxxii. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden calf to powder, which *Aaron* set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the law by the angel of God was given to *Moses*, where he staid a whole year, wanting some 10 or 12 days: for he removed not till the 20th day of the 2d month of the 2d year; and he arrived about the 45th day after the egression: the law being given the 50th day.

At this mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the xxixth chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers* to the xth chapter. Whereof (because there is no story nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the law, and the kinds and use thereof: whereby, if the reader find the story any way disjoined, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any common-wealth, without the rule, level, and square of laws: so it pleased God to give thereby unto *Moses* the powerfullest mean (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the north-star is the most fixed director of the sea-man to his desired port: so is the law of God the guide and conductor of all in general, to the haven of eternal life: the law of nature, from God's eternal law deduced, the rule of all his creatures: the law human, depending on both these, the guard of kings, magistrates, and virtuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of every estate in the world, by which they live and move: the law, to wit, a just law, being resembled to an heart without affection, to an eye without lust, and to a mind without passion; a treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have.

This benefit the ancients, tho' barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those, which were taken for the first makers of laws, were honoured as gods, or as the sons of gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posterity for men of no less virtue, and no less liberally beneficial to their countries, than the greatest and most prosperous conquerors that ever governed them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their laws from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedemonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romans* sometimes from their first kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their senators, from their lawyers, and from the people themselves: others from the prince, nobility, and people; as in *England*, *France*, and in other christian monarchies and estates.

SECT. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, law *and* right.

THE word *lex*, or *law*, is not always taken alike, but is diversly, and in an indifferent sense used. For if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of grammar, and other arts, are called laws. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of superiours to inferiours: for the commandments of tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees do also usurp that title, according to the general acceptation of the word law: of which *Isaiah*, [b] *Wo unto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things.* Likewise, the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call laws, tho' evil and unsufficient. [c] *Mala lex est, quæ tumultuarie posita est*; It is an ill law that is made tumultuously. So as all ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of laws.

[a] Pet. Bel. l. 2. c. 62. [b] Isaiah 10. [c] Ethic. l. 4. c. 1.

The

The word law is alſo taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and faſhioning them according to it ſelf, as to their pattern and platform. And thus the law of the fleſh, which the divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be underſtood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which ſenſe as [a] elſewhere, this moral habit or diſpoſition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: ſo in St. *Paul* to the *Romans* it is called a law. *But I ſee another law in my members, rebelling againſt the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of ſin.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are ſometimes called [b] laws, ſo far as they agree with the reaſon of the law eternal; as the law of a lion, to be fierce or valiant.

Alſo private contracts among merchants and other tradeſmen, do often put on the name of laws. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, preſcribing a neceſſary mean, for the good of a common-wealth, or civil community. The reſt, to wit, the commandments of tyrants, *&c.* which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quam leges*, rather compulſions than laws: And whatſoever is not juſt, St. *Auguſtine* doth not allow for laws, howſoever eſtabliſhed: for he calls them *iniqua hominum conſtituta, quæ nec cura dicenda, nec putanda ſunt*; the unjuſt conſtitutions of men, which are neither to be termed or thought laws. For ſaith *Ariſtotle*, [c] *Legalia juſta ſunt factiva, & conſervativa fœlicitatis*; Juſt laws are the workers and preſervers of happineſs: becauſe by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam*, to a quiet life, according to *Cicero*: yea, *to life everlaſting*, according to the ſcriptures. For the end of the law, ſaith [d] *Plato*, is God and his worſhip: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus.* *Lex*, or the law, is ſo called by the *Latins, a legendo*, or *a ligando*, of reading or binding: *Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, ſaith *Varro*; for after laws were written and publiſhed, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other etymology, *a ligando*, is no leſs agreeable with the nature of a law: whence in the ſcripture it is called alſo a yoke, and a band: as [e] *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula*; They have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the ſecond *Pſalm*, [f] *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus a nobis funes ipſorum*; Let us break their bands in ſunder, and caſt away their cords from us.

The covenant it is called, becauſe of the conditional promiſes of God: and becauſe of God's people's voluntary ſubmiſſion of themſelves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, uſe the word διαθήκη, a teſtament or laſt will: which name it hath, becauſe it is not otherwiſe effectual for our ſalvation, but in reſpect of the death of the teſtator; for without the death of the teſtator, the teſtament is of no force: as *Heb.* ix. 17. it is ſaid, *Teſtamentum in mortuis ratum eſt.*

The *Hebrews* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, becauſe every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomos* of diſtributing, becauſe it diſtributeth to every man his own due; the power of the law is the power of God: juſtice being an attribute proper unto God himſelf. *Imperium legis imperium Dei eſt*; The reign of the law is the reign of God.

Law in general is thus defined by the philoſophers: *Lex eſt vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ ſunt ſequenda, & quæ fugienda*; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to ſhun: or *Lex eſt omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum regina*; Law is the queen or princeſs of things both human and divine. But this deſcription is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wiſdom of nature: the reaſon and underſtanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *Index ſui & curvi*, the demonſtrance of it ſelf and of the crooked: ſo is the law, the judge and meaſure of right and wrong.

M. *Hooker* calls the law a directive rule to goodneſs of operation: and tho' law as touching the ſubſtance and eſſence, conſiſt in underſtanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*, yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *jus* is alſo diverſly taken, as ſometimes for the matter of the law, and for common right: ſometimes for the law it ſelf: as *jus civile*, or *jus gentium*. [g] *Iſidore* diſtinguiſheth the two general words *jus* and *fas*: whereof *jus*, ſaith he, hath reference to men, *fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, jus lex humana.* To go over another man's field, is permitted, by God's law, not by man's; and therefore in a thing out of controverſy, *Virgil* uſed both theſe words: as *Fas & jura ſinunt*, God and men permit.

The word *jus* or right, is derived or taken from the old ſubſtantive noun *juſſus*, a bidding or commandment: or perhaps from the *Greek* ζεὺς, which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latin* genitive caſe *Jovis*; becauſe as the ſcripture ſpeaks, [h] *the judgment is God's.* For it is certain, that *jus-jurandum* came from *jovis-jurandum* (for ſo we find it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which ſenſe the ſcripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*) ſo alſo we may ſay, that *jus* came of *Jovis, quia Jovis eſt*: becauſe as God is the author, and pattern, and maintainer of right, ſo alſo in his [i] *vicegerents* the *magiſtrates*, he is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *jus* the juſt are denominated, *juſtus a jure*, and *juſtitia a juſto*; the right gives name to the righteous: and juſtice takes her name from the juſt.

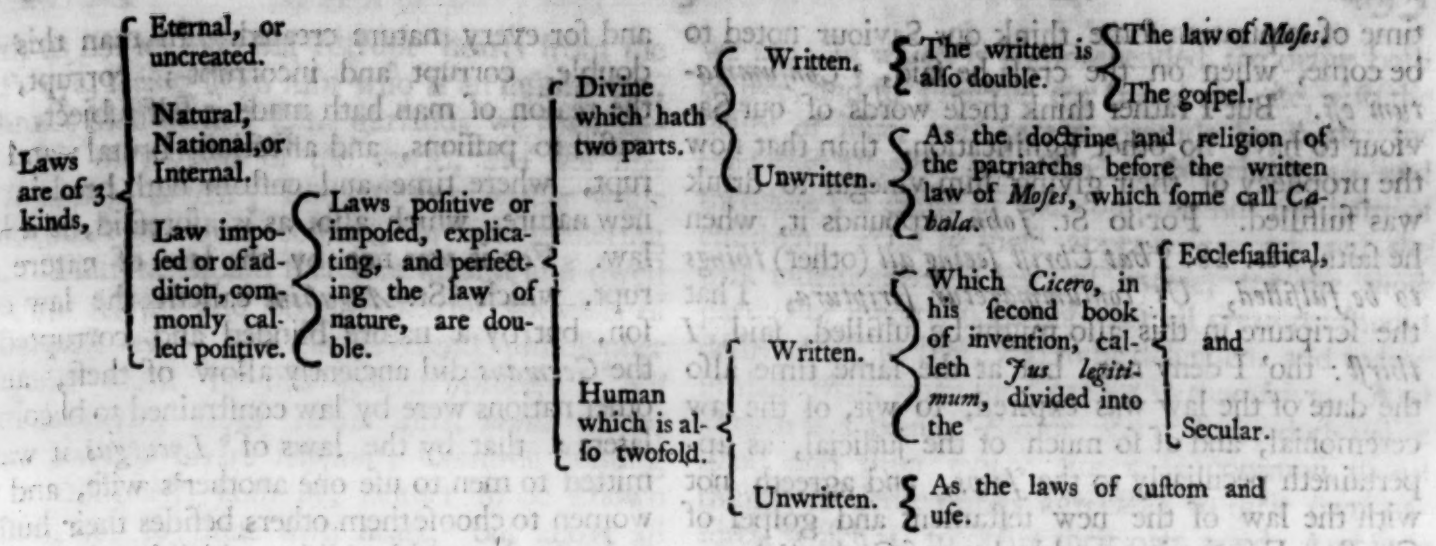
SECT. V.

Of the definition of laws, and of the law eternal.

BUT becauſe laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, firſt to divide and diſtinguiſh them. I mean thoſe ſorts of laws, from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of human laws to their infinite and horrible confuſion.

[a] Gen. 6. 5. & 8. 2. [b] So Virgil, continuo has leges æternaque fœdera certis impoſuit natura locis; *where alſo it is to be noted, that he joins* leges *and* fœdera *together: as in the ſcripture the law is oftentimes called the covenant.* [c] Ariſt. Ethic. 5. 1. [d] Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg. [e] Jer. 5. 5. [f] Pſal. 2. [g] Iſid. Etym. [h] Deut. 1. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 6. [i] Exod. 22. 11. 1 Kings 2. 43.

Law



The law eternal is thus defined by *Thomas*: [a] *Lex æterna est æternus divinæ sapientiæ conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso præcognitarum*; The eternal law is the eternal conceipt of God's wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himself. Or [b] *Lex æterna est summa atque æterna ratio divinæ sapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; It is the high and eternal reason of divine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of necessity according to their several natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: that as the same divine understanding directs all these to their proper ends; so it is called providence: but as it imposeth a necessity according to the natures of all things which it directs, so is it called a law.

Of this eternal law *Cicero* took knowledge, when, in his book of laws, he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & a delicto avocans: quæ non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis*; That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightful actions, and calling us back from evil, did not (saith he) then begin to be a law when it was written: but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true law and a fit princess to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God. This eternal law (if we consider it in God, or as God) is always one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it diverse and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stability of the earth, *&c.* but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent; another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal law all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God: from this law all laws are derived, as from the rule universal: and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

[c] The eternal, and the divine law, differ only in consideration; the eternal directing more largely, as well every creature to their proper and natural ends, as it doth man to his supernatural: but the divine law to a supernatural end only: the natural law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal, as it were a stream from this fountain.

The law human or temporal is also thence drawn, in that it hath the form of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, a wicked imposition, and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternal law all things are subjected, as well angels and men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, natural or moral, and human. For the law eternal runneth through all the universal, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director: as, [d] *Praise him all ye his angels: praise him sun and moon, all bright stars: heavens of heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not pass: praise ye the Lord from the earth ye dragons and all depths: fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy winds, which execute his word: mountains and hills: fruitful trees and all cedars: beasts, and all cattel*, &c. Now as the reasonable creatures are by this eternal law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other natural things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and natural instinct: things without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavy to fall downward: things light to mount upward, *&c.* and fire to heat whatsoever is apposed. This kind of working the *Aristotelians* ascribe to common nature: others to fate; a difference used in terms only; it being no other than God's general providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appear in themselves thence derived: there-under subjected: thence-from by his eternal law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The *Schoolmen* are very curious and ample in the consideration of these laws: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thencefrom, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to St. *Augustine*, [e] *Lex æterna est, qua justum est ut omnia sint ordinatissima*; The law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, It is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? but the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which St. *Augustine* useth a sufficient argument in his first book of *Free-Will*, the sixth chapter. For the law of *Moses*, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last until the time of the *Pedagogy* of God's people, or introduction to Christ should be expired; which

[a] P. 2. q. 2. art. 1. [b] Th. q. 36. art. 1. [c] Tho. & Aug. [d] Psal. 148. [e] L. 1. de lib. arb. c. 6.

time of expiration ſome think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the croſs he ſaid, [a] *Conſummatum eſt.* But I rather think theſe words of our Saviour to have no other ſignification, than that now the prophecy of their giving him vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For ſo St. *John* expounds it, when he ſaith, ver. 28. *That Chriſt ſeeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled, Ut conſummaretur ſcriptura,* That the ſcripture in this alſo might be fulfilled, ſaid, *I thirſt:* tho' I deny not, but at the ſame time alſo the date of the law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremonial, and of ſo much of the judicial, as appertaineth peculiarly to the *Jews*, and agreeth not with the law of the new teſtament and goſpel of Chriſt. For the immutable law of God, tho' preſcribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it ſelf; but the things preſcribed, change according to this eternal ordinance, of which the *Wiſdom* of *Solomon*, *And being one ſhe can do all things, and remaining in herſelf reneweth all.*

SECT. VI.

Of the law of nature.

OF the law of nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the ſchoolmen: only as it is conſidered in man, it is called, The impreſſion of divine light, and a participation of the eternal law in the reaſonable creature; [b] *Lex naturalis eſt impreſſio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura.* [c] *Ulpian* defines the natural law to be the ſame which nature hath taught all living creatures; *Jus naturale eſt quod natura omnia animalia docuit:* and he afterwards addeth, *Jus iſtud non humani generis proprium, ſed omnium animalium quæ terra marique naſcuntur, avium quoque commune eſt*; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the ſame is common to all living creatures, as well to birds, as to thoſe which the land and ſea produceth. But this definition is not general, but of the natural law in things of life.

The law of nature in general, I take to be that diſpoſition, inſtinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, inlightning our formal reaſon; ſo is it more than ſenſe in beaſts; and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not ſenſe alone in beaſts, which teacheth them at firſt ſight, and without experience or inſtruction, to fly from the enemies of their lives: ſeeing that bulls and horſes appear unto the ſenſe more fearful and terrible, than the leaſt kind of dogs: and yet the hare and deer feed by the one, and fly from the other, yea, tho' by them never ſeen before, and that as ſoon as they fall from their dams. Neither is it ſenſe which hath taught other beaſts to provide for winter, birds to build their neſts, high or low, according to the tempeſtuous or quiet ſeaſons: or the birds of *India* to make their neſts on the ſmalleſt twigs which hang over rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elſewhere, to ſave their eggs and young ones from the monkies, and other beaſts, whoſe weight ſuch a twig will not bear: and which would fear to fall into the water. The inſtances of this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that ſome trees, as the female of the *Palmitto*, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in ſight. But this they do by that law, which the infinite and unſearchable wiſdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In man this law is double, corrupt and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reaſon of man hath made it ſelf ſubject, and a vaſſal to paſſions, and affections brutal: and incorrupt, where time and cuſtom hath bred in men a new nature, which alſo, as is aforeſaid, is a kind of law. For it was not by the law of nature incorrupt, which [d] St. *Auguſtine* calleth the law of reaſon, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft, and that other nations were by law conſtrained to become idolaters; that by the laws of [e] *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to uſe one another's wife, and to the women to chooſe them others beſides their huſbands, to beget them with child: which law in thoſe parts hath laſted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The [f] *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawful to bury with them the beſt beloved wives: as alſo they have many other cuſtoms remembred by G. *Valentia*, againſt nature and right reaſon.

And I know not from what authority it is, that theſe laws ſome men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithleſs among the faithleſs: to provide for our ſelves by another man's deſtruction: that injury is not done to him that is willing: to deſtroy thoſe whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural laws, either out of [g] St. *Auguſtine* or *Aquinas* (the one calling it *the impreſſion of divine light*; the other, *the dictate* or ſentence *of practic reaſon*) the ſame can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exerciſe of juſtice and uprightneſs: and not to offer or perform any thing towards others, ſave that which we would be content ſhould be offered or performed towards our ſelves. For ſuch is the law of nature to the mind, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to [h] *David* ſheweth us good, that is, the obſervation of thoſe things which lead us thereby to our laſt end; which is eternal life: tho' of themſelves not ſufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforeſaid, the impreſſion of God's divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternal. For without any law written, the right reaſon and underſtanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our ſelves, ſufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God, and diſtribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchaſe for our ſelves. [i] *For when the Gentiles* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *which have not the law, do by nature thoſe things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themſelves.* Now, to love God by whom we are, and to do the ſame right unto all men, which we deſire ſhould be done unto us, is an effect of the pureſt reaſon: in whoſe higheſt turrets, the quiet of conſcience hath made her reſting place, and habitation; *In arce altiſſima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore, the *Gentiles* (ſaith St. *Paul*) [k] *which ſhew the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their conſciences for a witneſs of thoſe effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuſe them.*

And it is moſt true, that whoſoever is not a law unto himſelf (while he hopeth to abuſe the world by the advantage of hypocriſy) worketh nothing elſe, but the betraying of his own ſoul, by crafty unrighteouſneſs, purchaſing eternal perdition. For it

[a] John 19. 30. Pſal. 69. 21. [b] Aug. in Epit ad Hil. 89. & in Evang. Joh. tract. 49. [c] Ulp. de Juſtitia & Jure, l. 1. tit. 1. [d] Supra, §. 4. ex loco ad Rom. 7. 23. [e] Theod. l. 9. de cur. ndis affect. Græcorum. [f] Acoſta. [g] Nemo jure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet. [h] Pſal. 4. [i] Rom. 2. 14. [k] Rom. 2. 15.

helpeth

helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the world's eye, ſeeing from him who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: ſome garlands we may gather in this may-game of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, areſcit*; Thoſe flowers wither while we diſcourſe of their colours, or are gathering them. That we ſhould therefore inhabit and dwell within our ſelves, and become fearful witneſſes of our ſecreteſt evils, did that reverend philoſopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipſum*; Commit nothing foul or diſhoneſt, ſaith he, neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart, but above all men reverence thine own conſcience. And this may be a precept of nature and right reaſon: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to thoſe operations, which are anſwerable to their own form; as fire to give heat. Now, as the reaſonable mind is the form of man, ſo is he aptly moved to thoſe things which his proper form preſenteth unto him: to wit, to that which right reaſon offereth; and the acts of right reaſon, are the acts of virtue: and in the breach of the rules of this reaſon, is man leaſt excuſable, as being a reaſonable creature. For all elſe, both ſenſitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God impoſed on them at their firſt creation.

The earth performeth her office, according to the law of God in nature; for it bringeth forth the bud of the herb which [a] ſeedeth ſeed, *&c.* and the beaſt which liveth thereon. He gave a law to the ſeas, and commanded them to keep their bounds: which they obey. [b] He made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He cauſed the ſun to move, and to give light, and to ſerve for ſigns and for ſeaſons. Were theſe as rebellious as man, for whoſe ſake they were created, or did they once break the law of their natures and forms; the whole world would then periſh, and all return to the firſt *Chaos*, darkneſs and confuſion.

By this natural law, or law of human reaſon, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedneſs, and offence, in the murder of *Abel*: for he not only feared the diſpleaſure of God, but the revenge of men: it being written in his reaſon, that whatſoever he performed towards others, the ſame by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal law, before the law written: *Moſes* in the perſon of God witneſſeth, *Gen.* iv. *If thou do well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, ſin lieth at thy door.*

The ſchoolmen are large alſo in this queſtion of the natural law, the ſame being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antoninus*, and *Valentia*. But it is not to my purpoſe to write a volume of this ſubject.

But this law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *An act of reaſon taken properly*, and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practic reaſon: they divide into indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration (as that good is to be followed, and evil eſchewed;) and demonſtrable, which is evidently proved, out of higher and more univerſal propoſitions. Again, as it anſwereth the natural appetite, preſcribing things to be deſired as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the firſt, to deſire to live, and to ſatisfy hunger, *&c.* and of the ſecond, to eſchew pains, ſorrow, and death;) in this conſideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. [c] For in every man there are three ſorts of appetites, which anſwer the three degrees of natural law. The firſt is to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the deſire both to live, and to preſerve our being and life, alſo the deſire of iſſue, with care to provide for them: for the father after his death lives in his children; and therefore the deſire of life comprehends the deſire of children. And to theſe appetites are referred the firſt indemonſtrable laws of nature, for the moſt part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures ſhould deſire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their iſſue, when they cannot in themſelves. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*; ſo he doth deſire good and ſhun evil. For it is common to all things, to deſire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to deſire their own good. And ſo is good defined by [d] *Ariſtotle*, to be that which all deſire. Which definition *Baſil* upon the xlivth *Pſalm* approveth: *Recte quidem bonum definierunt, quod omnia expetunt*; Rightly have ſome men defined good or goodneſs, to be that which all things deſire.

The ſecond kind of appetite is of thoſe things which appertain to us, as we have ſenſe. Whence, by the law of nature, we deſire the delights of every ſenſe; but with ſuch moderation, as may neither glut us with ſatiety, nor hurt us with exceſs. For as ſenſe it ſelf is for the preſervation of life and being: ſo is it meet, even by the law of nature, that the ſenſitive appetite ſhould not carry us to the deſtruction, either of our life or being. And altho' (ſeeing both theſe kinds of appetites are in beaſts) we may well ſay, that nature hath given divers laws unto them: in which ſenſe the civilians define natural right, or *jus naturale*, to be the ſame which nature hath taught all living creatures; yet the ſchoolmen admit not, that the inſtincts of beaſts can be properly called a law, but only a *jus*, or right, which is the matter and aim of every law. For ſo they diſtinguiſh it, where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *jus naturale* is that, which nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place, ſaith *Valentia*, *jus* is not to be taken for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where *Ulpian* alſo diſtinguiſheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *jus naturæ*, the other *jus gentium*: the divines underſtand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reaſon, both in beaſts and men; and reſtrain the law of nations to a kind of human right.

The third appetite is of thoſe things which appertain properly to man, as he is a living creature reaſonable: as well with relation to God, and to our neighbour, as for our ſelves; and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our religion.

Now altho' there are many other branches and diviſions of this law of nature anſwering the diviſion of matter, which it preſcribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: firſt, becauſe it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, ſtirring up to good, and declining the contrary: ſecondly, Becauſe all is contained in that general natural precept, that good is to be followed and ill avoided: and thirdly, Becauſe all the parts are reduced to one and the ſame laſt end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifeſt: and chiefly man, becauſe he is endued with reaſon; in whom as reaſon groweth, ſo this band of obſerving the law of nature increaſeth; [e] *Poſtquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod ſcriptum eſt, adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit*;

[a] Gen. 1. [b] Job 28. [c] Tho. q. 94. Art. 2. [d] Ethic. l. 1. c. 1. [e] Baſil.

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When reaſon grew to perfection, then it came to paſs, which was written by St. *Paul*, when the commandment came, ſin revived. Neither is it a ſmall warrant for this law of nature, when thoſe which break the ſame, are ſaid by St. *Paul*, [a]*To be delivered over unto a reprobate ſenſe* (or mind) *to do thoſe things which are not convenient:* and again, [b]*that their conſciences bear witneſs and their thoughts accuſe them.* For tho' this law of nature ſtretch not to every particular; as to command faſting and the like, yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatſoever is agreeable to right and reaſon. And therefore, ſaid *Damaſcene*, [c] *Homines facti ſunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam eſt*; Men, ſaith he, are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to nature: and St. *Auguſtine*, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt*; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature ſo ſtreight, but that they ſuffer exceptions in ſome particulars. For whereas by this law all men are born lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil, and giving to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men ſhall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themſelves: according to the rules of juſtice and equity.

And tho' the law of nature command, that all things be reſtored which are left in truſt, yet in ſome cauſes, this her law ſhe ſuffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was ſober. But the univerſal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to [d] St. *Paul*, *abideth faithful, and cannot deny himſelf.*

SECT. VII.

Of the written law of God.

AFTER the eternal and natural, the law poſitive or impoſed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds; divine and human. Again, the divine poſitive law is double; the old and new: the old was given unto *Moſes* in mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at ſuch time as the world had ſtood 2513 whole years, and in the 67th day of this year, when as [e] *Aſcatades* or *Aſcades* governed the *Aſſyrians*; *Merathus*, the *Sycionians*; *Triopus*, the *Argives*; *Cecrops*, *Attica*, and *Acherres*, *Egypt*: to wit, after the promiſe to *Abraham* 430 years. And this, it ſeems, was the firſt written law which the world received. For the very word *Nomos* ſignifying a law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the *Grecians*; no not in *Homer*'s time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80 years at leaſt: and *Troy* it ſelf was caſt down 335 years after *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. This law it pleaſed God to ingrave in ſtone, that it might remain a laſting book of his expreſs'd will in the Church; and that the prieſts and people might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Chriſt: and that ſo theſe children of *Iſrael*, tho' bred among an idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuſe: the ſlight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reaſon known to us why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their lives long, the elders of families might eaſily without any written law inſtruct their own children: and yet as they encreaſed, ſo doubtleſs they had, beſides the law of nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, foraſmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good and evil; nor condemn every ſin in particular: nor ſufficiently terrify the conſciences of offenders: nor ſo expound divine worſhip, as for thoſe after-ages was required, who gave every day leſs authority than other to the natural law; in theſe reſpects it was neceſſary, that the law ſhould be written, and ſet before the eyes of all men: which before they might, but would not read in their own conſciences. The ſchoolmen, and the fathers before them, inlarge the cauſes and neceſſity why the law was written, whereof theſe are the chiefeſt.

The firſt, for reſtraining of ſin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*; *The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting ſouls: the teſtimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wiſdom to children.* For the human law, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or puniſhment; ſeeing thereby it might take away ſomething ſeeming neceſſary, and hinder common profit: but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore by *David* it is called undefiled.

Secondly, It ſerveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our diſpoſition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no leſs clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our ſouls*, added by *David*: wherein are all our outward acts firſt generated, according to the cabaliſts. *Actiones hominum nullæ eſſent, niſi prius in mente dicerentur*; The actions of men, ſay they, *would be none at all, were they not firſt conceived in the mind.*

Thirdly, It leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reaſon of diverſity of opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among ſundry nations, we cannot be aſſured of; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without error: and therefore alſo ſaid *David*; *That the the teſtimony of the law of God is faithful: giving wiſdom to children.*

SECT. VIII.

Of the unwritten law of God, given to the patriarchs by tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, between the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reaſon and nature, it doth not appear. For the patriarchs of the firſt age received many precepts from God himſelf, and whatſoever was firſt impoſed by *Adam*, the ſame was obſerved by *Seth*, who inſtructed *Enos*: from whom it deſcended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Joſeph*, and *Moſes*. Yea many particular commandments afterwards written, were formerly impoſed and delivered over by tradition; which kind of teaching the *Jews* afterwards called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*; Precepts received from the mouth of their prieſts and elders: to which the *Jews* after the law written, added the interpretation of ſecret myſteries, reſerved in the boſoms of their prieſts, and unlawful to be uttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the divine law revealed to the patriarchs, and from them delivered to the poſterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the begin-

[a] Rom. 1. 28. [b] Rom. 2. 15. [c] Lib. 2. Fid. orthod. c. 30. [d] 2 Tim. 2. 13. [e] Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 1.

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ning, were, that he ſhould impoſe names to all beaſts, according to their natures; to whoſe perfection of underſtanding they were ſufficiently known. For finding the reaſon of his own name *Adam* or *Adamah*, earth, or red clay, he gave other names ſignificant, not only to beaſts, but to his children and nephews, which afterwards his iſſues imitated; as the name of *Seth* ſignifieth, as ſome take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the church, or rather, one given in recompence for *Abel* that was ſlain: and *Enoſh* ſignifieth man or miſerable, *&c.* Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God alſo gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* alſo was marriage firſt inſtituted: all men thence after being commanded to cohabit with their wives, rather than with their father and mother.

That murder and cruelty was alſo forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it ſelf, is manifeſt. God himſelf making it appear, that it was one of the greateſt cauſes of the deſtruction of mankind by the general flood. For God ſaid unto *Noah*, *An end of all fleſh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold I will deſtroy them* [a] *from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all periſhed, could not be unknown to all that periſhed: God's mercy and juſtice interpoſing between the untaught and revenge.

This commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the waters were dried up from the earth. [b] *Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed: for in the image of God hath he made man.*

Alſo the law of honouring and reverencing our parents, was obſerved among the faithful, and the contrary puniſhed by the father's curſe: as, [c] *Curſed be Canaan, a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren.* Again, we find that the unnatural ſin of the *Sodomites* was puniſhed in the higheſt degree; as with fire from heaven. The ſin of adultery and raviſhment, was before the law no leſs deteſted than the reſt, as appeareth by that revenge, taken for [d] *Dina*'s forcing: and by the judgment which [e] *Juda* gave againſt *Tamar*, That ſhe ſhould be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, againſt whom this ſentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, becauſe of the woman which thou haſt taken: for ſhe is a man's wife.* To theſe we may add the ordinance of ſacrifice, of diſtinction of clean beaſts, of circumciſion, of the brother to raiſe up ſeed to his brother, that left a widow childleſs, and divers other conſtitutions, partly moral, and partly ceremonial, which being delivered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine law impoſed*, of which the law of *Moſes* containeth that which is called the *Old Teſtament*, may be ſaid, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in ſtone, but alſo in ſubſtance, to have been given in precept to the patriarchs. For as St. *Paul* witneſſeth of himſelf, *I knew not ſin, but by the law:* ſo the law ever naturally preceded, and went before offences, tho' written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by ſome kind of unwritten law; the angels intuitively; men by reaſon; beaſts by ſenſe and inſtinct, without diſcourſe; plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their neceſſary motions, without ſenſe or preception.

SECT. IX.

Of the moral, judicial, and ceremonial law, with a note preſixed, How the ſcripture ſpeaketh not always in one ſenſe, when it nameth the law of Moſes.

NOW as the word [*law*] in general, as is aforeſaid, hath divers ſignifications, and is taken for all doctrine which doth preſcribe and reſtrain: ſo this law, called the *law of Moſes* in particular, is taken by St. *Paul* diverſly; as ſometimes for all the *Old Teſtament*, as, [f] *Now we know whatſoever the law ſaith, it ſaith to them which are under the law.*

When it is oppoſed, or differenced from the prophets and *Pſalms*, it is there taken for the five books of *Moſes*. For ſo St. *Luke* hath diſtinguiſhed them; as, [g] *All muſt be fulfilled which are written of me in the law, in the prophets, and in the pſalms.*

When it is oppoſed to the goſpel, then it is taken for the law moral, ceremonial, and judicial; as, [h] *Therefore we conclude, that a man is juſtified by faith without the works of the law.*

When it is oppoſed to grace, it ſignifieth the declaration of God's wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *ſummum jus:* as, [i] *For ye are not under the law, but under grace.*

When it is oppoſed to the truth, namely, where the ceremonies or ſigns are taken for the things ſignified; as the ſacrifice for Chriſt, and the like: then it ſignifieth but ſhadows and figures; as [k] *The law was given by Moſes, but grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt.*

Laſtly, When it is oppoſed to the time of Chriſt's coming, it ſignifieth the whole policy of the *Jews* commonweal; as, [l] *Before faith came, we were kept under the law,* &c. or the law of the order and inſtitution of the *Aaronical prieſthood*; as, [m] *All the prophets, and the law,* or the prieſts, *propheſied unto John.* And if the prieſthood be changed, the law alſo, to wit, of the prieſthood, muſt needs be changed.

The word [*law*] is ſometimes alſo taken by the figure *Metonymia*, for intereſt, authority, and empire, or for conſtraining force; as, [n] *The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of ſin and death, the enforcements of concupiſcence,* &c.

But the *written law of Moſes*, or the law of the *Old Teſtament*, of which we now ſpeak, is thus defined: The law is a doctrine, which was firſt put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moſes*, or by him repeated, commanding holineſs and juſtice, promiſing eternal life conditionally, that is, to the obſervers of the law, and threatning death to thoſe which break the law in the leaſt. For, according to St. *James*, [o] *Whoſoever keepeth the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition of the ſchoolmen, in which both the old and new law are comprehended, is thus given, *Lex divina eſt divinum decretum, hominibus præſcribens modum neceſſarium ut apte pervenire poſſint ad ſupernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ eſt ultimus humanæ vitæ finis*; The divine law (ſay they) is the decree of God, preſcribing unto men a neceſſary mean, whereby they may aptly attain ſupernatural beatitude, which is the laſt end of man's life.

[a] *The common reading is* cum terra: *but God did not deſtroy the earth, and why may not this prepoſition in this place have the ſame force which it hath, according to* Junius, Gen. 4. 1. Item 44. 4. *and* Deut. 34. 1. *Eſpecially, ſeeing theſe words are but a repetition of that which is ſaid, verſe* 7. Delebo hominem de ſuperficie terræ. [b] Gen. 9. 6. [c] Gen. 9. 25. [d] Gen. 34. 25. [e] Gen. 38. 24. [f] Rom. 3. 19. [g] Luke 24. 44. [h] Rom. 3. 28. [i] Rom. 6. 4. Gal. 3. 18. [k] John 1. 17. [l] Gal. 3. 23. Luke 16. 6. [m] Heb. 7. 12. *and* 10. 1. [n] Rom. 8. 2. *and* 7. 23. [o] James 2. 10.

The law of *Moſes* hath three parts: moral, ceremonial, and judicial. The moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular; as alſo it declareth, for whoſe ſake it is to be done; as *do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of nature commands it but in general. Again, the moral law entreateth of virtue and goodneſs; the ceremonial of divine ſervice, and of holineſs (for external worſhip, and the order of hallowing ourſelves unto God, is called ceremony;) and the judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the commonwealth of the *Jews*, and preſcribeth orders for juſtice and equity. And therefore was it ſaid of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* vii. 12. *The commandment is juſt, holy and good:* juſt, or juſtice, being referred to the judicial; holy or holineſs, to the ceremonial; good, or honeſt, to the moral. The judicial part is touching the government of the commonwealth of the *Jews*, in which many things muſt needs be proper to that eſtate, as ſuch as were inſtituted either in reſpect of place or perſons.

The ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things, of which it ſpeaketh, to wit, ſacrifice, holy things, ſacraments, and obſervances. To ſacrifices belong beaſts, and the fruits of the earth; to holy things the tabernacle, temple, veſſels, altars, and the like; to ſacraments, circumciſion, the paſſover and ſuch like. For the obſervances, they conſiſted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the blood and fat of beaſts: or in ſome other outward things, as in waſhings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mixt garments of linen and woollen; as alſo it prohibiteth other unnatural and improper commixtions, as, *Thou ſhalt not yoke together in a plough an ox and an aſs*, or caſt mingled ſeed in one field. It alſo exhorteth natural compaſſion, and forbiddeth cruelty even to beaſts, birds and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be deſtroyed without any profit to man. For ſo ſome refer theſe precepts; *Thou ſhalt not kill the bird ſitting on her neſt, nor beat down the firſt buds of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring ox*, and the like, to the ceremonial law.

Neither is there any of theſe three parts of the law of *Moſes*, but it hath as yet in ſome reſpects, the ſame power which it had before the coming of Chriſt. For the moral liveth ſtill, and is not abrogated or taken away: ſaving in the ability of juſtifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worſhip God, and to uſe charity one towards another; which for ever ſhall be required at our hands. Therein alſo are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by ſpecial rules and precepts of life it retaineth ſtill. For theſe things alſo are commanded in both teſtaments to be obſerved; tho' principally for the fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The ceremonial alſo liveth in the things which it fore-ſignified. For the ſhadow is not deſtroyed, but perfected, when the body itſelf is repreſented to us. Beſides, it ſtill liveth, in that it giveth both inſtruction and teſtimony of Chriſt, and in that it giveth direction to the Church for ſome ceremonies and types of holy ſignification, which are ſtill expedient; tho' in a far fewer number than before Chriſt's coming, and in a far leſs degree of neceſſity.

Laſtly, The judicial liveth in ſubſtance, and concerning the end and the natural and univerſal equity thereof.

But the moral faileth in the point of juſtification, the ceremonial, as touching the uſe and external obſervation (becauſe Chriſt himſelf is come, of whom the ceremonies were ſigns and ſhadows) and the judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* commonweal and policy.

SECT. X.

A propoſal of nine other points to be conſidered, with a touch of the five firſt.

AS for that which remaineth in the general conſideration of the divine written law, it may in effect be reduced into theſe nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the law.
2. The majeſty of the law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Teſtament.
7. The end and uſe of the law.
8. The ſenſe and underſtanding of the law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the law is ſufficiently proved by St. *Paul* in theſe words, *Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment is holy, and juſt, and good:* which three attributes are referred, as aforeſaid, to the moral, ceremonial, and judicial.

2. The majeſty of the law-giver is approved in all his creatures: who, as he hath given all things their lives, and beings, ſo he only gave the law, who could only give the end and reward promiſed, to wit, the ſalvation of mankind: but he gave it not to *Moſes* immediately, but by the miniſtry of angels, as it is ſaid. [a] *And the law was ordained by angels, in the hand of a Mediator:* and in the *Acts, He gave the law by the ordinance of angels.*

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiving this law, is in three reſpects. Firſt, In that they were prepared: Secondly, In that they were a nation apart and diſſevered: Thirdly, In that they were the children of the promiſe made to *Abraham.* Prepared they were, becauſe they had the knowledge of one God, when all other nations were idolaters. A nation apart and ſevered they were, becauſe of God's choice and election. Children of the promiſe they were, for the promiſe was made by God unto *Abraham*, and his ſeed: not unto his ſeeds, as to *Eſau* and *Jacob*, but to his ſeed, as to *Jacob*, or *Iſrael* ſingularly, of whom Chriſt. [b] *Now to Abraham and his ſeed were the promiſes made: he ſaith not to the ſeeds, as ſpeaking of many, but to thy ſeed, as of one, which is Chriſt.*

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by St. *Auguſtine:* that it was about the middle time, between the law of nature and grace: the law of nature continued from *Adam* to *Moſes*: the law written in the commandments, received by *Moſes* in the world's year 2514, continued to the baptiſm of *John*; from which time began the law of grace, which ſhall continue to the world's end. Other reaſons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth conſideration is of the efficacy of this law, the ſame being a diſpoſition to, or ſign of, our juſtification: but not by itſelf ſufficient, but as a figure of Chriſt in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteouſneſs in moral precepts. For through the paſſion of Chriſt were ſins forgiven, who taketh

[a] Gal. 3. 19. [b] Gal. 3. 6.

away

away the ſins of the world: and therefore St. *Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law [a] *beggarly and weak*; beggarly, as containing no grace, weak; as not able to forgive and juſtify. The [b] blood of goats and bulls, and the aſhes of an heifer could only cleanſe the body; but they were figures of Chriſt's blood, which doth cleanſe the inward ſoul. [c] *For if the law could juſtify, then Chriſt died in vain.*

SECT. XI.

Of the ſixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new teſtament.

THE old and new teſtament differ in name, and in the mean and way propoſed for attaining to ſalvation; as the old by works, the new by grace: but in the thing it ſelf, or object and remote end, they agree: which is, man's happineſs and ſalvation.

The old teſtament, or law, or letter, or the witneſs of God's will, was called the old, becauſe it preceded the new teſtament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witneſs. Yet the new of more excellency, in that it doth more lively expreſs, and openly and directly delineate the ways of our redemption. It is alſo called the old, to ſhew that in part it was to be abrogated: [d] *In that he ſaith the new teſtament, he hath abrogated the old.* For the old law, tho' greatly extolled by the prophets, and delivered with wonderful miracles, yet was it conſtituted in a policy periſhable: but the new was given in a promiſe of an everlaſting kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalypſe*, a teſtament and goſpel for ever during.

The old teſtament is called a law, becauſe the firſt and chief part is the law of *Moſes*, of which the prophets and *Pſalms* are commentaries, explicating that law.

The new teſtament is called the goſpel, becauſe the firſt and chief part thereof is the glad tidings of our redemption: the other books, as the epiſtles or letters of the apoſtles, and the acts or ſtory of the apoſtles, are plentiful interpreters thereof: the word *Euangelion* ſignifying a joyful, happy, and proſperous meſſage, or (as *Homer* uſed it) the reward given to the meſſenger, bringing joyful news. It is alſo ſometimes taken for a ſacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleaſing ſucceſs, as by *Xenophon*. In the ſcriptures it hath three ſignifications. Firſt, for glad tidings in general, as in *Iſaiah* lii. 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellency it is reſtrained to ſignify that moſt joyful meſſage of ſalvation, as in *Luke* ii. 10. whence alſo by figure it is taken for the hiſtory of [e] *Chriſt*: and ſo we underſtand the four goſpels.

Laſtly, For the preaching and divulging the doctrine of Chriſt, as 1 *Cor.* ix. 14. and 2 *Cor.* viii. 18.

The agreement of both teſtaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in volumes) is by *Daneus* compriſed in theſe four.

In their author.
In the ſubſtance of the covenant, or things promiſed.
In the foundation, to wit, Chriſt.
In the effects, that is, in righteouſneſs and juſtification.

In the author they agree, becauſe both are of God, and therefore both one teſtament and will of God in ſubſtance of doctrine. For as there was ever one church, ſo was there one covenant, one adoption, and one doctrine. As the old law doth point at Chriſt, ſo doth the new law teach Chriſt: the old propoſing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the ſame thing being promiſed in both; both tending to one and the ſame end, even the ſalvation of our ſouls: which, according to St. *Peter*, is the end of our faith. For altho' it be ſaid, that *Moſes* did promiſe by obſerving the law an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with milk and hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly bleſſings: yet all theſe were but figures to teach, and pledges to aſſure the fathers of thoſe ſpiritual bleſſings by Chriſt; for by the earthly he raiſed their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the fathers, notwithſtanding theſe worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themſelves ſtrangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Jeruſalem*: According to this place of *Heb.* xi. 13. *All theſe died in faith, and received not the promiſes, but ſaw them afar off, and believed them: confeſſing that they were ſtrangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpoſe alſo St. *Auguſtine*; [f] *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promiſſa terrena æterna promitti*; Few (ſaith he) do underſtand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternal are promiſed. And St. *Jerome*, [g] *Noluit Deus paſcere Judæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibuſque, ut Judæi ſomniant*; God would not feed the *Jews* as beaſts with corporal gifts and riches, as themſelves dream. And this may be gathered out of God's own words, *Ego ſum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum*; I am thy God, and I will be your God; for the words, *I will be your God*, prove that it was not for the preſent, or for periſhable things, that God gave them this promiſe; but in reſpect of the future: to wit, the ſafety of their ſouls. For as God created both body and ſoul, ſo hath he of his goodneſs not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

The agreement between the old and new teſtament in ſubſtance, infers alſo the agreement in foundation. For Chriſt is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the apoſtles and prophets: in whom all the promiſes of God in the old and new, are aſſured: the fathers having eaten the ſame ſpiritual food, which we eat in our ſacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our ſin and miſery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, ſerveth in ſubordination to the goſpel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and ſalvation: to which the law ſerving as an introduction (for to thoſe which acknowledge their ſin and miſery, God ſheweth his mercy and ſalvation) may be ſaid to agree with the goſpel in the effects. For otherwiſe, if we ſever the law from ſubordination to the goſpel, the effects are very different: the one ſheweth the way of righteouſneſs by works, the other by faith; the law woundeth, the goſpel healeth: the law terrifieth, the goſpel allureth: *Moſes* accuſeth, Chriſt defendeth: *Moſes* condemneth, Chriſt pardoneth: the old reſtraineth the hand, the new the mind. [h] *Data eſt lex quæ non ſanaret* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *ſed quæ ægrogantes probaret*; The law was given not to help, but to diſcover ſickneſs: and St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Data eſt lex, ut ſe homo inveniret*; *non ut morbus ſanaretur, ſed ut medicus quæreretur*; The law was given that man might find and know his own imperfection: not that his diſeaſe was thereby holpen: but that he might then ſeek out the phyſician. For Chriſt came to ſave the world, which the law had condemned. And as [i] *Moſes* was but a ſervant, and Chriſt a ſon, ſo the greateſt benefit was reſerved to be brought, as by the *worthieſt perſon*, ſaith *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

[a] Gal. 4. [b] Heb. 9. [c] Gal. 2. [d] Heb. 8. 13. [e] Acts 1. [f] Lib. de Civitate Dei, 18. 15. [g] In Sophon. 3. 9. [h] Homil. ad Rom. [i] Heb. 7.

SECT. XII.

SECT. XII.

Of the reſt of the points propoſed.

THE ſeventh conſideration is of the end and uſe of the law: which is to bring us to Chriſt: for finding no righteouſneſs in our own works, we muſt ſeek it in ſome other. But this is the laſt, and remote, and utmoſt end: the next and proper end of the law, is to preſcribe righteouſneſs, and to exact abſolute and perfect obedience to God. [a] *Curſed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The ſecond end of the law, is to render us inexcuſable before God: who knowing ſo perfect a law, do not keep it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or half obedience: but both inward and outward righteouſneſs, and performance of duty to God and men.

The third and chief end of the law is, as hath been ſaid, to ſend us to Chriſt, and his Grace, being in our ſelves condemned and loſt. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a moſt violent and fearful tempeſt, threatning eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to deſign, and preſerve, the place of the church and true people of God; and to hold them in one diſcipline and awe, till the coming of Chriſt: after whom the church was to be diſperſed over the whole world.

Theſe be the ends of the moral law. The end and uſe of the ceremonial law, is to confirm the truth of Chriſt, and the new teſtament. The uſe of the judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we muſt conform our ſelves.

The ſenſe and underſtanding of the law is double, literal and ſpiritual: by the literal, we are taught the worſhip and ſervice of God: by the ſpiritual, the figures and myſtical fore-ſpeakings of Chriſt.

Laſtly, for the durance or continuance of the [b] law, the ſame had being until the paſſion of Chriſt: before which time, and while Chriſt taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true ſacrifice was offered upon the altar of the croſs, then the *Jewiſh* ſacrifices and ceremonies, which were types and figures of Chriſt (Chriſt being the body of thoſe ſhadows) ceaſed to bind the conſciences any longer: the myſtery of our redemption being now by Chriſt and in him finiſhed. In token whereof the veil of the temple rent aſunder; noting that the ceremonial veils and ſhadows were now to be removed, not that the moral law of the commandments was hereby aboliſhed, or weakened at all: otherwiſe than that it had not power to condemn according to the *Jewiſh* doctrine, as aforeſaid. For the obſerving of the law was by Chriſt himſelf ſeverely commanded: our love towards God being thereby to be witneſſed. And herein *David* ſo much rejoiced, as he preferred the obſervation of the law, before all that the world could yield. *In via teſtimoniorum tuorum delectatus ſum, ſicut in omnibus divitiis*; I have been delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches: and again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thouſands of gold and ſilver. This is the love of God* (ſaith St. *John* i. 5.) *that we keep his commandment.* And that there is no excuſe for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himſelf in *Deuteronomy* witneſſeth, [c] *This commandment* (ſaith he) *which I command thee this day is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven that thou ſhouldſt ſay who ſhall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cauſe us to hear it that we may do it? neither is it beyond the ſea, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, who ſhall go over the ſea for us, and bring it us? &c. but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (ſaith *Moſes*) *I have ſet before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his ordinances, and his laws, that thou mayſt live*, &c. Neither is it ſaid in vain in St. *Matthew* ix. 17. *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, ſerva mandata*; If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments: and in St. *John* xii. 50. *Scio quia mandatum ejus vita æterna eſt*; I know that his commandment is life everlaſting. And if this be the charity of God, or of men towards God, as St. *John* hath taught, to wit, that we keep his commandments: certainly he is but a liar, that profeſſeth to love God, and neglecteth to obſerve the word of his will, with all his power. And tho' I confeſs it is not in man's ability, without the ſpecial grace of God, to fulfil the law (Chriſt only as man excepted) yet if we rightly conſider the merciful care which God had of his people in thoſe his commandments, we ſhall find in our ſelves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let ſlip our affections, and voluntarily looſen them, from the chains of obedience, to which the word of God and divine reaſon hath faſtened them, than that we are excuſable by thoſe difficulties and impoſſibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) propoſeth to it ſelf. *For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous*, 1 *John* iii. 12. and if we examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our conſciences; it is not hard for any man to judge, by what eaſy perſuaſions, we ſteal away from our own power, as unwilling to uſe it againſt our pleaſing deſires.

SECT. XIII.

Of the ſeveral commandments of the Decalogue: *and that the difficulty is not in reſpect of the commandments, but by our default.*

FOR by the firſt we are commanded to acknowledge, ſerve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? ſeeing every reaſonable man may conceive and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities: and that it is of neceſſity that by this Almighty unity, all things have been cauſed, and are continued. And if brute beaſts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath alſo provided for every of them, [d] *which giveth to beaſt their food*, &c. there is no doubt but that they would alſo ſerve and love him only.

The ſecond precept is the forbidding of idolatry, and worſhip of images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, ſeeing this is generally true: [e] *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt*; All ill examples did ſpring and ariſe from good beginnings. For their firſt erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their virtue: until (ſaith *Lactantius*) the devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the firſt intent) working in weak and ignorant ſouls, changed the nature of the one, and the reaſon of the other, to ſerve himſelf thereby. For what reaſonable man, if he be not forſaken of God, will call on thoſe blind, deaf, and dumb, and dead ſtocks, more worthleſs than the moſt worthleſs of thoſe, that having life and reaſon, implore their help, which have neither: yea, of more vile prize and baſer, than the baſeſt of beaſts, who have ſenſe and eſti-

[a] Levit. 18. 5. [b] Gen. 49. 10. *The ſcepter ſhall not depart from* Juda, *nor a law-giver from between his feet, until* Shilo *come.*
[c] Deut. 30. 11, 12, 13 & 14. Rom. 10. 6, 7, 8. [d] Pſal. 147. 9. [e] Gloſ. in verb. Calum.

mation?

mation? for what do we thereby (ſaith the *Wiſdom* of *Solomon*) [a] *but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, aſſiſtance in our journies of him that cannot go, and ſucceſs in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the idolater, or the block, to which he prayeth, be more ſenſeleſs, *David* maketh a doubt. [b] *For* (ſaith he) *they that make them are like unto them, and ſo are all the reſt that truſt in them.*

The breach of the third commandment is neither perſuaded by worldly pleaſure, nor worldly profit: the two greateſt inchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible diſdain of God, unleſs the hate of good men, and God's curſe, be accounted an advantage. For as our corrupteſt nature gives us nothing towards it, ſo can it ſatisfy no one appetite, except everlaſting ſorrow, and hell dwell in our deſire. And therefore this ſtrange cuſtom hath the devil brought up among men, without all ſubtlety of argument, or cunning perſuaſion, taking thereby the greateſt and moſt ſcornful advantage over us. For ſlaughter ſatisfieth hatred, theft gives ſatisfaction to need, adultery to luſt, oppreſſion to covetouſneſs: but this contemptuous offence of blaſphemy, and the irreverent abuſe of God's name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, ſo the moſt ſavage nations of the world do not uſe it.

The fourth commandment, to keep the ſabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth reſt to the labourer, and conſolation to their maſters. And that this law was impoſed on man for his benefit, *Moſes* teacheth in the reaſon of the law: as in *Exod.* xxiii. 12. *And in the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt, that thine ox and thine aſs may reſt, and the ſon of thy maid, and the ſtranger may be refreſhed.*

The firſt of the ſecond table to honour our parents, with whom we are one and the ſame, is a gratitude which nature it ſelf hath taught us towards them, who after God gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cheriſhed us in our weak and helpleſs infancy, and beſtowed on us the harveſt and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore in the temporal and judicial ordinances, curſing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou ſhalt not murder, that is, thou ſhalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our own laws, and in effect the law of all nations, have made difference between ſlaughter caſual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (ſaith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo*; It is the affection and will that makes the work ſuch as it is. And certainly whoſoever cannot forbear to commit murder, hath neither the grace of God, nor any uſe of his own will.

The third of the ſecond table, commands us from adultery. Now, if the preſervation of [c] virginity have been poſſible, for thouſands of men and women, who in all ages have maſtered their fleſhly deſires, and have returned chaſt to the grave: it cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the diſhonour and injury, which we offer to others by ſuch a violation, ſeeing marriage is permitted by the laws of God, and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the deſire of beauty and form hath ſo conſtrained, but he might with eaſe forbear the proſecution of this ill: did not himſelf give ſuck to this infant, and nouriſh warmth till it grow to ſtrong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the ſecond table, is, that we ſhall not ſteal. And if that kind of violent robbery had been uſed in *Moſes*'s time, which many ruffians practiſe now-a-days in *England*, and, to the diſhonour of our nation, more in *England* than in any region of the world among Chriſtians, out of doubt he would have cenſured them by death, and not by reſtitution, tho' quadruple. For I ſpeak not of the poor and miſerable ſouls, whom hunger and extreme neceſſity inforceth, but of thoſe deteſted thieves, who, to maintain themſelves lordlike, aſſault, rob, and wound the merchant, artificer, and labouring-man, or break by violence into other men's houſes, and ſpend in bravery, drunkenneſs, and upon harlots, in one day, what other men ſometimes have laboured for all their lives; impoveriſhing whole families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this commandment might eaſily be obſerved, it would ſoon appear, if princes would reſolve but for a few years to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of ſparing the firſt offence, that encourageth theſe hell-hounds. And if every man preſume to be pardoned once, there is no ſtate or commonwealth, but theſe men would in a ſhort time impoveriſh or deſtroy it.

The fifth commandment of this ſecond table, is, the prohibition of falſe witneſs: from which if men could not forbear, all ſurety of eſtate and life were taken away. And ſo much did God deteſt a falſe witneſs, and a falſe accuſer, eſpecially in matters criminal, that the law ordained him to ſuffer the ſame death or puniſhment, which he ſought by falſhood to lay on his brother.

The laſt of the ten commandments forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiſcence, or their goods for deſire of gain. And this precept ſeemeth the hardeſt for men to obſerve; ſo eſteemed by reaſon of our frail affections: and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconſiderate fancies and vain thoughts. For altho' it be not eaſy to maſter all our ſudden paſſions, yet we may reſtrain and hinder their growing, and farther increaſe, if we pleaſe to intend our ſtrength, and ſeek for grace. How the word coveting reacheth to all thoſe, it is to be conſidered. For *Concupiſcentia*, according to ſome, *eſt effrænatus habendi appetitus*; An unbridled, or unreſtrained appetite of having: And as touching ſuch an appetite, we cannot excuſe our ſelves by any our natural frailty, or unadviſed error; but, as I ſuppoſe, the word concupiſcence is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for ſome urging inclination thereunto. All the queſtion is of the later ſort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id eſt, non deliberatus ratione quæ eſt principium proprium actûs boni aut vitioſi*; Such paſſions or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reaſon, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action. And ſure, it may ſeem, that ſo long as we reſiſt ſuch motions, they harm us not: as they ſay, *Quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus*; As long as we give no aſſent unto them, it is thought by ſome that they hurt us not: and that then only they hurt when we ſuffer them to bear ſway. But theſe men, as it ſeems, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what have been forbidden in the other: for in every commandment, not only the outward act, but alſo the inward aſſent unto evil, tho' it break not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this commandment and the reſt, the di-

[a] Wiſd. 13. 19. [b] Pſal. 35. 18. [c] Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradiſum.

ſtinction of deſires is to be held: that ſome are with aſſent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without aſſent. For ſo even the moral philoſopher can tell us, that the continent man hath evil deſires, but without aſſent (for they are bridled by the ſtrength of right reaſon) as on the other ſide, the incontinent hath good deſires, but reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by contrary paſſions. The evil deſires, when they are accompanied with aſſent, are in every commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore if we will have any thing proper to this commandment, we muſt needs ſay, that the evil deſires of the continent man (that is, even thoſe which we reſiſt and bridle) are here forbidden. For tho' he that bridleth his evil deſires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them: yet ſuch a man, even according to the heathen philoſopher, is not worthy the name of a virtuous man. For *Ariſtotle* himſelf makes *continentia*, not to be virtue, but only a degree unto it: confeſſing, that tho' the continent man do well in bridling his evil affections; yet he doth not all, ſeeing he ought not ſo much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he ſaith, that in the continent man the having of theſe evil deſires, tho' he reſiſt them, is the cauſe that he cannot be called a virtuous man: ſo we, that the having of them is a ſin. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of divinity to give the true reaſon of this doctrine: which is, that every one ſinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil deſires of the continent man, that is, of him that bridleth them, muſt needs be ſin: ſeeing ſuch deſires, tho' bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleaſed God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his commandments, we witneſs our love towards himſelf: we may not ſafely give liberty to our vanities, by caſting back upon God (who is juſtice it ſelf) that he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandments impoſſible for us to keep. For, as he is accurſed (ſaith St. *Jerome*) that avows that the law is in all things poſſible to be obſerved: ſo he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui dicit impoſſibilia Deum præcepiſſe*; Accurſed is he that ſaith that God hath commanded things (in themſelves, and not thro' our fault) impoſſible. Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the law: ſo is our weakneſs alſo in the ſcriptures laid before us; and therefore it is thus ſafely to be underſtood, that we ſhould without evaſion, or without betraying of our ſelves, do our faithful endeavours to obſerve them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our deſires therein. For that there is no man juſt, *David* witneſſeth; [a] *Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, for in thy ſight no fleſh that liveth ſhall be juſtified.* And in 1 *Kings* viii. 46. *There is no man that ſinneth not:* and again, [b] *Who can ſay I have made my heart clean?* But ſeeing there is no ſin grievous without deliberation; let every man's conſcience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or reſtrain himſelf in all that he can; yea, or no: for when a king gives to his ſubject a commandment upon pain of loſs of his love, to perform ſome ſervice: if the ſubject neglecting the ſame, ſeek to ſatisfy his ſoveraign with ſhifting excuſes, out of doubt ſuch a prince will take himſelf to be derided therein.

SECT. XIV.

If there were not any religion nor judgment to come, yet the Decalogue *were moſt neceſſary to be obſerved.*

AND if we conſider adviſedly, and ſoberly, of the moral law, or ten commandments, which God by the hand of *Moſes* gave unto his people, it will appear that ſuch was his merciful providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain nor profit adjoined to the obſerving, or not obſerving of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any religion among men; yet if we did not for our own ſakes ſtrive to obſerve theſe laws, all ſociety of men, and all endeavours, all happineſs and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every ſtate and common-wealth in the world fall to the ground and diſſolve. Therefore, theſe laws were not impoſed as a burthen, but as a bleſſing: to the end that the innocent might be defended; that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travel; that right might be done to all men from all men; that by juſtice, order, and peace, we might live the lives of reaſonable men, and not of beaſts; of free-men, and not of ſlaves; of civil men, and not of ſavages. And hereof making our human reaſon only judge, let us ſee the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of theſe laws.

As firſt, What would the iſſue be if we acknowledged many Gods? Would not a far greater hatred, war, and blood-ſhed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony, and diverſity of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, even among thoſe nations which acknowledge one God, and one Chriſt?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to idols, and images of gold, metal, dead ſtones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loſs of time, and an impoſſibility to receive thencefrom, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third commandment bringeth therewith this diſadvantage and ill to man, that whoſoever taketh the name of God in vain, ſhall not at any time benefit himſelf by calling God to witneſs for him, when he may juſtly uſe his holy name.

The obſerving the ſabbath holy, giveth reſt to men and beaſts, and nature her ſelf requireth intermiſſion of labour.

If we deſpiſe our parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our own children to ſcorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If murther were not forbidden, and ſeverely puniſhed, the race of mankind would be extinguiſhed: and whoſoever would take the liberty to deſtroy others, giveth liberty to others to deſtroy himſelf.

If adultery were lawful and permitted, no man could ſay unto himſelf, this is my ſon: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour deſcend to poſterity, no endeavour by virtue and undertaking to raiſe families; murthers and poiſonings between man and wife, would be daily committed, and every man ſubject to moſt filthy and unclean diſeaſes.

If ſtealth and violent rapine were ſuffered, all mankind would ſhortly after periſh, or live as the ſavages, by roots and acorns. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And ſuch is the miſchief of robbery, as where *Moſes* for leſſer crimes appointed reſtitution four-fold, policy of ſtate and neceſſity hath made it death.

[a] Pſal. 143. [b] Prov. 20. 9.

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To permit falſe witneſſes, is to take all mens lives and eſtates from them by corruption: the wicked would ſwear againſt the virtuous: the waſter againſt the wealthy: the idle beggar and loiterer, againſt the careful and painful labourer: all trial of right were taken away, and juſtice thereby baniſhed out of the world.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a diſtraction of mind with an inward vexation: for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitleſs hopes, ſo long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the deſire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours, we can look for no other, but that ourſelves ſhall alſo, either by theft or by ſtrong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burden of God's commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in reſpect of himſelf, did the moſt merciful and provident God ordain them; without the obſervation of which, the virtues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the bleſſings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable and of no uſe. For we ſhould remain but in the ſtate of brute beaſts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

SECT. XV.

Of human law, written and unwritten.

HUMAN law, of which now it followeth to ſpeak, is firſt divided into two, *viz.* Written, and unwritten. The unwritten conſiſts of uſage, approved by time: which *Iſidore* calls *Mores:* and he defines *Mores* to be *Conſuetudines vetuſtate probatæ*, to be *cuſtoms approved by antiquity or unwritten laws.* Now cuſtom differeth from uſe, as the cauſe from the effect: in that cuſtom is by uſe and continuance eſtabliſhed into a law: but yet there, where the law is defective, ſaith *Iſidore.*

And of cuſtoms there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars, the firſt are written cuſtoms, received and exerciſed by nations, as the cuſtoms of *Burgundy* and *Normandy:* the ancient general cuſtom of *England*, and the cuſtoms of *Caſtile*, and other provinces.

The ſecond are theſe petty cuſtoms, uſed in particular places, cities, hundreds, and manors. The general or national cuſtoms are ſome written, others unwritten.

The particular of petty cuſtoms are ſeldom written, but witneſſed by teſtimony of the inhabitants. The cuſtoms of the dutchy of *Cornwall* comprehending alſo the *Stannery* of *Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* cauſes, are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall.* But howſoever uſe and time hath made theſe cuſtoms as laws, yet ought every cuſtom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præſcripta.* [a] *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de jure ab initio non ſubſiſtit*; That which at firſt was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (ſaith *Ulpian*) [b] *Quod ab initio vitioſum eſt, non poteſt tractu temporis convaleſcere*; Courſe of time amends not that which was naught from the firſt beginning. For theſe two defences are neceſſary in all laws of cuſtom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law divine and natural; the other, that the cauſe and reaſon be ſtrong, proving a right birth, and neceſſary continuance: it being manifeſt, that every cuſtom, which is againſt the law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former conſiderations to be allowed. And it is true, that all cuſtoms of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, tho' they have been ſince continued, becauſe poſterity is not bound to examine by what cauſe their anceſtors were thereto moved. For *non ſufficit ſimplex toleratio.* And it is in this ſort overruled in the law; *Per populum conſuetudo contra legem induci non poteſt, niſi de voluntate illius qui novam legem, & novam conſtitutionem ſtatuere poteſt, qui ſolus princeps eſt*; The people cannot bring in a new cuſtom againſt law, ſave by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the prince.

Human law generally taken, to wit, human law written, is by ſome defined to be the decree or doom of practic reaſon: by which human actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the law a common precept, the adviſement of wiſemen, and the reſtraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Iſidore* calls the law a conſtitution written, agreeing with religion, fitteſt for government and common profit: and more largely, *Omne id quod ratione conſiſtit*; All that ſtands with reaſon.

Laſtly, and more preciſely it is thus defined: [c] Human law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law natural and eternal: made by the rational diſcourſe of thoſe that exerciſe publick authority: preſcribing neceſſary obſervances to the ſubject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, St. *Auguſtine* teacheth, ſaying: *Mihi lex eſſe non videtur, quæ juſta non fuerit*; It ſeems to be no law at all to me, which is not juſt: and juſt it cannot be, except it agree with the law natural and eternal. For there is no law juſt and legitimate (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) which the law-makers have not derived from the eternal; [d] *Nihil juſtum atque legitimum eſt, quod non ab æterna lege ſibi homines derivaverint.*

Secondly, It ought to be conſtituted by diſcourſe of reaſon, whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from the law natural, to wit, the natural, indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration, from whence the law human is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, That it ought to be made by an authorized magiſtracy, it cannot be doubted, be the government, of what kind ſoever. For it falleth otherwiſe under the title of thoſe decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *Iniquæ Conſtitutiones*; Violences, *or* Wicked Conſtitutions.

Of human law there are four properties, eſpecially anſwering theſe four conditions in the former definition. Firſt, As it is drawn out of the law of nature: ſo every particular of the human law may be reſolved into ſome principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, It is to be conſidered as it is referred unto, and doth reſpect the common good.

Thirdly, It is to be made by publick authority.

Fourthly, Concerning the matter of the law, it preſcribeth, and directeth, all human actions. And ſo is the law as large and diverſe, as all human actions are diverſe, which may fall under it. For according to *Thomas*, [e] *Alia lex Julia de adulteriis, alia Cornelia de ſicariis*; The law of *Julian* againſt adultery is one, the *Cornelian* againſt ruffians, is another. Now the human law, generally taken, is, in reſpect of the firſt of theſe conſiderations, divided into the law of nations, and the civil.

The law of nations is taken leſs or more properly; leſs properly for every law which is not of it

[a] In reg. jur. v. 2. q. 117. art. 1. [b] Ulp. l. 29. [c] Greg. de Val. Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & q. 94. art. 2. [d] Lib. 1: de lib. Arb. cap. 6. [e] Tho. q. 95. art. 2.

ſelf,

ſelf, but from other higher principles deduced: and ſo it ſeemeth that *Ulpian* underſtands it: for he defineth *jus gentium*, or the *law of nations*, to be that which is only common amongſt men, as religion, and the worſhip of God: which is not in the very nature of this law of nations: but from the principles of the ſcriptures, and other divine revelations. But the law of nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *ſentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, tho' not from an evident principle, yet ſo probable that all nations do aſſent unto the concluſion, as that the free paſſage of *Ambaſſadors* be granted between enemies, *&c.* which national law, according to divers acceptations, and divers conſiderations had of the human law, may be ſometimes taken for a *ſpecies* of the natural, ſometimes of the human.

Jus Civile, or the civil law, is not the ſame in all common-wealths, but in divers eſtates it is alſo diverſe and peculiar, and this law is not ſo immediately derived from the law of nature, as the law of nations is: for it is partly deduced out of ſuch principles, as all nations do not agree in, or eaſily aſſent unto; becauſe they depend on particular circumſtances, which are diverſe, and do not fit all eſtates. Hereof *Ulpian*, [a] *Jus civile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei ſervit: itaque cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id eſt civile, efficimus*; The civil law (ſaith he) doth neither wholly differ from the law of nature and nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the law that is common, we make a law proper, that is, the civil law.

The law now commonly called the civil law, had its birth in *Rome*: and was firſt written by the *Decemviri* 303 years after the foundation of the city. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian*, and other *Grecian* laws, as out of the ancient *Roman* cuſtoms and laws regal. The regal laws were deviſed by the firſt kings, and called *leges regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, becauſe they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then reigning. For tho' ſo many of the former laws as maintained kingly authority were aboliſhed, with the name: yet thoſe of [b] *Servius Tullius*, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve tables. [c] To theſe laws of the twelve tables were added (as the times gave occaſion) thoſe made by the ſenate, called *Senatus-conſulta*: thoſe of the common people, called *Plebi-ſcita*: thoſe of the lawyers called *reſponſa prudentum*: and the edicts of the *annual magiſtrate*: which edicts being firſt gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and preſented to *Adrian* the emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetual laws: and the volume ſtyled, *Edictum perpetuum*: as thoſe and the like collections of *Juſtinian* afterwards were.

The difference anciently between laws and edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, conſiſted in this, that laws are the conſtitutions made or confirmed by ſoveraign authority (be the ſoveraignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withal general and permanent: but an edict (which is but *Juſſum magiſtratus*, unleſs by authority it be made a law) hath end with the officer, who made the ſame, ſaith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum edicto tribuunt, legem annuam eſſe dicunt*; They who aſcribe the moſt unto an edict, ſay that it is a law for one year. Tho' *Iſidore* doth alſo expreſs by the word *conſtitutions* or *edicts*, thoſe ordinances called *Acts of prerogatives*: as *Conſtitutio vel edictum eſt, quod rex, vel Imperator, conſtituit, vel edicit*; An ordinance or edict is that which a king or emperour doth ordain or proclaim.

Laſtly, The human law is divided into the ſecular, and into the eccleſiaſtical, or canon. The ſecular commanding temporal good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth: the eccleſiaſtical the ſpiritual good, and right government of the eccleſiaſtical commonwealth, or church: *Illud naturæ legem, hoc divinam ſpectat*; That reſpecteth the law of nature, this the law of God. And ſo may *jus civile* be taken two ways: firſt, As diſtinguiſhed from the law of nations, as in the firſt diviſion: ſecondly, As it is the ſame with the ſecular, and diverſe from the eccleſiaſtical. But this diviſion of the *ſchoolmen* is obſcure: for altho' the civil be the ſame with the ſecular, as the civil is a law; yet the ſecular is more general, and comprehendeth both the civil and all other laws not eccleſiaſtical. For of ſecular laws, in uſe among chriſtian princes, and in chriſtian commonwealths, there are three kinds; the civil which hath every-where a voice, and is in all Chriſtian eſtates (*England* excepted) moſt powerful; the laws of *England* called common, and the laws of cuſtom or provincial. In *Spain* beſides the law civil, they have the cuſtoms of *Caſtile*, and other provinces. In *France* beſides the civil, the cuſtoms of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berry*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, *&c.* [d] *Tous lieux ſitues & aſſis en Lodunois, ſeront governez ſelon les coſtumes du dit Pays*; All places lying within the precincts of *Lodunois*, ſhall be governed according to the cuſtoms of that place. There are alſo in *France* the cuſtoms of *Normandy*, and theſe of two kinds, general and local; and all purged and reformed by divers acts of the three eſtates. The charters of confirmation of theſe ancient cuſtoms, before and ſince their reformation, have theſe words: *Nos autem regiſtrum prædictum, uſus laudabiles, & conſuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate regia confirmamus*; The regiſter aforeſaid, laudable uſe, and ancient cuſtoms, we praiſe, approve, and by our kingly authority confirm. The common law of *England* is alſo compounded of the ancient cuſtoms of the ſame, and of certain maxims by thoſe cuſtoms of the realm approved. Upon which cuſtoms alſo are grounded thoſe courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *King's Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other ſmall courts.

Theſe ancient cuſtoms of *England* have been approved by the kings thereof, from age to age: as that cuſtom by which no man ſhall be taken, impriſoned, diſſeiſed, nor otherwiſe deſtroyed, but he muſt firſt be put to anſwer by the law of the land, was confirmed by the ſtatute of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient cuſtom of *England*, that the eldeſt ſon ſhould inherit without partition: in *Germany*, *France*, and elſewhere otherwiſe, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the cuſtom for all lands (that have not been reſigned into the king's hands) that the eldeſt of the houſe ſhall enjoy the inheritance during his own life: and ſo the ſecond and third eldeſt (if there be ſo many brothers) before the heir in lineal deſcent: this is called the cuſtom of *Taniſtry*. For example, If a lord of land have four ſons, and the eldeſt of thoſe four have alſo a ſon, the three brothers of the eldeſt ſon ſhall, after the death of their brother, enjoy their father's lands before the grandchild: the cuſtom being grounded upon the reaſon of neceſſity. For the *Iriſh* in former times having always lived in a ſubdivided civil war, not only the greateſt againſt the greateſt, but every baron and gentleman one againſt another, were inforc'd

[a] In leg. 6. ff. de juſtitia jure. [b] Dion. Hal. [c] C. Sigon. l. 1. *out of* Pomponius. [d] Art. 3. tit. 5. G. Cuſt.

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to leave ſucceſſors of age and ability to defend their own territories. Now as in *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and other provinces of *France*, there are certain peculiar, and petty cuſtoms, beſides the great and general cuſtom of the land; ſo are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greateſt bulk of our laws, as I take it, are the acts of parliament: laws propounded and approved by the three eſtates of the realm, and confirmed by the king, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, becauſe they are acts of choice, and ſelf-deſire. [a] *Leges nulla alia cauſa nos tenent quam quod judicio populi receptæ ſunt*; The laws do therefore bind the ſubjects, becauſe they are received by the judgment of the ſubject. [b] *Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modo inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; It is then that human laws have their ſtrength, when they ſhall not only be deviſed, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

Iſidore faſtneth theſe properties to every Chriſtian law, that the ſame be honeſt, that it be poſſible, that it be according to nature, and according to the cuſtom of the country; alſo for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifeſt, and without reſpect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He alſo gives four effects of the law, which *Modeſtinus* comprehends in two: to wit, obligation and inſtigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice: the latter encourageth with hope, to follow virtue. For, according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet eſſe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum*; It behoveth the law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of virtues. The part obligatory or binding us to the obſervation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws: and it is two-fold, the one conſtraineth us by fear of our conſciences, the other by fear of external puniſhment. Theſe two effects the law performeth, by the exerciſe of thoſe two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The ſecond of theſe two effects remembred by *Modeſtinus*, is inſtigation, or encouragement to virtue, as *Ariſtotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men virtuous. For laws being ſuch as they ought to be, do, both by preſcribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing: laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchaſed. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are thoſe into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and ſubſtance thereof: ſaying, [c] *Declina à malo & fac bonum*; Decline from evil, and do good.

SECT. XVI.

That only the prince is exempt from human laws, and in what ſort.

NOW whether the power of the human law be without exception of any perſon, it is doubtfully diſputed among thoſe that have written of this ſubject, as well divines as lawyers; and namely, whether ſoveraign princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforeſaid, the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive*, they ought to be ſubject, but not to that which conſtraineth. For as touching violence or puniſhments, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment againſt himſelf: and if equals have not any power over each other, much leſs have inferiours over their ſuperiours, from whom they receive their authority and ſtrength.

And ſpeaking of the ſupreme power of laws, ſimply then is the prince ſo much above the laws, as the ſoul and body united, is above a dead and ſenſeleſs carcaſe. For the king is truly called, *Jus vivum & lex animata*; An animate and living law. But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, princes both add greatneſs to themſelves, and conſerve it, and therefore was it ſaid of *Bracton* out of *Juſtinian*. *Merito debet rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipſe ſit rex*; Rightfully ought the king to attribute that to the law, which the law firſt attributeth to the king; for it is the law that doth make kings.

But whereas [d] *Bracton* aſcribeth this power to the human law, he is therein miſtaken. For kings are made by God, and laws divine: and by human laws only declared to be kings. As for the places remembred by the divines and lawyers, which infer a kind of obligation of princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conſcience, and profit ariſing from the examples of virtuous princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God only.

[e] *Tibi ſoli peccavi*, ſaith *David*; Againſt thee only have I ſinned: therefore the prince cannot be ſaid to be ſubject to the law. *Princeps non ſubjicitur legi:* for ſeeing, according to the ſchoolmen, the law human is but *Quoddam organum & inſtrumentum poteſtatis gubernativæ: non videtur poſſe ejus obligatio ad eum ſe extendere, ad quem ipſa vis poteſtatis humanæ non pertinet: ſed vis poteſtatis humanæ non ſe extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa reſidet. Ergo neque lex condita per talem poteſtatem obligare poteſt ipſum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, eſt principium tranſmutandi aliud:* Seeing human law (ſay they) is but a kind of organ or inſtrument of the power that governeth, it ſeems that it cannot extend it ſelf to bind any one whom no human power can controul, or lay hold of: but the governour himſelf, in whom the governing power doth reſide, is a perſon that cannot by himſelf, or by his own power be controuled. And therefore the law which is made by ſuch a power, cannot bind the law-maker himſelf: for every active ability is a cauſe or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which itſelf reſides. And ſeeing princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law. [f] *Ergo etiam poteſt ipſemet princeps ſive legiſlator ſua ſe voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare*; Therefore alſo may a prince or law-maker at his own will and pleaſure deliver himſelf from the bond of the law. Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus concluded. *Subditi tenentur leges obſervare neceſſitate coactionis, princeps verò ſola voluntate ſua, & intuitu boni communis*; The ſubjects are bound to fulfil the law by neceſſity of compulſion, but the prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.

Now concerning the politic laws, given by *Moſes* to the nation of the *Iſraelites* whether they ought to be a precedent, from which no civil inſtitutions of other people ſhould preſume to digreſs, I will not preſume to determine, but leave it as a queſtion for ſuch men to decide, whoſe profeſſions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, that we ought not to ſeem wiſer than God himſelf, who hath told us, that there are no laws ſo righteous as thoſe which it pleaſed him to give to his elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all nations have their ſeveral qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no leſs than in their peculiar languages, which diſagreeable conditions to govern aptly one

[a] Ulp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 32. [b] Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31. Gratian. in dec. diſt. 4. cum in iſtis. [c] Pſal. 37. [d] Bract. l. 2. [e] Pſal. 50. ff. de leg. [f] Greg. de Valentia de leg.

and the ſame law very hardly were able. The *Roman* civil laws did indeed contain in order, a great part of the then known world, without any notable inconvenience, after ſuch time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the adminiſtration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural cuſtoms of the ſundry people, which it governed. For whether it be thro' a long continued perſuaſion; or (as aſtrologers more willingly grant) ſome influence of the heavens; or peradventure ſome temper of the ſoil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunity to ſteal, makes the *Arabians* to be thieves) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence ſo common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be diſtinguiſhed from juſt and honeſt. By ſuch rigour was the kingdom of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Chriſtian religion, which it willingly at the firſt embraced, but after with great fury rejected, becauſe plurality of wives was denied unto them, I know not how neceſſarily, but more contentiouſly than ſeaſonably. In ſuch caſes, methinks, it were not amiſs to conſider, that the High God himſelf permitted ſome things to the *Iſraelites*, rather in regard of their natural diſpoſition (for they were hard-hearted) than becauſe they were conſonant unto the ancient rules of the firſt perfection. So, where even the general nature of man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjuſt; there may the law given by *Moſes*, worthily be deemed the moſt exact reformer of the evil, which forceth man, as near as may be, to the will and pleaſure of his Maker. But where nature or cuſtom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with ſo long and ſo publick approbation, that the virtue oppoſing it, would ſeem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *Engliſh* faſhion of apparel in *Turky*: there may a wiſe and upright law-giver, without preſumption, omit ſomewhat that the rigour of *Moſes*'s law required; even as the good king *Hezekiah* did, in a matter merely eccleſiaſtical, and therefore the leſs capable of diſpenſation, praying for the people; [a] *The good Lord be merciful unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to ſeek the Lord, the God of his fathers, tho' he be not cleanſed according to the purification of the ſanctuary*: which prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well obſerved by Dr. *Willet*, that the moral judicials of *Moſes* do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively that we are tied to the ſame ſeverity of puniſhment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the puniſhment of death ſhould not be adjudged, where ſentence of death is not given by *Moſes*: Chriſtian magiſtrates ruling under Chriſt the [b] *Prince of peace*, that is, of clemency and mercy, may abate of the ſeverity of *Moſes*'s law, and mitigate the puniſhment of death, but they cannot add unto it to make the burden more heavy: for to ſhew more rigour than *Moſes*, becometh not the goſpel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the ſubject of many learned diſcourſes, neither will I take upon me to ſpeak any thing definitively in a caſe which dependeth ſtill in ſome controverſy among worthy divines. Thus much (as in honour of the judicial law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly ſay, that the defence of it hath always been very plauſible. And ſurely, howſoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and only law; yet ſhall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conſcience of a judge may reſt, with equal ſatisfaction, in making interpretation, or giving ſentence upon doubts, ariſing out of any law beſides it. Hereof, perhaps, that judge could have been witneſs, of whom *Forteſcue*, that notable bulwark of our laws, doth ſpeak, complaining of a judgment given againſt a gentlewoman at *Salisbury*, who being accuſed by her own man, without any other proof, for murdering her husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to aſhes: the man who accuſed her, within a year after being convicted for the ſame offence, confeſſed that his miſtreſs was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whoſe terrible death he then (tho' over-late) grievouſly lamented: but this judge, ſaith the ſame author, [c] *Sæpius ipſe mihi faſſus eſt, quod nunquam in vita ſua animum ejus de hoc facto ipſe purgaret*; He himſelf often confeſſed unto me, that he ſhould never, during his life, be able to clear his conſcience of that fact. Wherefore that acknowledgment which other ſciences yield unto the metaphyſicks, that from thence are drawn propoſitions, able to prove the principles of ſciences, which out of the ſciences themſelves cannot be proved, may juſtly be granted by all other politick Inſtitutions, to that of *Moſes*; and ſo much the more juſtly, by how much the ſubject of the metaphyſicks, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*, Being as it is being, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*, The being of beings, the only good, the fountain of truth, whoſe fear is the beginning of wiſdom. To which purpoſe well ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, *Conditor legum temporalium ſi vir bonus eſt & ſapiens, illam ipſam conſulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ judicare datum eſt*; The author of temporal laws, if he be good and wiſe, doth therein conſult the law eternal, to determine of which there is no power given to any ſoul. And as well prince *Edward*, in *Forteſcue*'s diſcourſe, *Nemo poteſt melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam poſuit Dominus*; No man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.

CHAP. V.

The ſtory of the Iſraelites *from the receiving of the law, to the death of* Moſes.

SECT. I.

Of the numbering and diſpoſing of the hoſt of Iſrael, *for their marches through the wilderneſs: with a note of the reverence given to the worſhip of God, in this ordering of their troops.*

WHEN *Moſes* had received the law from God, and publiſhed it among the people, and finiſhed the tabernacle of the ark and ſanctuary; he muſtered all the tribes and families of *Iſrael*: and having ſeen what numbers of men, fit to bear arms, were found in every tribe, from 20 years of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the Lord, ſuch princes and leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every tribe moſt eminent. The number of the whole army was 603550 able men for the wars, beſides women and children; alſo, beſides the ſtrangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great army was divided by *Moſes* into four groſs and mighty battalions, each of which contained the ſtrength of three whole tribes.

[a] 2 Chron. 30. 18, 19. [b] Iſaiah 9. [c] Cap. 5. 3.

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The first of these containing 186400 able men, consisted of three regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called armies; as containing the three whole tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the tribe of *Judah* were 74600 fighting men, led by *Naasson*: in *Issachar* 54400 led by *Nethaneel*: in *Zabulon* 57400 led by *Eliab*. All these marched under the standard of the tribe of *Judah*, who held the van-guard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incamping on the east-side of the army; which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second battalion, or army, called in the scriptures the host of *Reuben*, had joined unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151,450. All which marched under the standard of *Reuben*. In the tribe of *Reuben* were 46500 under *Elizur*: in *Simeon* 59300 under *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650 under *Eliasah*. These had the second place, and incamped on the south-side of the tabernable.

The third army marched under the standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joined the regiments of *Manasseh* and *Benjamin*; who joined together, made in number 108100 able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the west quarter of the tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500 under *Elishama*: *Manasseh* 32200 under *Gamaliel*: *Benjamin* 35400 under *Abidam*.

The fourth and last army, or squadron, of the general army, containing 157600 able men, marched under the standard of *Dan*; to whom were joined the two tribes of *Nephtali* and *Asher*. And these had the rere-ward, and moved last, incamping on the north-side. *Dan* had 62700 under *Ahiezer*: *Asher* 41500 under *Pagiel*: *Nephtali* 53400 under *Ahira*.

Besides these princes of the several tribes, there were ordained captains over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against *Moses*, *Numbers* xvi. 1, 2. For there arose up against *Moses* 250 captains of the *Assembly, famous in the congregation, and men of renown*: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal mutineers, with those 250 captains that followed them, were not any of the twelve princes of the tribes, or general colonels before spoken of, as by their names *Numb.* i. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not only in the division of the land of *Promise*, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in sorting them under their several standards in the wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedency and the greatest army, which also was wholly compounded of the sons of *Leah*, *Jacob*'s wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had undergone his father's curse; and with *Gad*, the son of his mother's hand-maid. *Joseph*, who in temporal blessings had the prerogative of the first-born a double portion, was accounted as two tribes, and divided into two regiments: the younger (according to *Jacob*'s prophecy) taking place before the elder. He was assisted by *Benjamin*, his best beloved brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacob*'s concubines, was given the leading of the fourth army, according to *Jacob*'s prophecy. He had with him under his standard none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but only the sons of the hand-maids.

In the middle of these four armies, was the tabernacle, or portable temple of the congregation carried, surrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the heathens and pagans could not approach, by reason of these four powerful armies, which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the movable temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000 persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which 8580 had the peculiar charge, according to their several offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the armies of the people observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Levites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the tabernacle; the *Gershonites* on the west, within the army and standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Eliasaph* commanded, in number 7500. The family of *Cohath* on the south side, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the army of *Reuben*, and between him and the tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200, and these were lodged on the north side within the army of *Dan*; on the east side, and next within those tribes and forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate commanders, both of the ceremonies, and of the people; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* families, was *Eleazar* the son of *Aaron*, his successor in the high-priesthood.

This was the order of the army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching: the tabernacle of God being always set in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care, which *Moses* the prophet and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the tabernacle, ark and sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal borne towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying up and preserving the holy vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this superfine age, by *those of the family*, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of churches into barns, and from thence again into the fields and mountains, and under the hedges; and the offices of the ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all order, discipline, and church-government, left to newness of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soon after, as many kinds of religions would spring up, as there are parish-churches within *England*: every contentious and ignorant person cloathing his fancy with *the spirit of God*, and his imagination with *the gift of Revelation*; insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that persuaded him to become a *Lutheran*,

Si

Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis; si me aliis adjungo, a vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, ſed quid ſequar non habeo; If I adjoin my ſelf to you, I am condemned by others; if I join with others, I am condemned by you; what I ſhould avoid I ſee, but I know not what I ſhould follow.

SECT. II.

The offerings of the twelve princes: the paſſover of the ſecond year: the departing of Jethro.

NOW when *Moſes* had taken order for all things neceſſary, provided for the ſervice of God, written the laws, numbred his army, and divided them into the battles and troops before remembred, and appointed them leaders of all ſorts: the twelve princes or commanders of the tribes, brought their [a] offerings before the Lord, to wit, ſix covered chariots, and twelve oxen to draw them, therein to tranſport, as they marched, the parts of the tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the ſanctuary excepted; which for reverence was carried upon the ſhoulders of the ſons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the chariots in which were conveyed the other parts of the tabernacle and veſſels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that ſervice, namely to the ſons of *Gerſhan* and *Merari*.

Beſides theſe chariots, each of theſe commanders, princes, or heads of tribes, offered unto God, and for his ſervice in the temple, a charger of fine ſilver, weighing 130 [b] ſheckles: a ſilver bowl of 70 ſheckels: after the ſheckle of the ſanctuary: and an incenſe cup of gold of ten ſheckles; which they performed at the ſame time when the altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conqueſt: beſides the beaſts which they offered for ſacrifice, according to the law ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve ſilver chargers, and twelve ſilver bowls, amounted unto 2400 ſheckles of ſilver: and the weight of gold in the incenſe cups, to 120 ſheckles of gold: which makes of ſheckles of ſilver 1200, every ſheckle of gold valuing ten of ſilver; ſo that the whole of gold and ſilver which they offered at this time, was about 420 *l. Ster.* This done, *Moſes*, as in all the reſt by the ſpirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the paſſover: which they performed on the 14th day of the ſecond month of the ſecond year: and on the 20th day of the ſame the cloud was lifted up from above the tabernacle, as a ſign of going forward; *Moſes* beginning his march with this invocation to God, *Riſe up, Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee, fly before thee.* Then all the people of *Iſrael* removed from their encamping at the foot of the mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*; the army or great ſquadron of *Juda*, led by *Naaſon*, taking the vanguard, followed by *Nethaneel* and *Eliab*, leaders of the tribes of *Iſſachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the reſt marched as in the figure expreſs'd. And becauſe the paſſage thro' ſo many deſarts and mountains was exceeding difficult: *Moſes* leaving nothing unforethought which might ſerve for the advancement of his enterprize, he inſtantly entreated his father-in-law, whom in *Numbers* x. he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*: promiſing him ſuch part and profit of the enterprize, as God ſhould beſtow on them: for this man as he was of great underſtanding and judgment (as appeared by the counſel he gave to *Moſes* for the appointing of judges over the people) ſo was he a perfect guide in all thoſe parts, himſelf inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian*: and (as it ſeemeth) a man of great years and experience, for he was then the prieſt or prince of *Madian*, when *Moſes* fled firſt out of *Egypt*, and married his daughter: which was 42 years before this requeſt made. And tho' *Moſes* himſelf had lived forty years in theſe parts of *Arabia*, thro' which he was now to travel: yet the better to aſſure his paſſage, and ſo great a multitude of ſouls, which could not be ſo few as a million, it was neceſſary to uſe many guides and many conductors. To this requeſt of *Moſes* it may ſeem by the places, *Exod.* xviii. 27. and *Numb.* x. 30. that *Jethro*, otherwiſe called *Hobab*, yielded not: for it is evident, [c] that he went back from *Moſes* into his own country. But becauſe it appeareth by other places of ſcripture, that the poſterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Iſraelites*: it is moſt likely that this his return to his own country was rather to fetch away his family, and to take his leave of his own country, by ſetting things in order, than to abide there.

SECT. III.

The voyage from Horeb *to* Kades: *the mutinies by the way: and the cauſe of their returning back to the* Red *ſea.*

AFTER this diſmiſſion of *Hobab*, *Iſrael* began to march towards the deſarts of *Paran*: and after three days wandring, they ſat down at the ſepulchres of luſt, afterward called *Tabeera*, or *Incenſio*: by reaſon that God conſumed with fire thoſe mutineers and murmurers, which roſe up in this remove, which happened about the 23d day of the ſame month. And from this 23d day of the ſecond month, of the ſecond year, they reſted, and fed themſelves with quails (which it pleaſed God by a ſea-wind to caſt upon them) to the 24th day of the third month, to wit, all the month of *Sinan* or *June*; whereof ſurfeiting, their died great numbers: from whence in the following month, called *Thamus*, anſwering to our *July*, they went on to *Hazeroth*: where [d] *Miriam* the ſiſter of *Moſes* was ſtricken with the leproſy, which continued upon her ſeven days, after whoſe recovery *Iſrael* removed toward the border of *Idumea*: and encamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moſes* ſent the twelve diſcoverers into the territory of *Canaan*: both to inform themſelves of the fertility and ſtrength of the country: as alſo to take knowledge of the ways, paſſages, rivers, fords and mountains. For *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* ſurprized divers companies of the *Iſraelites*, by lying in ambuſh near thoſe ways, thro' which the diſcoverers and ſearchers of the land had formerly paſs'd. Now after the return of the diſcoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned againſt [e] *Iſrael*; whoſe ingratitude and rebellion after his ſo many benefits, ſo many remiſſions, ſo many miracles wrought, was ſuch, as they eſteemed their deliverance from the [f] *Egyptian* ſlavery, his feeding them, and conducting them thro' that great and terrible wilderneſs (for ſo *Moſes* calleth it) with the [g] victory

[a] Numb. 7. [b] *The* Hebrew *gerah weigheth ſixteen grains: ſo a gerah of ſilver is about three half pence* Sterling: *the ſheckle of the ſanctuary (as it is expounded* Exod. 30. 13.) *containeth* 20 *gerahs, ſo a ſanctuary ſheckle of ſilver is about ſeven groats: the common ſheckle is but half ſo much, to wit, ten gerahs, as it is uſually expounded; tho'* Villalpandus *labours to prove that the common and the ſanctuary ſheckle were all one.* Numb. 9. 5. Numb. 10. 11. Exod. xl. 34. Numb. 9. 17. [c] Judg. 1. 16. *and* 4. 11. *Alſo* 1 Sam. 15. 6. *and* 2 Reg. 10. 15. 1 Chron. 2. 55. Jer. 35. [d] Numb. 11. 12 *and* 13. [e] Numb. 21. [f] Deut. 1. 19. [g] Deut. 1. 27.

which

which he gave them againſt the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on and preſerved them, but to bring them, their wives and children to be ſlaughtered, and given for a prey and ſpoil to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported unto them, by the ſearchers of the land, that the cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many ſtrong towers and caſtles: that many of the people were giant-like (for they confeſs'd that they ſaw the ſons of *Anak* there) who were men of fearful ſtature, and ſo far over-topped the *Iſraelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themſelves, but as graſhoppers in their reſpect. Now as this mutiny exceeded all the reſt, wherein they both accuſed God, and conſulted to chuſe them a captain (or as they call it now-a-days an *Electo*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*: ſo did God puniſh the ſame in a greater meaſure, than any of the former. For he extinguiſhed every ſoul of the whole multitude (*Joſhua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in God's promiſes, perſuaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then near it, and at the mountain foot of *Idumea*, which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof, and aſſuring them of victory. But as men, whom the paſſion of fear had bereaved both of reaſon and common ſenſe: [a] they threatned to ſtone theſe encouragers to death, accounting them as men either deſperate in themſelves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God reſiſted theſe wicked purpoſes, and interpoſing the fear of his bright glory between the unadviſed fury of the multitude, and the innocency and conſtancy of his ſervants, preſerved them thereby from their violence: threatning an entire deſtruction of the whole nation, by ſending among them a [b] conſuming and mercileſs peſtilence. For this was the tenth inſurrection and rebellion which they had made, ſince God delivered them from the ſlavery of the *Egyptians*. But [c] *Moſes* (the mildeſt or meekeſt of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies: alledging that this ſo ſevere a judgment, how deſervedly ſoever inflicted, would increaſe the pride of the heathen nations: and give them occaſion to vaunt that the God of *Iſrael* failing in power to perform his promiſes, ſuffered them to periſh in theſe barren and fruitleſs deſarts. Yet as God is no leſs juſt than merciful, as God is ſlow to anger, ſo is his wrath a conſuming fire, the ſame being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand leſs heavy than hoped for, he ſcourged this iniquity, ſo by the meaſure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and deriſion) he ſuffered not the wicked to paſs unpuniſhed; reſerving his compaſſion for the innocent; whom, becauſe they participated not with the offences of their fathers, he was pleaſed to preſerve, and in them to perform his promiſes, which have never been fruſtrate.

SECT. IV.

Of their unwillingneſs to return; with the puniſhment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOW when *Moſes* had revealed the purpoſes of God to the people: and made them know his heavy diſpleaſure towards them: they began to bewail themſelves, tho' over-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, having alſo their appointment. And then when God left them to themſelves, and was no more among them, after they had ſo often play'd and dallied with his merciful ſufferings; they would needs amend their former diſobedience by a ſecond contempt, and make offer to enter the land contrary again to the advice of *Moſes*; who aſſured them, that God was not now among them: and that the ark of his covenant ſhould not move, but by his direction, who could not err: and that the enemies ſword, which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no leſs ſharp than death: and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no leſs cruel. But as men, from whom God hath withdrawn his grace, do always follow thoſe counſels which carry them to their own deſtructions: ſo the *Hebrews*, after they had forſaken the opportunity by God and their conductors offered, and might then have entred *Judea* before their enemies were prepared and joined; did afterwards, contrary to God's commandment, undertake the enterprize of themſelves, and ran headlong and without advice into the mountains of *Idumea*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joined and attending their advantage, ſet on them, brake them, and of their numbers ſlaughtered the greateſt part: and following their victory and purſuit, conſumed them all the way of their flight even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites*, in revenge of their former loſs, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their diſplantation and deſtruction threatned. Of which powerful aſſembly of thoſe two nations (aſſiſted in all likelihood with the neighbour kings joined together for their common ſafety) it pleaſed God to forewarn *Moſes*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by thoſe painful paſſages of the deſarts, thro' which they had formerly travelled, till they had found the banks of the *Red* ſea again: in which retreat, before they came back to paſs over *Jordan*, there were conſumed 38 years: and the whole number of the ſix hundredth and odd thouſand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moſes*, *Joſhua* and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the wilderneſs, the ſtubborn and careleſs generations were wholly worn out, and the promis'd land beſtow'd on their children: which were increaſed to 600000, and more. For beſides the double fault both of refuſing to enter the land upon the return of the diſcoverers, and the preſumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it ſeemeth that they had committed that horrible idolatry of worſhipping *Molech*, and the hoſt of heaven. For altho' *Moſes* doth not mention it, yet [d] *Amos* doth, and ſo doth the martyr *Stephen*; as alſo that the *Iſraelites* worſhipped the ſun and moon in after-times it is proved out of ſundry other places.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the camp at *Kades*, *Moſes*, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the ſouth from whence he came, to recover the ſhores of the *Red* ſea. And ſo from *Kades* or *Rithma* he removed to *Remmonparez*, ſo called of abundance of pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the frankincenſe there found. From [e] *Libnah* he croſs'd the valley, and ſat down at *Reſſa* near the foot of the mountain. And after he had reſted there, he bended towards the weſt, and encamped at *Ceelata*: where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was ſtoned to death. After which, *Moſes* always keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountains (thoſe which bound the deſart of *Zin*, and thoſe of *Pharan*) croſs'd the ſame from

[a] Numb. 14. 10. [b] Numb. 14. 12. [c] Numb. 12. 3. [d] Amos 5. 25. Acts 7. 42. 2 Kings 17. 16. *and* 21. 3. *and* 23. 4, 5, 11. 2 Chron. 33. 3. Jerem. 19. 13, &c. [e] Numb. 33. 21.

Ceelata, and marched eaſtward to the mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the twentieth manſion. From thence he paſſed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahah*; and ſo to *Thara* or *Thare*, the four and twentieth manſion. Where, while *Moſes* reſted, the people began that inſolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*: who, for their contempt of God and his miniſters, were ſome of them ſwallowed up alive, and by the earth opening her mouth devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered incenſe with *Korah*, were conſumed with fire from heaven; and 14700 of their party, which murmured againſt *Moſes*, ſtricken dead with a ſudden peſtilence: one of the greateſt marvels and judgments of God, that hath been ſhewed in all the time of *Moſes*'s government, or before. For among ſo great a multitude, thoſe lay-men, who would have uſurped eccleſiaſtical authority, were ſuddenly ſwallowed up alive into the earth with their families and goods; even while they ſought to overthrow the order, diſcipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliouſly contending againſt the high prieſt and magiſtrate, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church and commonweal of his people. And the better to aſſure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleaſed him in this place alſo to approve by miracle the former election of his ſervant *Aaron*, by the twelve rods given in by the heads of the twelve tribes; of which *Moſes* received one of every head and prince of his tribe: which being all withered and dry wands, and on every rod the name of the prince of the tribe written, and *Aaron*'s on that of *Levi*; it pleaſed God, that the rod of *Aaron* received by his power a vegetable ſpirit, and having lain in the tabernacle of the congregation before the ark one night, had on it both buds, bloſſoms, and ripe almonds.

From *Tharah* the whole army removed to *Methra*, and thence to *Eſmona*, and thence to *Moſeroth*, (or *Maſurit* after St. *Jerome*) and from *Moſeroth* to *Benejacon*: and ſo to *Gadgad*, which *Jerome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth manſion; where from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a river, which falleth into the *Red* ſea, between *Madian* and *Ezion-gaber*.

Now altho' it be very probable, that at *Ezion-gaber*, where *Solomon* furniſhed his fleets for the *Eaſt-Indies*, there was ſtore of freſh water; and tho' *Herodotus*, *l.* 3. maketh mention of a great river in *Arabia* the ſtony, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence, ſaith he, the inhabitants convey water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the king of *Arabia* relieved the army of *Cambyſes*: yet is *Andrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding theſe ſprings at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*; being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth manſion. For it was at *Punon*, that thoſe ſprings are ſpoken of, which in *Deut.* x. 7. is alſo called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a land of running waters, and which by probability fall into the river *Zared*, the next adjoining. And that theſe ſprings ſhould fall into the *Red* ſea at *Ezion-gaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers torrents of freſh water in thoſe ſandy parts of *Arabia*: which tho' they continue their courſe for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirſty ſand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red* ſea.

From *Jetabata*, *Moſes* directed his journey towards the *Red* ſea, and encamped at *Hebrona*; and from thence to *Ezion-gaber*: which city in *Joſephus*'s time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Jerome*'s, *Eſſia*. From thence keeping the ſea and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the north, as he was by God commanded: [a]*Ezion-gaber* being the fartheſt place towards the ſouth-eaſt that *Moſes* travelled in that paſſage.

It ſeemeth that *Ezion-gaber*, or *Azion-gaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in poſſeſſion of the kings of *Edom*. For it is ſaid, [b] *That the Lord ſpake unto Moſes and Aaron in the mount Hor, near the coaſt of the land of Edom*; ſo as the mount *Hor* was at that time on the border of *Idumea*. And if *Ezion-gaber*, and the other places near the *Red* ſea, had at this time been ſubject to the *Idumeans*, *Moſes* would have alſo demanded a free paſſage thro' them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumeans* obtained theſe places: for it is ſaid, [c] *And they aroſe out of Midian, and came to Paran, and took men with them*; which were thoſe companies that followed young *Hadad* of *Idumea* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewiſe it is ſaid of *Solomon*, that he made a navy of ſhips in *Ezion-gaber* beſides *Eloth*, in the land of *Edom*.

SECT. V.

Of Moſes's *arrival at* Zin Kades: *and of the accidents while they abode there.*

FROM *Ezion-gaber* he turned again towards the north, and pitched in the wilderneſs of *Zin*, which is *Kadeſh*: or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they ſat down in the firſt month of the fortieth year after they left *Egypt*. For at the next manſion *Aaron* died in the firſt day of the fifth month of the fortieth year: the nine and thirtieth year taking end at *Ezion-gaber*. And at this city of *Kades* (for ſo it was thought to be) or near it, died [d]*Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moſes*'s ſiſter, whoſe ſepulchre was to be ſeen in St. *Jerome*'s time, as himſelf avoweth. From hence, ere they departed to mountain *Hor*, [e] all the people murmured moſt violently againſt *Moſes*, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of water. For neither the puniſhments by fire from heaven; by being devoured and ſwallowed up by the earth; by the ſudden peſtilence which often ſeiſed them; nor any miracle formerly ſhewing either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this nation any longer, than while they were full fed and ſatisfied in every of their appetites: but inſtead of ſeeking for help and relief at God's hands, when they ſuffered hunger, and thirſt, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed eſtates, and caſting ungratefully on *Moſes* all their miſadventures; yea, tho' they well knew, that their own fathers had left their bodies in the deſarts, and that they were now entered into the fortieth year, wherein all their miſeries were to take end. And being, as it were, in ſight of the land promiſed, they again as obſtinately tempted God as in former times, and neither truſted his promiſes, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purpoſes of God are without beginning; ſo his mercies being without end, he commanded [f] *Moſes* to ſtrike a rock adjoining with his rod; and the waters iſſued out in a great abundance, with which both themſelves and their cattle were ſatisfied. Nevertheleſs, becauſe God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moſes* and *Aaron*, at this place: therefore he permitted

[a] Deut. 2. [b] Numb. 20. 12. [c] 1 Kings 11. 18. [d] Numb. 20. 1. [e] Numb. 20. 3. [f] Numb. 20. 9.

mitted neither of them to enter the land promiſed; whereto perchance their worldly deſires might invite them. But it pleaſed him to end the travels of *Aaron* at the mountain *Hor*, being the next, and 34th ſtation. At which mountain of *Hor*, *Aaron* was deſpoiled of the garments of his prieſthood, and the ſame put on *Eleazar* his ſon, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moſes* and *Eleazar* deſcended the mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more ſeen.

Of this mountain called *Hor*, otherwiſe *Moſera*, as in *Deut.* x. 6. thoſe *Horites* took name, which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquiſhed. Some there are which make *Moſera*, which was the 27th manſion, and *Moſera* which they write *Moſeroth* for difference, which was the 34th manſion, and is alſo called *Hor*, to be two diſtinct places: becauſe *Moſes*, in paſſing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Eſion-gaber*, incamped at *Moſera*, after he departed from *Heſmona*, and before he came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Moſera*, which is alſo called *Hor*, he came unto after he left *Cades*, where [c] *Miriam*, *Moſes*'s ſiſter died; the firſt being the 27th, and the ſecond being the 34th manſion. But for *Hor*, which is called *Moſera*, it ſhould have been written, *Hor juxta Moſera*, *Hor* near *Moſera*; for it is but one root of a mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: whereof the weſt part *Moſes* calleth *Moſera*, and the eaſt part *Horeb*. By the weſt part *Moſes* incamped, as he paſs'd towards the *Red* ſea, on his left hand; by the eaſt part, as he went back again northwards towards *Moab*: as in the deſcription of *Moſes*'s paſſage thro' *Arabia*, the reader may perceive.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, becauſe *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to the prince of *Idumea*, praying him that he might paſs with the people of *Iſrael* thro' his territory into the land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neareſt way of all other from the city of *Kadeſh*, where *Moſes* then incamped; whereas otherwiſe taking his journey by the rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the paſſage of thoſe rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful kings, which commanded in thoſe regions. Now the better to perſuade the prince of *Idumea* hereunto, *Moſes* remembred him, that he was of the ſame race and family with *Iſrael*: calling him by the name of brother, becauſe both the *Edomites* and *Iſraelites* were the ſons of one father, to wit, *Iſaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reaſon to favour and reſpect them, than he had to aſſiſt the *Canaanites*; againſt whom *Eſau* his anceſtor had made war, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races deſcended of *Cham*) out of the region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name *Edom*, or *Idumea*. He alſo making a ſhort repetition of God's bleſſings beſtowed on them, and of his purpoſes and promiſes, aſſured *Edom*, or the king thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or waſte his country; but that he would reſtrain his army within the bounds of the common and king's highways, paying money for whatſoever he uſed, yea, even for the water, which themſelves or their cattle ſhould drink. For [b] *Moſes* was commanded by God not to provoke the children of *Eſau*. But the king of *Edumea* knowing the ſtrength of his own country, the ſame being near *Canaan*, rampard with high and ſharp mountains: and withal ſuſpecting, as a natural wiſe man, that 600000 ſtrangers being once entred his country, it would reſt in their wills to give him law, reſolvedly [c] refuſed them paſſage, and delivered this anſwer to the meſſengers: That, [d] if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and reſiſt them by all poſſible means. And not knowing whether ſuch a denial might ſatisfy or exaſperate, he gathered the ſtrength of his country together, and ſhewed himſelf prepared to defend their paſſage. For it is written: *Then Edom came out againſt him* (to wit, *Moſes*) *with much people, and with a mighty power*. Whereupon *Moſes* conſidering, that the end of this enterpriſe was not the conqueſt of *Seir* or *Edumea*, and that the land promiſed was that of *Canaan:* like unto himſelf, who was of a natural underſtanding the greateſt of any man, and the skilfulleſt man of war that the world had, he refuſed to adventure the army of *Iſrael* againſt a nation, which, being overcome, gave but a paſſage to invade others; and which by reaſon of the ſeat of their mountainous country, could not but have endangered, or (at leaſt) greatly enfeebled the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, and rendred them leſs able, if not altogether powerleſs, to have conquered the reſt.

SECT. VI.

Of their compaſſing Idumea *and travelling to* Arnon, *the border of* Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumea*, turned himſelf towards the eaſt, and marched towards the deſarts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* underſtood, and that *Moſes* had blanched the way of *Edumea*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom* which *Iſrael* aimed at, he thought it ſafeſt, rather to find his enemies in his neighbour's country, than to be found by them in his own: which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had *Moſes* been inforc'd firſt to have made his way by the ſword thro' *Idumea*, and thereby, tho' victorious, greatly have leſſened his numbers. But altho' it fell out otherwiſe than *Arad* hoped for, yet being reſolved to make trial what courage the *Iſraelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his own home, leading the ſtrength of his nation to the edge of the deſart, he ſet upon ſome part of the army; which, for the multitude, occupied a great ſpace, and for the many herds of cattle that they drave with them, could not incamp ſo near together, but that ſome quarter or other was evermore ſubject to ſurpriſe. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he ſlew ſome few of the *Iſraelites*, and carried with him many priſoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his predeceſſor, which joined his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an [e] overthrow to thoſe mutinous *Iſraelites*, which without direction from God by *Moſes* would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it ſeemeth that the greateſt number of that army were of the *Canaanites*, becauſe in the firſt of *Deut.* 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are ſaid to have beaten the *Iſraelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the ſame that had a victory over *Iſrael* near *Cadesbarne*, or if it were his predeceſſor that then prevailed, this man finding that *Moſes* was returned from the *Red* ſea, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the ſouth part of *Canaan* was firſt to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moſes*'s purpoſe to compaſs *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the deſart to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the 3d verſe of the xiith chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Iſraelites* utterly deſtroy'd

[a] Numb. 33. [b] Deut. 2. 4. [c] Numb. 20. 20, 21. [d] Numb. 20. [e] Numb. 14. 45.

the

the *Canaanites* and their cities, they are much miſtaken that think, that this deſtruction was preſently performed by the *Iſraelites*. But it is to be underſtood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Joſhua*. For had *Moſes* at that time entred *Canaan* in the purſuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the deſarts of *Zin* and *Moad*, and have fetched a weariſome and needleſs compaſs, by the rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it ſelf, but that his territory lay without it, and near the mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the ſouth borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the ſouth of the land of [a] *Canaan* that *Arad* dwelt: which ſouth part of *Canaan* was the north part of *Edom*.

Again, *Horma* (for ſo far the *Iſraelites* after their victory purſued the *Canaanites*) is ſeated in the ſouth of *Judea*. There is alſo a city of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no ſuch place to the ſouth of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed preſently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the ſame was obtained in the future, and in *Joſhua*'s time, and not at the inſtant of *Arad*'s aſſault. For had the *Iſraelites* at this time ſack'd the cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great cities, there is alſo water and bread. But it was in the time of *Joſhua*, that the *Iſraelites* took their revenge, and after they had paſs'd *Jordan*: *Joſhua* then governing them; who in the xiith chapter and 14th verſe, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his city ſo called; and with him the king of *Horma*: to which place the *Iſraelites* purſued the *Canaanites*. And he nameth them amongſt thoſe kings, which he vanquiſhed and put to death.

Now after this aſſault and ſurpriſe by *Arad*, *Moſes* finding that all entrance on that ſide was defended, he led the people eaſtward to compaſs *Idumea* and the *Dead* ſea, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the plains of *Moab*, at that time in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*. But the *Iſraelites*, to whom the very name of a deſart was terrible, began again to rebel againſt their leader; till God by a multitude of fiery ſerpents (that is, by the biting of ſerpents, whoſe venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterwards, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial ſerpent, by his commandment ſet up.

From the mount *Hor*, *Moſes* leaving the ordinary way, which lieth between the *Red* ſea and *Coleſyria*, incamped at *Zalmora*: and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the brazen ſerpent; making theſe journies by the edge of *Edumea*, but without it. For *Phunon* was ſometime a principal city of the *Edomites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers* xxi. 4. *That from mount Hor, they departed by the way of the Red ſea, which grieved the people*, it was not thereby meant that the *Iſraelites* turned back towards the *Red* ſea; neither did they march (according to *Fonſeca*) *per viam, quæ habet a latere mare rubrum*, by the way that ſided the *Red* ſea; but indeed they croſs'd, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the countries of *Moab* to the *Red* ſea, that is, to *Eſion-gaber*; *Eloth* and *Midian*: which way, as it lay north and ſouth, ſo *Iſrael*, to ſhun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmoſt eaſt part of *Moab*, croſs'd the common way towards the eaſt, and then they turned again towards the north, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the territory of *Moab*, adjoining to the land of *Suph*, a country bordering on the *Dead* ſea; and from thence to *Abarim*, the 38th manſion, that is, where the mountains ſo called take beginning, and are as yet but ſmall moutains of hills, on the eaſt border of *Moab*; from whence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the river of *Zared*, which riſeth in the mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead* ſea, not far from *Petra* the metropolis thereof, being the 39th ſtation. And having paſs'd that river, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the cities of *Moab*; which *Jeremy* (chap. xlviii. ver. 22.) calleth the *Houſe of Diblathaim*, the ſame which afterwards was deſtroy'd among the reſt by *Nebuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the river of *Arnon*, and incamped in the mountains of *Abarim*: tho' in *Numbers* xxii. *Moſes* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but ſpeaketh of his remove from the river of *Zared*, immediately to the other ſide of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*: ſpeaking, as he found the ſtate of the country at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, king of the *Amorites*: even from the predeceſſor of *Balac-Peor* then reigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to *Sehon* king of the *Amorites*, to deſire a paſſage thro' his country: which tho' he knew would be denied him, yet he deſired to give a reaſon to the neighbour nations, of the war he undertook. And tho' *Edom* had refuſed him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moſes* alſo in ſending meſſengers to *Sehon* obſerved the ſame precept, which he left to his poſterity, and ſucceſſors, for a law of the war, namely in *Deut.* xx. 10. in theſe words, *When thou comeſt near unto a city to fight againſt it, thou ſhalt offer it peace, which if it do accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and ſerve thee; but if it refuſe*, &c. *thou ſhalt ſmite all the males thereof with the edge of the ſword.* Which ordinance all commanders of armies have obſerved to this day, or ought to have done.

SECT. VII.

Of the book of the battles of the Lord, mentioned in this ſtory, and of other books mentioned in ſcripture which are loſt.

NOW concerning the war between *Iſrael* and *Sehon*, *Moſes* ſeemeth to refer a great part of this ſtory to that book, entitled, [b] *Liber bellorum Domini*; The book of God's battles; and therefore paſſeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words after the *Geneva* tranſlation are theſe: *Wherefore it ſhall be ſpoken in the book of the battles of the Lord, what things he did in the Red ſea, and in the rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copy differeth not in ſenſe from this: but the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect, [c] *For thus it is ſaid in the book: the war of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of Arnon.* *Junius*, for the *Red* ſea, which is in the *Geneven*, and *Vulgar* edition, names the region of [d] *Suph*, a country bordering the *Dead* ſea towards the eaſt, as he conjectureth. The text he readeth thus. *Idcirco dici ſolet in recenſione bellorum Jehovæ, contra Vahebum in regione Suph: & contra flumina, fluminaque Arnonis*; Therefore it is ſpoken in repeating of the battles of *Jehovah*, againſt *Vaheb* in the country of *Suph*: and againſt the rivers, the rivers

[a] Numb. 33. 40. [b] Numb. 21. 14. [c] Numb. 21. 14. [d] *Of the Country of* Suph, *ſee more, chap.* 10. §. 4. †. 2. *and of the force of the word* Suph, *alſo chap.* 18. §. 3.

of

of *Arnon*. In which words he underſtands, that amongſt the wars which the Lord diſpoſed for the good of the [a] *Iſraelites*, there was in thoſe times a famous memory in the mouth of moſt men, concerning the war of *Sehon* againſt *Vaheb* the king of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the country near *Arnon*, out of the poſſeſſion of the *Moabites*. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate predeceſſor of *Balac*, who lived with *Moſes*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the ſon of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For it ſeems (as it is plain in the ſucceſſion of the [b] *Edomites*) that theſe kingdoms were elective and not ſucceſſive. And as *Junius* in this tranſlation underſtandeth no ſpecial book of the battles of the Lord: ſo others, as *Vatablus* in his annotations, doubt whether in this place any ſpecial book be meant; and if any; whether it be not a prediction of wars in future ages, to be waged in theſe places, and to be written in the book of *Judges*. *Siracides*, cap. xlvi. tells us plainly, that thoſe battles of the Lord were fought by *Joſhua*. *Who was there* (ſaith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battles of the Lord*. But ſeeing the hiſtories of the ſcripture elſewhere often paſs over matters of great weight in few words, referring the reader to other books, written of the ſame matter at large: therefore it ſeemeth probable, that ſuch a book as this there was; wherein the ſeveral victories by *Iſrael* obtained, and alſo victories of other kings, making way for the good of the *Iſraelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the ſame ſhould now be wanting, it is not ſtrange, ſeeing ſo many other volumes, filled with divine diſcourſe, have periſhed in the long race of time, or have been deſtroy'd by the ignorant and malicious heathen magiſtrate. For the books of *Henoch*, howſoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now ſuſpected, are remembred in an epiſtle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν; and by *Tertullian*.

That work alſo of the patriarch *Abraham*, *of formation*, which others beſtow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The books remembred by *Joſhua*, chap. x. ver. 13. and in the 2d of *Samuel*, chap. i. ver. 18. called the *Book of Jaſher*, or *Juſtorum*, is alſo loſt; wherein the ſtay of the ſun and moon in the midſt of the heavens is recorded, and how they ſtood ſtill, till *Iſrael* had avenged themſelves of their enemies: out of which alſo *David* took the precept of teaching the children of *Juda*, to exerciſe their bows againſt their enemies.

Some think this to be the book of eternal predeſtination, in which the juſt are written, according to *Pſalm* xlix. 28. where it is ſaid, *Let them be put out of the book of life, neither let them be written with the righteous*. [c] *Jerome* thinks, that *David* by this book underſtood thoſe of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Solomon*, that the books of the law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the juſt *Abraham*, of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moſes*, are written; others, that it was the book of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a commentary upon *Joſhua* by an unknown author.

The book of *Chozai*, concerning *Manaſſeh*, remembred in the 2d of *Chron.* xxxiii. 18, 19. Of this book, alſo loſt, [d] *Jerome* conceives that the prophet *Iſaiah* was the author.

The ſame miſchance came as well to the ſtory of *Solomon*, written by *Ahia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the kingdom of *Iſrael* from the ſon of *Solomon*: as to the books of *Nathan* the prophet, and to thoſe of *Jeedo* and *Seer*, remembred in the 2d of *Chron.* ix. 29. with theſe have the books of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the 2d of *Chron.* xii. 15. periſhed: and that of *Jehu* the ſon of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehoſaphat*, cited in the 2d of *Chron.* xx. 34. Alſo that book of *Solomon*, which the *Hebrews* write *Haſcirim*, of 5000 verſes, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* only remaineth, 1 *Kings* iv. 32. and with this divers others of *Solomon*'s works have periſhed, as his book of the natures of trees, plants, beaſts, fiſhes, *&c.* 1 *Kings* iv. 33. with the reſt remembred by *Origen*, *Joſephus*, *Jerome*, *Cedrenus*, *Ciccus Aſculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of theſe and other books many were conſumed with the ſame fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the temple of *Jeruſalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

SECT. VIII.

Of Moſes's *ſparing the iſſue of* Lot: *and of the giants of thoſe parts: and of* Sehon *and* Og.

WHEN *Moſes* had paſt *Arnon*, he incamped on the other ſide thereof at *Abarim*, oppoſite to the city of *Nebo*, leaving the city of *Midian* on his left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that ſide. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the ſouth ſide of *Arnon*, having loſt all his ancient and beſt territory, which was now in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For [e] *Moſes* was commanded by God not to moleſt *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battel, God having given that land to the children of *Lot*; the ſame which was anciently poſſeſs'd by the *Emims*, who were men of great ſtature, and comparable to thoſe giants called *Anakims*, or the ſons of *Anac*.

God alſo commanded *Moſes* to ſpare the *Ammonites*, becauſe they likewiſe were deſcended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence thoſe giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it ſeemeth that all that part, eſpecially to the eaſt of *Jordan*, even to the deſart of *Arabia*, as well on the weſt, as on the eaſt ſide of the mountains of *Gilead*, was inhabited by giants. And in the plantation of the land promiſed, the *Iſraelites* did not at any time paſs thoſe mountains to the eaſt of *Baſan*, but left their country to them, as in the deſcription following is made manifeſt. We find alſo, that as there were many giants both before and after the flood: ſo theſe nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the land it ſelf, had among them many families of giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which ſometimes was called the city of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in [f] *Joſhua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greateſt man of the *Anakims*. There had alſo been giants in the land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chief city was *Aroer* or *Ar*, near the river of *Arnon*. To the giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the ſame ancient *Canaanites*: and their chief city was *Rabba*, afterwards *Philadelphia*. They were alſo called *Zuzims*, which is as much to ſay, as *Viri robuſti, horrendique gigantes*; Strong men, and fearful giants, who inhabited other cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the ſame province, and not far to the north of *Aroer*.

Now *Moſes* having paſs'd *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) ſent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a paſſage through his country, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conqueſt up-

[a] Numb. 21. 26. [b] 1 Chron. 1. [c] Hieron. in quæſt. ſuper lib. Regum. [d] Hieron. in annot. in Paralip. [e] Deut. 2. 9, 10, 11, 12. [f] Joſ. 15. 13. c. 14. 15.

on *Vaheb* the *Moabite*, which nation the *Amorites* eſteemed but as ſtrangers and uſurpers (themſelves being of the ſons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refuſed to grant *Iſrael* any entrance that way; and withal prepared to encounter *Moſes* with as much ſpeed as he could, becauſe *Moſes* incamped in the country of his new conqueſts, to wit, the plains of *Moab*, the 42d and laſt manſion: which *Moſes* waſted with the multitude of his people and cattle. Towards him therefore haſting himſelf, they encountred each other at *Jahaz:* where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and diſcomfited: and the victory ſo purſued by *Moſes*, as few or none of the *Amorites* eſcaped. He alſo ſlaughtered all the women and children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Eſſebon*, and all the other cities, villages, or fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as thoſe of *Baſan* alſo were: and deſcended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus:* for [a] *Moſes* calleth the *Baſanites* alſo *Amorites*. And altho' *Iſrael* might now have taken a ready way and paſſage into *Judea*, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of *Jordan:* yet he knew it to be perilous to leave ſo great a part of that nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the region of *Baſan* or *Traconitis:* and therefore he led on his army to invade *Og*, a perſon of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature, and the only man of mark remaining of the ancient giants of thoſe parts, and who at that time had 60 cities walled and defenced: lying between the mountain of *Hermon* (which mountain, ſaith *Moſes*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir*) and the river of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the king of *Baſan* (who attended *Moſes*'s coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sihon:* for he and his ſons periſhed, and all his cities were taken and poſſeſſed. After this, *Moſes* withdrawing himſelf back again to the mountains of *Abarim*, left the proſecution of that war unto *Jair* the ſon of *Manaſſeh:* who conquering the eaſt parts of *Baſan*, to wit, the kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the nations of the *Geſſuri* and *Machati*, 60 walled cities: called the ſame after his own name *Havoth Jair:* of all which conqueſts afterwards the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* poſſeſs'd the north part as far as *Edrei*, but the eaſt part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the mountains of *Gilead* adjoining, was given to *Ruben* and unto *Gad*.

SECT. IX.

Of the troubles about the Midianites, *and of* Moſes's *death.*

AFter theſe victories, and while *Iſrael* ſojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Midianites* and *Moabites* (over both which nations it ſeemeth that *Balat* king of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) fought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their daughters, and by perſuading them to honour and ſerve their idols, to divide them both in love and religion among themſelves: thereby the better both to defend their own intereſt againſt them, as alſo to beat them out of *Moab*, and the countries adjoining. The *Iſraelites*, as they had ever been inclined, ſo were they now eaſily perſuaded to theſe evil courſes, and thereby drew on themſelves the plague of peſtilence, whereof there periſhed [b] 24000 perſons: beſides which puniſhment of God the moſt of the offenders among the *Hebrews*, were by his commandment put to the ſword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the ſon of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi*, a daughter of one of the chief of the *Midianites*, the plague ceaſed, and God's wrath was appeaſed. For ſuch was the love and kindneſs of his all-powerfulneſs, reſpecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in proſecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews* became an idolater) as he forgave the reſt of *Iſrael*, and ſtay'd his hand for his ſake.

In this valley it was that *Moſes* cauſed the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to bear arms [c] 601730, of which at his laſt enterpriſe, he appointed 12000 to be choſen out, to invade the cities of *Midian*, who, together with the *Moabites*, practiſed with *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael:* and after that ſought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worſhip of the true God, to the ſervice of *Beth-Peor:* and to the reſt of their barbarous idolatry. Over which companies of 12000 *Moſes* gave the charge to *Phineas*, the ſon of *Eleazar* the high prieſt: who ſlew the five princes of the [d] *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the vaſſals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by [e] *Joſhua*. Theſe five princes of the *Midianites* ſlain by *Eleazar*, were at that time but the vaſſals of [f] *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba* the dukes of *Sehon*, ſaith *Joſhua*. He ſlew alſo all the men, male-children, and women: ſaving ſuch as had not yet uſed the company of men, but thoſe they ſaved and diſpers'd them among the children of *Iſrael* to ſerve them.

And [g] *Moſes* having now lived 120 years, making both his own weakneſs of body known to the people, and his inability to travel: and alſo that he was forewarned of his end by the ſpirit of God: from whom he received a new commandment to aſcend the mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: he haſtned to ſettle the government in *Joſhua:* whom he perſuaded with moſt lively arguments to proſecute the conqueſt begun, aſſuring him of God's favour and aſſiſtance therein. And ſo having ſpent theſe his latter days after the conqueſt of *Og* and *Sehon*, kings of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and expoſition of the law (or an iteration of the law, according to [h] St. *Auguſtine*) uſing both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people: which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledge, love, fear, and ſervice, of the all-powerful God: he [i] bleſſed the twelve tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with ſeveral and moſt comfortable bleſſings: praiſing the greatneſs and goodneſs of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: he alſo commanded the prieſts to lay up the book of the law, by the ſide of the ark of God: the laſt that he indited was that prophetical ſong, beginning, [k] *Hearken ye heavens and I will ſpeak, and let the earth hear the words of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and ſorrows of this life, unto that reſt which never afterwards hath diſquiet, he was buried in the land of [l] *Moab*, over againſt *Beth-Peor:* but no man knoweth of his ſepulchre to this day, which happened in the year of the world 2554.

SECT. X.

Obſervations out of the ſtory of Moſes, *how God diſpoſeth both the ſmalleſt occaſions, and the greateſt reſiſtances, to the effecting of his purpoſe.*

NOW let us a little, for inſtruction, look back to the occaſions of ſundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this ſtory of the life of *Moſes*, for (excepting God's miracles, his promiſe, and fore-choice of this people) he

[a] Deut. 1. 8. [b] Numb. 25. 9. [c] Numb. 26. 51. [d] Numb. 31. 8. [e] Joſ. 13. 21. [f] Joſ. 13. 21. [g] Deut. 31. 2. [h] Aug. l. 4. de Mirab. ſacr. ſcrip. [i] Deut. 33. [k] Deut. 32. 1. [l] Deut. 34. 6.

wrought

wrought in all things elſe by the medium of mens affections, and natural appetites. And ſo we ſhall find, that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increaſe of the *Hebrews*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cauſe of the ſorrows and loſs, which befel himſelf, and the *Egyptian* nation: which numbers when he ſought, by cruel and ungodly policies, to cut off and leſſen, as when he commanded all the male children of the *Hebrews* to be ſlain, God (whoſe providence cannot be reſiſted, nor his purpoſes prevented by all the fooliſh and ſavage craft of mortal men) moved compaſſion in the heart of *Pharaoh*'s own daughter, to preſerve that child, which afterwards became the moſt wiſe, and of all men the moſt gentle and mild, the moſt excellently learned in all divine and human knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppreſſed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his nation; even then, when he ſought by the ſtrength of his men of war, of his horſe and chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the duſt. The grief which *Moſes* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own preſence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own nation, by threatning him to diſcover the ſlaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to fly into *Midian:* the contention between the ſhepherds of that place, and *Jethro*'s daughters, made him known to their father: who not only entertained him, but married him to one of thoſe ſiſters: and, in that ſolitary life of keeping of his father-in-law's ſheep, far from the preſs of the world, contenting himſelf (tho' bred as a king's ſon) with the lot of a poor herdſman, God found him out in that deſart, wherein he firſt ſuffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and paſſages thro' which he purpoſed that he ſhould conduct his people toward the land promiſed: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleaſure for his return into *Egypt*. The like may be ſaid of all things elſe, which *Moſes* afterwards by God's direction performed in the ſtory of *Iſrael* before remembred. There is not therefore the ſmalleſt accident, which may ſeem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no conſequence: but that the ſame is cauſed by God to effect ſomewhat elſe by; yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greateſt worldly importance, either preſently, or in many years after, when the occaſions are either not conſidered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the nations with whom the Iſraelites *had dealing after their coming out of* Egypt; *and of the men of renown in other nations, about the times of* Moſes *and* Joſhua, *with the ſum of the hiſtory of* Joſhua.

SECT. I.

How the nations, with whom the Iſraelites *were to have war, were divers ways, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.*

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the nations, with whom the *Iſraelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to do, either in the wilderneſs, or afterwards: we ſhall find them long before-hand, by the diſpoſing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in reſpect that they were moſt of them of the iſſue of *Canaan*, or at leaſt of *Ham:* and the reſt (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Iſmaelites*) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the *Iſraelites* ſtill continued ſtrangers, and ſeparate from them: and ſo partly in this reſpect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reaſon of diverſity in religion, were theſe nations, as it were, prepared to be enemies to the *Iſraelites*, and ſo to ſerve for ſuch purpoſes as God had reſerved them for. To make theſe things more manifeſt, we muſt underſtand, that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the north, by the ſame mountains continued as far as the ſprings of *Arnon* on the eaſt: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red* ſea on the ſouth, and by the *Mediterranean* ſea on the weſt: was inhabited and peopled by two nations, the one ſpringing from the ſons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem:* but thoſe of *Sem*, were but as ſtrangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with [a] one family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greateſt part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient lords and poſſeſſors of thoſe territories, by proceſs of time divided into ſeveral families and names: whereof ſome of them were of eminent ſtature and ſtrength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. Theſe (as men moſt valiant and able commonly do) did inhabit the utter borders and mountains of their countries: the reſt were the *Zidonians*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hetites*, and others, who took name after the ſons of *Canaan*, and after whom the country in general was ſtill called.

As for the *Hebrews* which deſcended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another family, and ſtrangers in that country: eſpecially the *Iſraelites*, and this was ſome cauſe why the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or endure them: no more than the *Philiſtines* did, who deſcended alſo of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For tho' *Abraham* himſelf being a ſtranger was highly eſteemed and honoured among them, eſpecially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the weſt part of *Jordan:* yet now even they which deſcended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in thoſe parts, were alienated in affections from the *Iſraelites:* as holding them ſtrangers and intruders: [b] making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the reſt of the iſſue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity: than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that theſe nations deſcended of [c] *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themſelves and matched with the *Canaanites* and others, had ſo far poſſeſſed themſelves of the borders of thoſe regions, as they began to be equal in ſtrength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not ſuperiour. For of *Lot* came thoſe two great families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites:* of *Eſau* the *Idumeans:* of *Madian* the *Madianites:* of *Iſmael*, the eldeſt ſon of *Abraham*, came the *Iſmaelites*, with whom are joined, as of the ſame nation, the *Amalekites*, whom tho' the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of *Edom*, becauſe *Eſau* had a grandchild of that name, yet manifeſt reaſon convinceth it to have been otherwiſe. For the *Iſraelites* were forbidden to provoke the [d] *Edomites*, or do them any wrong, whereas contrariwiſe *Amalek* was curſed, and endleſs war decreed againſt him: but hereof more elſewhere, *Chap.* viii. *Sect.* iii. Of

[a] *It alſo ſeemeth that* Hus, *the ſon of* Nachor, *and* Buz *his brother, planted themſelves in the eaſt-ſide of* Jordan *about* Baſan: *where they find the land of* Hus: *in which both* Job *dwelt, as one of the iſſue of* Hus *the ſon of* Nachor, *and* Elihu *his friend, which is called a* Buzite. *See hereafter, Chap.* 10. *Sect.* 7. [b] Exod. 17. 16. [c] Deut. 11. 5. [d] Deut. 11. 5.

[a] *Iſmael's*

[a] *Iſmael*'s eldeſt ſon, *Naboth*, ſprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathæi*. Now even as *Abraham* beſought God to bleſs *Iſmael*, ſo it pleaſed him both to [b] promiſe and perform it. For of him thoſe twelve princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that tract of land between *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, and *Sur*, which is the weſt part of the deſart of *Arabia Petræa*. Yet howſoever the ſtrength of theſe later named nations, which deſcended from *Abraham*, were great yet it is not unlikely but that ſome reaſon which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*, was in reſpect of fear: becauſe all princes and ſtates do not willingly permit any ſtranger or powerful nation to enter their territories. Wherefore, tho' all theſe families before named, were not ſo united, in and among themſelves, but that they had their jealouſies of each other, and contended for dominion; yet fearing a third more ſtrong than themſelves, whether they ſtood a-part, or united, they were taught by the care of their own preſervation, to join themſelves together againſt *Iſrael*; tho' they did it nothing ſo maliciouſly and reſolvedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Idumeans* only denied the *Hebrews* a paſſage: which the *Moabites* durſt not deny: becauſe their country lay more open; and becauſe themſelves had lately been beaten out of the richeſt part of their dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites* their country lay altogether out of the way, and the ſtrength of *Sehon* and *Og*, kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and beſides that, the [c] border of the *Ammonites* was ſtrong by reaſon of the mountains which divided it from *Baſan*. Again, that which moved the *Moabites* in their own reaſon not much to interrupt *Iſrael*, in the conqueſt of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate: was, that the *Moabites* might hope after ſuch time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moſes*, that themſelves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the valleys and plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: but as ſoon as *Sehon* was ſlain, and that the king of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moſes* allotted that valley to the tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practiſe with *Balaam* againſt *Iſrael*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforeſaid, to allure them to idolatry. And thus at length the *Moabites* by ſpecial occaſion were more and more ſtirred up to enmities againſt *Iſrael*. And as for divers of the reſt that were deſcended from *Abraham*'s kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the authors of their pedigrees, God permitted ſome enmity to be as it were preſages of future quarrels, which in the poſterity might be the eaſier incenſed by the memory of old grudges: and withal by ſome diſdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Iſhmaelites* being deſcended from the eldeſt ſon of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldeſt ſon of *Iſaac*, *Jacob* being but a ſecond ſon of a ſecond brother, thoſe princes which were deſcended of the elder houſes, being natural men, might ſcorn to give place, much leſs to ſubject themſelves to their inferiours, as they took it; and for a more aggravation, the iſſues of *Eſau*, princes of *Idumea*, might keep in record, [d] that their parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Jacob*'s taking his advantage, and that he was [e] deceived of his father's bleſſing alſo by him; and that [f] *Jacob* after reconciliation came not unto him, as he promiſed, unto *Seir*, or *Idumea*.

So alſo in the poſterity of *Iſhmael*, it might remain as a ſeed, or pretence of enmity, that their forefather was by the inſtigation of *Sarah* caſt out into the deſart, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein periſhed, but that it pleaſed God by his angel to relieve them. *Iſhmael* alſo had an *Egyptian* both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalek* was alſo an *Horite* by his mother; which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Idumeans* alſo, or *Edomites*, were by their maternal line deſcended of the *Canaanites*. For [g] *Eſau* took two wives of that nation: one of them was *Adah* the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*, and the other *Aholibamah* the grand-child of *Zibeon* the *Hevite*, lord of *Seir*, before the ſame was conquered by *Eſau*, and called after his name *Edom*, or *Edumea*.

Laſtly, It appears that all thoſe families of the *Iſhmaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in proceſs of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledge and worſhip of God, and became idolaters, infected and ſeduced by the converſation of thoſe people among whom they dwelt, and by thoſe wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: only a few of the *Kenites*, and thoſe *Midianites* which inhabited on the edge of the *Red* ſea, whereof *Jethro* was prieſt, or prince, or both, worſhipped the true and everliving God.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of the Canaanites *and* Midianites, *mentioned in the ancient wars of the* Iſraelites.

OF the kings of the *Canaanites*, deſcended of *Cham* for (*Melchizedeck* may be thought to be of a better pedigree) we find four named by *Moſes*, and thirty one remembred by *Joſhua*, tho' few of theſe named, otherwiſe than by theſe cities over which they commanded; to which each of them had a ſmall territory adjoining, and no other dominion. Theſe *Canaanites* in a general conſideration are to be underſtood for all thoſe nations deſcended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Gergeſites*, *Hevites*, &c. and ſo here we underſtand this name in ſpeaking of the kings of the *Canaanites*: and ſo alſo we call the country of their habitation, the holy land, or the land of promiſe: for God hath appointed that the ſeven principal families ſhould be rooted out: and that his own people ſhould inherit their lands and cities. But if we conſider of the name and nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan* on the eaſt, and by the *Mediterranean* ſea on the weſt: in which narrow country, and in the choiceſt places thereof, thoſe *Canaanites* which held their paternal name, chiefly inhabited.

The firſt kings of theſe nations, named in the ſcriptures, was [h] *Hamor*, or *Hemer*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simeon* and *Levi* ſlew, together with his ſon *Sichem*, in revenge of their ſiſter's raviſhment.

Arad was the ſecond king which the ſcriptures have remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the ſouth, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead ſea; the ſame which ſurprized *Iſrael*, as they encamped in the [i] *wilderneſs* in the edge of *Idumea*.

The third named, was *Sehon* king of *Eſſebon*, who before *Moſes*'s arrival had beaten the *Moabites* out of the weſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, or *Nabathea*, and thruſt them over [k] *Arnon* into the deſarts, the ſame whom *Moſes* overthrew in the plains of *Moab*; at which time he took *Eſſebon*, and all the cities of the *Amorites*.

Preſently after which victory, [l] *Og* was alſo ſlain by *Iſrael*, who commanded the north part of that valley between the mountains *Traconi*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was alſo a king of the [m] *Amorites*.

[a] Exod. 17. 16. [b] Gen. 17. [c] Numb. 21. 24. [d] Gen. 25. [e] Gen. 27. [f] Gen. 33. 14. [g] Gen. 36. [h] Gen. 34. [i] Numb. 21. 1. [k] Numb. 21. 24. [l] Joſh. 9. Joſeph. Ant. lib. 4. c. 5. [m] Numb. 21. 35.

The

The fifth was *Adonizedek*, king of the *Jebuſites*, and of *Jeruſalem*, with whom *Joſhua* nameth four other kings.

Hoham king of *Hebron.*
Piram king of *Jarmuth.*
Japia king of *Lachis*, and
Deber king of *Eglon*; who were all [a] *Amorites*, overthrown in battle, and hanged by *Joſhua*. After this overthrow, *Joſhua* nameth *Jabin* king of *Hazor*, and
Jobab king of *Madon*; whom he alſo ſlaughtered, and took his cities: and this *Jabin* ſeemed to have ſome dominion over the reſt, for it is ſaid in the text, [b] *For Hazor before time was the head of all thoſe kingdoms.*

After theſe *Adonibezek* that notorious tyrant is named; who confeſſed that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of ſeventy kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his table: who, after [c] *Juda* and *Simeon* had uſed the ſame execution upon himſelf, acknowledged it to be a juſt revenge of God: this king was carried to *Jeruſalem*, where he died.

The laſt king named is *Jabin* the ſecond, who as it ſeemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Joſhua*. For at ſuch time as he employed *Siſera* againſt *Iſrael*, whom he oppreſſed twenty years, after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, [d] *Barak* (encouraged by *Deborah*) overthrew; and his captain *Siſera* had by *Jael*, the wife of [e] *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he ſlept in her tent; *Jabin* himſelf periſhing afterwards in that war.

The *Madianites* had alſo their kings at times, but commonly mixt with the [f] *Moabites*; and they held a corner of land in *Nabathea*, to the ſouth-eaſt of the dead ſea. They deſcended from *Madian*, *Abraham*'s ſon by [g] *Keturah*. *Raguel* ſurnamed *Gethegleus* or *Jethres*, ſaith *Joſephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the firſt of *Judges*, the ſon of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Jexanis*, or *Jokſham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by [h] *Keturah*, was prieſt or prince of the *Madianites* by the *Red* ſea, whoſe daughter or niece *Moſes* married; and of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the ſame with *Hobab*, muſt be his father: and this *Hobab* had ſeven daughters. He guided *Moſes* in the wilderneſs, and became one of the *Iſraelites*: of him deſcended the *Kenites*, ſo called of his father [i] *Raguel*'s ſurname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the ſecond, even now remembred.

At ſuch time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Iſrael*, gave them warning to ſeparate themſelves: and yet the [k] *Kenites* had ſtrong ſeats, and lived in the mountains of the deſarts.

The kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were theſe.

1. *Hemor* the *Hevite* of *Sichem.*
2. *Arad* of the ſouth parts.
3. *Sehon* of *Eſſebon.*
4. *Og* of *Baſon.*
5. *Adonizedek* the *Jebuſite*, king of *Jeruſalem.*
6. [l] *Hoham* of *Hebron.*
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth.*
8. *Japia* of *Lachis.*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon.*
10. *Jabin* of *Hazor.*
11. [m] *Jobab* of *Modon.*
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the ſecond king of *Hazor.*

Of the *MADIANITES* theſe:

[n] *Evi* or *Evis.*
Rekam or *Recem*, who built *Petra*, the metropolis of *Petræa*, ſo called by the *Greeks*: and by *Iſaiah* xvi. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and ſo alſo it is called 2 *Reg.* xiv. 7. where it is alſo called *Joktheel.*

Zur.
Hur, and
Reba.
[o] *Oreb.*
Zeb.
Zebah.
Zalmunna.

After the death of *Barac*, judge of *Iſrael*, the four laſt named of theſe *Madianite* kings, vexed *Iſrael* ſeven years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and ſlain by the *Ephraimites*, at the paſſage of *Jordan*, as in the 6th, 7th, and 8th of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterwards in the purſuit of the reſt, *Gideon* himſelf laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Zalmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being priſoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there periſhed 120000 of the *Madianites*, and their confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will ſpeak hereafter in the deſcription of their territories.

SECT. III.

Of the Amalekites *and* Iſhmaelites.

OF the kings of the *Amalekites*, and *Iſhmaelites*, I find few that are named; and tho' of the *Iſhmaelites* there were more in number than of the reſt (for they were multiplied into a greater nation, according to the promiſe of God made unto [p] *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites*, were numbered among them, were more renowned in [q] *Moſes*'s time than the reſt of the *Iſhmaelites*. So alſo were they when *Saul* governed *Iſrael*. For *Saul* purſued them from *Sur* into *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the deſart. The reaſon to me ſeemeth to be this: That the twelve princes which came of *Iſhmael*, were content to leave thoſe barren deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Shur*, *Paran* and *Sin*, to the iſſue of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, that joined with them (for ſo ſeem the *Amalekites* to have been, and ſo were the *Midianites*:) themſelves taking poſſeſſion of a better ſoil in *Arabia* the happy, and about the mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*. For *Nabaioth*, the eldeſt of thoſe twelve princes, planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*, which was very fruitful, tho' adjoining to the deſart, in which *Moſes* wandred, afterwards called *Nabathea*: the ſame which neighboureth *Judea* on the eaſt ſide. They alſo peopled a province in *Arabia* the happy, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathei*, [*b*] changed into [*p.*]

[a] Joſh. 10. Joſeph. Ant. l. 5. c. 1. [b] Joſh. 11. 10. [c] Judg. 1. Joſeph. l. 5. c. 2. [d] Judg. 4. [e] Judg. 4. Pſal. 85. [f] Joſeph. l. 5. c. 6. [g] Exod. 3. [h] Cedron. p. 34. [i] Judg. 1. [k] 1 Sam. 15. 6. [l] Joſh. 10. [m] Joſh. 11. [n] *Theſe five firſt were all at one time kings of ſeveral portions of the* Madianites, *ſlain by* Phineas, *and the* 12000 *which he led againſt them.* Numb. 31. 8. [o] *Theſe four laſt were likewiſe at one time ſlain in the purſuit of* Gideon's *victory*, Judg. 7. 25. *and chap.* 8. 12. [p] Gen. 17. 20. [q] Judg. 7.

Kedar, the ſecond of *Iſhmael*'s ſons, gave his own name to the eaſt part of *Baſan* or *Batanea* which was afterwards poſſeſſed by *Manaſſeh*, ſo much thereof as lay within the mountains of *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Pliny*, *Cedræans*.

Adbeel ſat down in the deſart *Arabia*, near the mountains which divided it from the happy; and gave name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibſam was the parent of the *Maſamancuſes*, near the mountain *Zamath*, in the ſame *Arabia* the happy.

The *Raabens* were of *Miſhma*; who joined to the *Orchens*, near the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolemy* ſetteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumeans*, between the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the city *Dumeth* ſometimes ſtood.

Of *Maſſa* the *Maſſani*; and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the ſame happy *Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* mountains, where alſo the city of *Thema* is ſeated.

Of *Jetur* the *Itureans*, or *Chamathens*; of whom *Tohu* was king in *David*'s time.

Of *Naphri* the [a] *Nubeian Arabians*; inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Adadezer* commanded while *David* ruled *Iſrael*.

Cadma, the laſt and twelfth of *Iſhmael*'s ſons, was the anceſtor of the *Cadmoneans*; who were afterwards called [b] *Aſitæ*, becauſe they worſhipped the fire with the *Babylonians*.

The *Amalekites* gave their kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians*, *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabians*, *Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as names of honour.

The *Amalekites* were the firſt that fought with *Moſes*, after he paſs'd the [c] *Red* ſea; when of all times they flouriſhed moſt, and yet were vanquiſhed.

Afterwards they joined with the [d] *Canaanites*, and beat the *Iſraelites* near *Cades-barne*. After the government of *Othoniel*, they joined them with the *Moabites*; after *Barac* with the *Madianites*, and invaded *Iſrael*. God commanded, that as ſoon as *Iſrael* had reſt, they ſhould root out the name of the *Amalekites*; which *Saul* executed in part, when he waſted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldea*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

In [e] *David*'s time they took *Ziklag* in *Simeon*: but *David* followed them, and ſurprized them, recovering his priſoners and ſpoils. And yet, after *David* became king, they again vexed him, but to their own loſs.

In *Hezekiah*'s time as many of them as joined to [f] *Idumea* were waſted and diſplanted by the children of *Simeon*.

SECT. IV.

Of the inſtauration of civility in Europe *about theſe times, and of* Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THERE lived at this time, and in the ſame age together with *Moſes*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily ſtrength, as in all ſorts of learning. And as the world was but even now enriched with the written law of the living God, ſo did art and civility (bred and foſtered far off in the eaſt, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to diſcover a paſſage into *Europe*, and into thoſe parts of *Greece* neighbouring *Aſia* and *Judea*. For if *Pelaſgus*, beſides his bodily ſtrength, was choſen king of *Arcadia*, becauſe he taught thoſe people to erect them ſimple cottages, to defend them from rain and ſtorm: and learned them withal to make a kind of meal, and bread of Acorns, who before lived for the moſt part by herbs and roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched thoſe times were, and how falſly thoſe nations have vaunted of thoſe their antiquities, accompanied not only with civil learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge. And it was in this age of the world, as both *Euſebius* and [g] St. *Auguſtine* have obſerved, that *Prometheus* flouriſhed: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formaſſe homines, quia optimus ſapientiæ doctor fuiſſe perhibetur*; Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, becauſe he was an excellent teacher of wiſdom: and ſo *Theophraſtus* expoundeth the invention of fire aſcribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inventa ſapientiæ pertinere*; To have reference to wiſe inventions: and [h] *Eſchylus* affirmeth, that by the ſtealing of *Jupiter*'s fire was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the ſtars, and other celeſtial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art ſo to uſe this fire, as thereby he gave life to images of wood, ſtone, and clay: meaning that before his birth and being, thoſe people among whom he lived had nothing elſe worthy men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the hill *Caucaſus*, his entrails the while devoured by an eagle, was meant the inward care and reſtleſs deſire he had to inveſtigate the natures, motions, and influences of heavenly bodies: for ſo it is ſaid; [i] *Ideo altiſſimum aſcendiſſe Caucaſum, ut ſereno cœlo quam longiſſime aſtra, ſignorum obitus & ortus ſpectaret*: That he aſcended *Caucaſus*, to the end that he might in a clear ſky diſcern a-far off, the ſettings and riſings of the ſtars: tho' *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwiſe, and others diverſly.

Of this man's knowledge *Eſchylus* gives this teſtimony.

[k] *Aſt agebant omnia*
Ut fors ferebat: donec ipſe reperi
Signorum obitus, ortuſque qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium
His reperi: componere inde literas;
Matremque muſarum auxi ego memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

But fortune governed all their works, till when
I firſt found out how ſtars did ſet and riſe:
A profitable art to mortal men:
And others of like uſe I did deviſe;
As letters to compoſe in learned wiſe
I firſt did teach: and firſt did amplify
The mother of the muſes memory.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* far more ancient, and but 94 years after *Ogyges*. [l] *Porphyrius* ſays, that he lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Iſaac*.

There lived alſo at once with *Moſes*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the ſons of *Japetus*, of whom tho' it be ſaid, that they were born before *Moſes*'s days, and therefore are by others eſteemed of a more ancient date; yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the world long after them. Beſides theſe ſons of *Japetus*, *Æſchylus* finds two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Heſperus*, who being famous in the weſt, gave name to the evening,

[a] Plin. l. 6. c. 28. [b] Junius. [c] Exod. 17 [d] Numb. 14. [e] 1 Sam. 30. 2 Sam. 8. 12. [f] 1 Chron. 4. [g] Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de Civit. Dei. [h] Æſchyl. in Prom. vinct. in c. 8. l. 18. de Civit. Dei. [i] L. Vives ex Heſ. [k] Æſchyl. in Prom. vinct. [l] Aug. l. 18. c. 3. de Civit. Dei.

and

and ſo to the evening-ſtar. Alſo beſides this *Atlas* of *Libya* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the ſame name: but of the *Libyan*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that thoſe mountains which croſs *Africa*, to the ſouth of *Morocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the ſea adjoining took name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* beſtows on *Atlas*, the ſon of *Neptune*.

Cicero, in the fifth of his *Tuſculan* queſtions, affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by thoſe names to expreſs divine knowledge. *Nec vero Atlas ſuſtinere Cœlum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaſo, nec ſtellatus Cepheus cum uxore traderetur, niſi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxiſſet*; Neither ſhould *Atlas* be ſaid to bear up Heaven, nor *Prometheus* to be faſtened to *Caucaſus*, nor *Cepheus* with his wife to be ſtellified, unleſs their divine knowledge had raiſed upon their names theſe erroneous fables.

Orpheus ſometimes expreſs'd *Time* by *Prometheus*, ſometimes he took him for *Saturn*; as *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheu*. But that the ſtory of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction; and that he lived about this time, the moſt approved hiſtorians and antiquaries, and among them *Euſebius* and St. *Auguſtine* have not doubted. For the great judgment which *Atlas* had in aſtronomy, ſaith [a] St. *Auguſtine*, were his daughters called by the names of conſtellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*: others attribute unto him the finding out of the moon's courſe, of which *Archas* the ſon of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Archas*, *Arcadia* in *Peloponneſus* took name, and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the moon. [b] *Et luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be underſtood, ſaith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any obſervation of the moon's courſe; or of her working in inferiour bodies. And tho' there be that beſtow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Iſacius Tzetzes*, a curious ſearcher of antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who, beſides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable ſtrength: from whom *Thales* the *Mileſian*, as it is ſaid, had the ground of his philoſophy.

SECT. V.

Of Deucalion *and* Phaeton.

AND in this age of the world, and while *Moſes* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Theſſaly*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. [c] This *Deucalion* was the ſon of *Prometheus*, ſaith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Heſiodus*, and [d] *Strabo*. *Heſiodus* gave him *Pandora* for mother, the reſt *Clymene*: *Homer*, in the 15th of his *Odyſſes*, makes *Deucalion* the ſon of *Minos*; but he muſt needs have meant ſome other *Deucalion*; for elſe either *Ulyſſes* was miſtaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulyſſes*, after his return from *Troy*, feigned himſelf to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was ſon to this latter *Deucalion*, the ſon of *Minos*: but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken (for *Idomeneus* ſerved in that war) and this *Deucalion* the ſon of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moſes*, was long before. In the firſt *Deucalion*'s time happened that great inundation in *Theſſaly*: by which, in effect, every ſoul in thoſe parts periſhed, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and ſome few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in *Theſſaly*, thoſe people exceeded in all kind of wickedneſs and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of God's vengeance, ſo did all that nation, for their foul ſins, periſh by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general deſtruction by the flood univerſal. Only *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God ſpared, were both of them eſteemed to be lovers of virtue, of juſtice, and of religion. Of whom *Ovid*:

Non illo melior quiſquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illâ reverentia ulla dearum.

No man was better, nor more juſt than he:
Nor any woman godlier than ſhe.

It is alſo affirmed that *Prometheus* foretold his ſon *Deucalion* of this overflowing, and adviſed him to provide for his own ſafety; who hereupon prepared himſelf a kind of veſſel, which *Lucian* in his dialogue of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And becauſe to theſe circumſtances, they afterwards add the ſending out of the dove, to diſcover the waters fall and decreaſe, I ſhould verily think that this ſtory had been but an imitation of *Noah*'s flood deviſed by the *Greeks*, did not the times ſo much differ, and [e] St. *Auguſtine*, with others of the fathers, and reverend writers, approve this ſtory of *Deucalion*. Among other his children, *Deucalion* had theſe two of note, *Helen*, of whom *Greece* had firſt the name of *Hellas*; and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is ſaid to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Delphos*, ſo renowned among the heathen for the oracle of *Apollo* therein founded.

And that which was no leſs ſtrange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time alſo happened under *Phaeton*; not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Iſtria*, a region in *Italy*, and about *Cumæ*, and the mountains of *Veſuvius*: of both which, the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many ſtrange fables.

SECT. VI.

Of Hermes Triſmegiſtus.

BUT of all other which this age brought forth among the heathen, *Mercurius* was the moſt famous and renowned: the ſame which was alſo called *Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter maximus*: and of the *Greeks*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name: and how to diſtinguiſh, and ſet them in their own times, both St. *Auguſtine* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was eſteemed the God of thieves, the God of wreſtlers, of merchants, and ſeamen, and the God of eloquence (tho' all by one name confounded) was not the ſame with that *Mercury*, of whoſe many works ſome fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the *Greeks* reckon five *Mercuries*: of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worſhipped; one, the ſon of *Nilus*, whoſe name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jews* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercury* which ſlew *Argos* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is ſaid to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them laws. But [f] *Diodorus* affirms, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* alſo confirmeth, ſaying, that letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which ſlew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwiſe *Theuet*; whom *Philo Biblius* writeth *Taautus*; the *Egyptians Thoyth*; the *Alexandrians*

[a] Lib. 18. c. 8. de Civitate Dei. [b] Ovid. de faſt. l. 1. [c] Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l. 1. [d] Strab. l. 9. [e] Auguſt. de Civitate Dei, l. 18. c. 10. ex Euſebio & Hieronymo. [f] Lud. Vives *out of* Cicero, in Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

Thot;

Thot; and the *Greeks* (as before) *Hermes*. [a] And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who lived about the war of *Troy*, gives the invention of letters. But St. *Auguſtine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the ſon of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have ſlain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury*, the ſlayer of *Argus*, to be the grandchild of that *Atlas* which lived whilſt *Moſes* was yet young. And yet *Lud. Vives* upon St. *Auguſtine* ſeems to underſtand them to be the ſame with thoſe, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the reſt have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifeſt (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledge which the *Greeks* had, was tranſported out of *Egypt*, or *Phenicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian*, into *Egypt*. For they all confeſs that *Cadmus* brought letters firſt into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phenicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius* that lived at once with *Moſes*, and *Cadmus*, there were theſe deſcents caſt; *Crotopus* king of the *Argives*, with whom *Moſes* lived, and in whoſe time about his tenth year *Moſes* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus* who reigned 11 years; after him *Danaus* 50 years; after him *Lynceus*; in whoſe time, and after him in the time of *Minos* king of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moſes*'s time, flying out of *Greece* for the ſlaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of thoſe two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom St. *Auguſtine* remembreth, the one the grandfather, the other the nephew or grandchild, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moſes* found out letters, and taught the uſe of them to the *Jews*; of whom the *Phenicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phenicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was alſo aſcribed to *Moſes*, for the reaſon before remembred; that is, becauſe the *Jews* and the *Phenicians* had them firſt from him. For every nation gave unto thoſe men the honour of firſt inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whoſe works he commenteth, to have been four deſcents after *Moſes*; which he hath out of [b] *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that lived with *Moſes*, the maternal grandfather of the firſt famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, calls the counſellor and inſtructor of that renowned *Iſis*, wife of *Oſiris*. But [c] *Ficinus* giveth no reaſon for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* inſtructed *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that ſuch an inſcription was found on a pillar erected on the tomb of *Iſis*. *Lud. Vives*, upon the 26th chapter of the 8th book of St. *Auguſtine de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth that this *Mercury*, whoſe works are extant, was not the firſt which was entitled, *Ter Maximus*, but his nephew or grandchild. [d] *Sanchoniaton*, an ancient *Phenician*, who lived ſhortly after *Moſes*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the ſcribe of *Saturn*, and called by the *Phenicians*, *Taautus*; and by the *Egyptians*, *Thooth* or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is ſaid to have lived, to wit, 300 years, gave occaſion to ſome [e] writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by thoſe which have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* philoſophy and divinity, he is found more ancient than *Moſes*: becauſe the inventor of the *Egyptian* wiſdom, wherein it is ſaid, that *Moſes* was excellently learned.

It is true, that altho' this *Mercury*, or *Hermes*, doth in his divinity differ in many particulars from the ſcriptures, eſpecially in the approving of images, which *Moſes* of all things moſt deteſted; yet whoſoever ſhall read him with an even judgment, will rather reſolve that theſe works which are now extant, were by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* prieſts corrupted, and thoſe fooleries inſerted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and ſpirit deviſed. For there is no man of underſtanding, and maſter of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the ſame tract, thoſe things which are directly contrary in doctrine and in nature. For out of doubt (*Moſes* excepted) there was never any man of thoſe elder times that hath attributed more, and in a ſtyle more reverend and divine, unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if thoſe his two treatiſes, now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themſelves; I think it had not been perilous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moſes* himſelf; and that the [f] *Egyptian* theology hereafter written, was deviſed by the firſt, and more ancient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joſeph* the ſon of *Jacob*; whom, after the expoſition of *Pharoah*'s dreams, they called *Saphanet Phane*, which is as much as to ſay, *Abſconditorum Repertor*, a finder out of hidden things. But theſe are over-adventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him: of whom, whoſoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this ſort: [g] *Hic ſcripſit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus majeſtatem ſummi ac ſingularis Dei aſſerit, iiſdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos Deum & Patrem*; He hath written many books belonging to, or expreſſing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the majeſty of the moſt High and One God, calling him by the ſame names of God, and Father, as we do. The ſame father alſo feareth not to number him among the ſibyls and prophets. And ſo contrary are theſe his acknowledgments to thoſe idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*, that for my ſelf, I am perſuaded, that whatſoever is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inſerted. For thus much himſelf confeſſeth: *Deus omnium Dominus & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & ſpiritus; & omnia in ipſo, & ſub ipſo ſunt. Verbum enim ex ejus eſſe prodiens, perfectiſſimum exiſtens, & generator & opifex, &c.* God (ſaith he) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain, and life, and power, and light, and mind, and ſpirit: and all things are in him and under him. For his word out of himſelf proceeding, being moſt perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made it alſo fruitful and producing. And he was therefore (ſaith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus, quia Trinitate loquutus eſt: in Trinitate unum eſſe Deum aſſerens*; Becauſe he ſpake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. *Hic ruinam* (ſaith *Ficinus*) *prævidit priſcæ religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Chriſti, hic futurum judicium, reſurrectionem ſæculi, beatorum gloriam, ſupplicia peccatorum.* This *Mercury* foreſaw the ruin of the old or ſuperſtitious religion, and the birth of the new faith; and of the coming of Chriſt, the future judgment, the reſurrection, the glory of the bleſſed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.

[a] Euſeb. l. 1. c. 6. de præp. Evang. [b] Virg. l. 4. [c] Æneid. Ficin. in Præfat. Pœmand. Mercurii Triſmegiſti. [d] *Or* Sanchoniatho. *See* Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 6. [e] Vives in l. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Civitate Dei. [f] Maſius. [g] L. 1. c. 6. fol. 4. [h] In Præf. Mercur. Triſmeg.

To

To this I will only add his two laſt ſpeeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platoniſt*, and by *Volteran* out of *Suidas*. *Hactenus fili pulſus a patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumque poſt paulum a vobis corporeis vinculis abſolutus diſceſſero, videtote ne me quaſi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque civitatem regredior; ad quam univerſi cives mortis conditione venturi ſunt. Ibi namque ſolus Deus eſt ſummus princeps: qui cives ſuos replet ſuavitate mirifica; ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam exiſtimant, mors eſt potius dicenda quam vita*; Hitherto, O ſon, being driven from my country, I have lived a ſtranger and baniſhed man; but now I am preparing homeward again in ſafety. And when I ſhall after a few days (or in a ſhort time) by being looſed from theſe bonds of fleſh and blood depart from you, ſee that ye do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that beſt and bleſſed city, to which all her citizens (by the condition of death) ſhall repair. Therein is the only God, the moſt high and chief prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with a ſweetneſs more than marvellous; in regard whereof this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death, than a life. The other, and that which ſeemeth to be his laſt, is thus converted by others, agreeing in ſenſe, but not in words with *Suidas*. *O cœlum magni Dei ſapiens opus, teque O vox patris quam ille primam emiſit, quando univerſum conſtituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus verbum & ſpiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miſeremini mei*; I adjure thee, O heaven, thou wiſe work of the great God, and thee O voice of the father, which he firſt uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten Word and Spirit, comprehending all things, have mercy upon me.

But *Suidas* hath his invocation in theſe words; *Obteſtor te Cœlum magni Dei ſapiens opus, obteſtor te vocem Patris quam locutus eſt primum cum omnem mundum firmavit, obteſtor te per unigenitum ſermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius eſto.* I beſeech thee O heaven, wiſe work of the great God, I beſeech thee, O voice of the father, which he ſpake firſt when he eſtabliſhed all the world, I beſeech thee by the only begotten word, containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.

SECT. VII.

Of Jannes *and* Jambres, *and ſome others that lived about thoſe times.*

THere were alſo in this age both *Eſculapius*, which after his death became the God of phyſicians, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as [a] *Vives* thinks in his commentary upon *Auguſtine*, *de Civitate Dei*, *l.* 8. and alſo thoſe two notorious ſorcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever have been heard of to this day: and yet *Moſes* himſelf doth not charge them with any familiarity with devils, or ill ſpirits; words indeed that ſeldom came out of his mouth; however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophiſtæ* or *Veneficiand Incantatores*, ſophiſt poiſoners, and inchanters: by *Jerome*, *ſapientes & malefici*, wiſe men and evil-doers: and ſo by *Vatablus*, who alſo uſeth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it ſelf ſeems to attribute ſomewhat of what they did to natural magick; calling them [b] φαρμακους, workers by drugs. The *Genevian*, *Sorcerers* and *Inchanters*; *Junius*, *Sapientes*, *Præſtigiatores & Magi*. Magicians and wiſe-men here by him are taken in one ſenſe; and Preſtigiators are ſuch as dazel men's eyes, and make them ſeem to ſee what they ſee not; as falſe colours, and falſe ſhapes. But as ſome virtues and ſome vices are ſo nicely diſtinguiſhed, and ſo reſembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other (religion and ſuperſtition having one face and countenance) ſo did the works and workings of *Moſes*, and of *Pharoah*'s ſorcerers, appear in outward ſhew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the ſame art and gift of knowledge. For the devil changeth himſelf into an angel of light: and imitateth in all he can the ways and workings of the moſt High. And yet on the contrary, every work which ſurmounteth the wiſdom of moſt men, is not to be condemned as performed by the help or miniſtry of ill ſpirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, as ſuch as where he alſo beſtoweth the knowledge to underſtand their hidden and beſt virtues, many things by them are brought to paſs, which ſeem altogether impoſſible, and above nature or art: which two ſpeculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabaliſts* diſtinguiſhed by theſe names; *Opus de Bereſith, & opus de Mercana:* the one they call *Sapientiam Naturæ*, The wiſdom of nature: the other *Sapientiam Divinitatis*, The wiſdom of divinity: the one *Jacob* practiſed in the breeding the pied lambs in *Meſopotamia*; the other *Moſes* exerciſed in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*; having received from God the knowledge of the one in the higheſt perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other ſo far as it pleaſed God to portion him, both which he uſed to his glory that gave them; aſſuming to himſelf nothing at all, either in the leaſt or moſt. Alſo St. *Auguſtine* noteth that from the time that *Moſes* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Joſhua*, divers other famous men lived in the world, who after their deaths, for their eminent virtues and inventions, were numbred among the gods: as *Dionyſius*, otherwiſe *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the uſe of the vine in *Attica:* at which time alſo there were inſtituted muſical plays to *Apollo Delphicus*; thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenneſs and ſcarcity upon that part of *Greece*, becauſe they reſiſted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who ſpoiled his temple and ſet it on fire: ſo did *Erictbonius* inſtitute the like games to *Minerva*; wherein the victor was rewarded with a preſent of oil, in memory of her that firſt preſs'd it out of the olive.

In this age alſo *Xanthus* raviſhed *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are alſo given to *Jupiter* by other hiſtorians. To theſe [c] St. *Auguſtine* addeth *Hercules*; the ſame to whom the 12 labours are aſcribed, native of *Tyrinthia*, a city of *Peloponneſus:* (or, as others ſay, only nurſed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and deſtroy'd many monſters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Euſebius* ſurnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phenicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philoſtratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian: Manifeſtum ſit, non Thebanum Herculem, ſed Egyptium ad Gades perveniſſe, & ibi finem ſtatuiſſe terræ* (ſaith *Philoſtratus*, *l.* 2.) It is manifeſt that it was the *Egyptian Hercules*, and not the *Theban*, which travelled as far as the ſtreights of *Gades*, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time alſo, while *Moſes* wandered in the deſarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whoſoever they were, or how worthy ſoever they were that lived in the days and age of

[a] L. Vives in l. 8. Aug. de Civitate Dei, c. 26. [b] Exod. 9. 11. [c] Lib. De Civitate Dei, c. 12.

Moſes, there was never any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleaſed God to work greater things, whom he favoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he ſo often appeared; never any man more familiar and converſant with angels; never any more learned both in divine and human knowledge; never a greater prophet in *Iſrael*. He was the firſt that received and delivered the law of God entire; the firſt that left to poſterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God, his creating out of nothing the world univerſal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the deteſtation of idolatry, and the puniſhment, vengeance, and eradication which followed it.

[a] *Syracides* calleth *Moſes* the beloved of God and men, whoſe remembrance is bleſſed. *He made him* (ſaith the ſame author) *like to the glorious ſaints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the ſight of kings, ſhewed him his glory, cauſed him to hear his voice, ſanctified him with faithfulneſs and meekneſs, and choſe him out of all men.*

He is remembred among profane authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*; by *Megaſtenes* and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long lives which the patriarchs enjoyed before the flood, remembred by *Moſes*, *Eſtieus*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius*, *Hecatæus*, *Elanicus*, *Acuſilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander* the hiſtorian, confirm. The univerſal flood which God revealed unto *Moſes*, *Beroſus*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, and others have teſtified. The building of the tower of *Babel*, and confuſion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Eſtieus*, and *Sybilla* have approved. *Beroſus* alſo honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecatæus* wrote a book of him. *Damaſcenus*, before cited, ſpeaketh of *Abraham*'s paſſage from *Damaſcus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the books of *Moſes*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very ſame of *Abraham* which *Moſes* did. For, beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he ſaith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth generation, in the city called *Camerina*, or *Urien*, excelled all men in wiſdom; and by whom the aſtrology of the *Chaldeans* was invented. *Is juſtitia pietateque ſua* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of the ſame author) *ſic Deo gratus fuit, ut Divino præcepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibique habitaverit*; For his juſtice and piety he was ſo pleaſing unto God, as by his commandment he came into *Phenicia*, and dwelt there. Likewiſe *Diodorus Siculus*, in his 2d book and 5th chapter, ſpeaketh reverently of *Moſes*. There are many other among prophane authors, which confirm the books of *Moſes*, as *Euſebius* hath gathered in the 9th of his *Preparation to the Goſpel*, chapter the third and fourth, to which I refer the reader. Laſtly, I cannot but for ſome things in it commend this notable teſtimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moſes* in theſe words. [b] Moſes *enim affirmabat, docebatque, Ægyptios non recte ſentire, qui beſtiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemque Afros & Græcos, qui Diis hominum figuram affinxerunt: id vero ſolum eſſe Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cœlum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem, nemo ſanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos ſunt, ſimilem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni ſimulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei templum ac delubrum conſtituendum, ac ſine aliqua figura colendum.* *Moſes* affirmed and taught, that the *Egyptians* thought amiſs, which attributed unto God the images of beaſts and cattle: alſo that the *Africans* and *Greeks* greatly erred in giving unto their gods the ſhapes of men; whereas that only is God indeed, which containeth both us the earth and ſea, which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of all things, whoſe image doubtleſs, no wiſe man will dare to faſhion out unto the likeneſs of thoſe things which are amongſt us; that therefore (all deviſing of idols caſt aſide) a worthy temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worſhipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wiſdom, for which the martyr *Stephen* commended *Moſes*, ſaying, [c] *That Moſes was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in works and words*; the ſame is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Judæus*, and *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, and divided into four parts, *viz.* mathematical, natural, divine and moral.

In the mathematical part, which is diſtinguiſhed into geometry, aſtronomy, arithmetick, and muſick, the ancient *Egyptians* excelled all others. For geometry, which is by interpretation, meaſuring of grounds, was uſeful unto them; becauſe it conſiſting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper lands and territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflown and confounded, ſo as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the ſecond part, to wit, aſtronomy, the ſite of the country being a level and ſpacious plain, free and clear from clouds, yielded them delight with eaſe, in obſerving and contemplating the riſings, fallings, and motions of the ſtars.

Arithmetick alſo, which is the knowledge of numbers, they ſtudied; becauſe without it, in geometry and aſtronomy, nothing can be demonſtrated or concluded. But of muſick they made no other account, nor deſired farther knowledge, than ſeemed to them ſufficient to ſerve and magnify their gods, their kings, and good men.

The natural part of this wiſdom, which handleth the principles, cauſes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from peripatetical philoſophy; teaching that *materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mix'd bodies and living creatures have their being; that heaven is round like a globe; that all ſtars have a certain fovent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the air; that the planets have their proper ſouls, *&c.*

The divine part of this wiſdom, which is called theology, teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and ſhall periſh; that men had their firſt original in *Egypt*, partly by means of the temperateneſs of that country, where neither winter with cold, nor ſummer with heat, are offenſive; and partly through the fertility that *Nilus* giveth in thoſe places: that the ſoul is immortal, and hath tranſmigration from body to body: that God is one, the father and prince of all gods; and that from this God, other gods are, as the ſun and moon, whom they worſhipped by the names of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, and erected to them temples, ſtatues, and divers images, becauſe the true ſimilitudes of the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the eſtate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues, and benefits beſtowed on mankind, have been deified. That thoſe beaſts, whoſe images and forms the kings did carry in their arms when they obtained victory, were

[a] Syrac. 45. 12. 3. [b] Strab. l. 16. [c] Acts 7. 22.

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adored for God's; becauſe under thoſe enſigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover, the *Egyptian* divines had a peculiar kind of writing, myſtical and ſecret, wherein the higheſt points of their religion and worſhip of God which was to be concealed from the vulgar ſort, were obſcured.

[a] *Clemens* diſtributeth the whole ſum of this latter *Egyptian* learning into three ſeveral ſorts, *viz.* *Epiſtolar*, which is uſed in writing common epiſtles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their prieſts; and *Sacred*, which ſacred containeth ſcripture of two kinds; the one proper, which is expreſſed by letters alphabetical in obſcure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written, The *Ibis* by the hornet participateth the beauty of the hawk; which is red thus: The moon doth by the ſun borrow part of the light of God; becauſe light is an image of divine beauty. The other ſymbolical, or by ſignatures, which is threefold, *viz.* imitative, tropical and enygmatical; imitative, which deſigneth things by characters, like to the things ſignified; as by a circle, the ſun; and by the horns of the moon, the moon itſelf: tropical or transferent, which applies the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to ſignify the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of men. So with the *Egyptian* divines, the image of an hawk ſignifieth God; the figure of the hornet ſignifieth the ſun; the picture of the bird *Ibis* ſignifieth the moon; by the form of a man, prudence and ſkilfulneſs; by a lion, fortitude; by a horſe, liberty; by a crocodile, impudency; by a fiſh, hatred is to be underſtood. Enygmatical, is a compoſition or mixture of images or ſimilitudes; in which ſenſe, the monſtrous image of a lion's body having a man's head, was graven on their temples and altars, to ſignify, that to men all divine things are enygmatical and obſcure. So the image of the ſun ſet on the head of a crocodile (which liveth as well in the waters, as on land) expreſſeth, that the ſun nouriſheth meteors in the air, as well from the waters as from the earth. So a ſcepter, at the top whereof is made an eye, and an ear, ſignifieth God, hearing, ſeeing, and governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, that when *Darius* ſending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, king of the *Scythians*, with the ruin and deſtruction of his kingdom, unleſs he would acknowledge ſubjection: *Idanthura* returned to him a mouſe, a frog, a bird, a dart, and a plough-ſhare; which *Orontopagas*, tribune of the ſoldiers, interpreted to ſignify, that by the mouſe, their dwellings; by the frog, their waters; by the bird, their air; by the dart, their weapons; by the plough their lands; were ſignified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their ſoveraign lord. But *Xyphodres* made another conſtruction, *viz.* that the king meant, that except *Darius* with his men did haſten away, as a bird thro' the air, or creep into holes as a mouſe, or run into the waters which they had paſſed as a frog, they ſhould not eſcape his arms, but either be ſlain, or (being made captives) till his grounds. The ſame hiſtory is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*, *l.* 4.

The fourth and laſt part which is moral and politick, doth contain eſpecially the laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter maximus* deviſed; who in his books or dialogues of *Pimander* and *Aſclepius*, hath written ſo many things of God worthy of admiration; as well (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of Chriſt, as of the laſt and fearful day of judgment: that (as ſaith the ſame author, the opinion being alſo ancient) he is not only to be accounted a philoſopher, but a prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his book of myſteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very ancient hiſtorians for his authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menætus*, affirmeth, thar this *Mercury* was not only the inventor of the *Egyptian* philoſophy, but of all other learning, called the wiſdom of the *Egyptians*, before remembred: and that he wrote of that ſubject 36525 books, or pages. Of which there were numbred of fiery ſpirits, 100 books; of aerial ſpirits as many; and of ſpirits celeſtial a thouſand: which becauſe they were out of the *Egyptian* language converted by certain learned philoſophers into the natural *Greek*, they ſeemed to have been firſt written in that tongue. [b] *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the wiſdom of the *Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36; of phyſick ſix books; of the orders of prieſts ten; and of aſtrology four.

SECT. VIII.

A brief of the hiſtory of Joſhua; *and of the ſpace between him and* Othoniel; *and of the remainders of the* Canaanites; *with a note of ſome cotemporaries to* Joſhua; *and of the breach of faith.*

AFTER the death of *Moſes*, and in the one and fortieth year of the egreſſion, in the firſt month called *Niſan*, or *March*, *Joſhua* the ſon of *Nun*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the ſpirit of wiſdom, took on him the government of *Iſrael*; God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to paſs the river of *Jordan*, and to poſſeſs and divide among the *Iſraelites* the land promiſed.

The beginning of *Joſhua*'s rule, [c] St. *Auguſtine* dates with the reign of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth king in *Aſſyria*; with *Corax* the ſixteenth king in *Sicyonia*; when *Danaus* governed the *Argives*; and *Erictbonius*, *Athens*.

[d] *Joſhua*, imitating in all things his predeceſſor, ſent over *Jordan* certain diſcoverers to view the ſeat and ſtrength of *Jericho*, the next city unto him on the other ſide of the river, which he was to paſs over. Which diſcoverers being ſaved, and ſent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, becauſe ſhe kept a tavern or victualling houſe, made *Joſhua* know, that the inhabitants of *Jericho*, and thoſe of the country about it, hearing of the approach of [e] *Iſrael*, had loſt their courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the ſpies, which was the ſixth day of the one and fortieth year after the egreſſion, *Joſhua* removed from [f] *Shittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew down his army to the banks of the river *Jordan*, and gave them commandment to put themſelves in order [g] to follow the ark of God, when the *Levites* took it up, and moved towards the river; giving them withal this forcible encouragement, that they ſhould thereby aſſure themſelves of his favour and preſence, who is Lord of all the world, when the river of [h] *Jordan* ſhould be cut off, and divided, and the waters coming from above ſhould ſtand ſtill on a heap; whereby thoſe below towards the *Dead* ſea wanting ſupply, they might paſs over into the land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

He alſo commanded [i] *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, to prepare themſelves (according to their covenant made with *Moſes*) to march in the head of the reſt, and (as we call it in this age) to lead in the van-guard, which thro' all the deſarts

[a] Clem. Strom. l. 5. [b] Clem. Strom. l. 6. [c] Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei, c. 11. [d] Joſh. 2. 1. [e] Joſh. 2. 11. [f] Joſh. 3. 1. [g] Joſh. 3. 3. [h] Joſh. 3. 13. [i] Joſh. 1. 12.

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of *Arabia*, from the mount *Sinai* to this place, thoſe of the tribe of *Judah* had performed. For theſe tribes being already provided of their habitations, and the country and cities of the *Amorites*, by the help of the reſt, conquered for them: it agreed with juſtice and equity, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manaſſeh* ſhould alſo aſſiſt their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies poſſeſſion.

On the banks of *Jordan* they reſted themſelves from the ſixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the firſt month *Niſan*, or *March*, they paſs'd over to the other ſide, taking with them twelve ſtones from the dry ground in the midſt of the river: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they ſet up at *Gilgal*, on the eaſt ſide of the city of *Jericho*, where they encamped the firſt night. At which place [a] *Joſhua* gave commandment, that all born in the laſt fortieth year in the deſarts, [b] ſhould be circumciſed; which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof [c] St. *Auguſtine* giveth for cauſe, the people's contempt of their ſuperiors, [d] *Thomas* excuſeth it in this ſort; that the *Iſraelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another; *Damaſcen*, that it was not needful by circumciſion to diſtinguiſh them from other nations, at ſuch time as they lived by themſelves and apart from all nations.

On the fourteenth day of the ſame month, the children of *Iſrael* celebrated the paſſover now the third time; firſt, At their leaving *Egypt*; ſecondly, At mount *Sinai*; and now at [e] *Gilgal*. After which being deſirous to taſte of the fruits of the country, and having, as it were, ſurfeited on manna, they parched of the corn of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and eat thereof.

And as *Moſes* began to diſtribute thoſe regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the land of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Baſan*, and *Sihon* held, ſo did *Joſhua* perform the reſt; and after a view and partition made of the territories, he gave to each tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and diſtribution was not done at once, but at three ſeveral times; firſt, By [f] *Moſes* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, of the lands over *Jordan*; ſecondly, By *Joſhua*, to the tribe of *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and the other half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, about the fifth year of his government; proved in *Joſhua* xiv. 10. and a third diviſion was made to the other ſeven tribes at *Shilo*, where [g] *Joſhua* ſeated the *Tabernacle of the congregation*.

The victories of *Joſhua* againſt the kings of the *Canaanites*, are ſo particularly ſet down in his own books, as I ſhall not need to lengthen this part by their repetiton. In whoſe ſtory I chiefly note theſe particulars.

Firſt, How in the beginning of the war, thoſe little kings, or *reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not ſo much underſtanding, as to unite themſelves together againſt the *Iſraelites*; but according to the cuſtom of thoſe eſtates, from whoſe governors God hath taken away all wiſdom and foreſight, they left thoſe of their own nation, which were next the invaders, to themſelves, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled ſomewhat far off, might again have been quenched ere it could ſpread it ſelf ſo far as their own territories and cities. But after ſuch time as *Jericho* and *Ai* were entered, and the kings, people, and cities conſumed, five of thoſe thirty-one kings (all which at length periſhed in that war) joined themſelves together, firſt attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themſelves to *Joſhua*. Only five (the reſt looking on to ſee the ſucceſs) namely the king of the *Jebuſites*, in *Jebus*, or *Jeruſalem*, the kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, *Lachis* and *Eglon* addreſs'd themſelves for reſiſtance: whoſe army being by *Joſhua* ſurprized and broken, themſelves deſpairing to eſcape by flight, and hopeleſs of mercy by ſubmiſſion, creeping into a cave under ground, were thence by *Joſhua* drawn forth and hanged. In the proſecution of which victory he alſo took [h] *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relief whereof *Horam* king of *Gezar* haſtned, and periſhed. After which *Joſhua* poſſeſſed himſelf of [i] *Eglon*, *Heber*, and *Debir* deſtroying theſe cities with their princes.

In the end, and when the ſouth countries were poſſeſſed, the cities thereof conquered, and their kings and people made duſt; the reſt of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counſels of neceſſity, united themſelves to make one groſs ſtrength and body of an army; which *Jabin* king of *Hazor* practiſed and gathered together, being at that time of all the *Canaanite* kings the moſt powerful; which army being by *Joſhua* diſcovered, as the ſame reſted near the lake of *Merom*, he uſed ſuch diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining an abſolute victory over them, he proſecuted the ſame to the utmoſt effect. And, beſides the ſlaughter of the defendants, he entered their cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reſerving the reſt for *Iſrael* to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Joſhua* ſhewed himſelf a ſkilful man of war, for that in thoſe ancient times he uſed the ſtratagem of an ambuſh in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the armies of the firſt five kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by ſurprize: for he marched all night from his camp at [k] *Gilgal*, and ſet on them early the next day, when they ſuſpected no enemy at hand; as he did alſo at *Merom*, when he overthrew *Jabin*, and his confederates. After which, making the beſt profit of his victory, he aſſaulted the great city of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, The miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable; as the ſtay of the river of *Jordan* at the ſprings, ſo as the army of [l] *Iſrael* paſs'd it with a dry foot; the fall of *Jericho* by the ſound of rams horns; the ſhowers of [m] hail-ſtones which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them periſhed, than by the ſword of *Iſrael*. Again, the arreſt of the ſun in the firmament, whereby the day was ſo much the more lengthened, as the *Iſraelites* had time to execute all thoſe which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the All-powerful God.

Fourthly, Out of the paſſage between *Joſhua* and the *Gibeonites*, the doctrine of keeping faith is ſo plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evaſion, it admitteth no diſtinction, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiouſneſs, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called equivocation. For, notwithſtanding that theſe *Gibeonites* were a people of the [n] *Hevites*, expreſly and by name, by the commandment of God, to be rooted out, and notwithſtanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and, as it were, deride *Joſhua*, and the princes of *Iſrael*, by feigning to be ſent as ambaſſadors from a far country, in which travel their cloaths were worn, their bread mouldy, which they avowed to have been warm for newneſs when they firſt ſet out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken, their ſhoos patch'd, and their ſacks, rent and ragged: yet [o] *Joſhua* having ſworn

[a] Joſh. 4. 19. [b] Joſh. 5. 2. [c] Aug. q. 3. in Joſh. [d] Thom. part 3. queſt. 70. art. 4. ad 3. [e] Joſh. 5. 10. [f] Joſh. 14. 3. [g] Joſh. 18. [h] Joſh. 10. [i] Joſh. 10. [k] Joſh. 10. 9. [l] Joſh. 3. 13. [m] Joſh. 10. 11. [n] Joſh. 9. 7. [o] Joſh. 9. *from ver.* 5. *to* 13.

unto

unto them by the Lord God of *Iſrael*, he durſt not, tho' urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he ſpared both their lives, and the cities of their inheritance.

Now if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promiſe made, *Joſhua* had it. For firſt, The commandment which he received from God to root out this nation among the reſt, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, He might juſtly have put theſe men to the ſword, and have ſack'd their cities; if there be any evaſion from a promiſe made, whereof the living God is called to witneſs. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* that he gave peace, becauſe he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the [a] *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a ſtrange people that he gave faith, and to a nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Iſrael* had done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, ſought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, The accord which [b] *Iſrael* made with theſe crafty *Canaanites* was without warrant. For it is written in the ſame place, That the *Iſraelites* accepted their tale; that is, believed what they had ſaid, *and counſelled not with the mouth of the Lord*. Fourthly, Theſe men, who were known idolaters, and ſerved thoſe puppets of the heathen, men of an apiſh religion, as all worſhippers of images are, could not challenge the witneſs of the true God, in whom they believed not. I ſay therefore, that if ever man might have ſerved himſelf by any evaſion or diſtinction, *Joſhua* might juſtly have done it. For he needed not in this caſe the help of equivocation, or mental reſervation. For what he ſware, he ſware in good faith; but he ſware nothing, nor made any promiſe at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithleſs ſubtility of man ſhould borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promiſes he made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithſtanding that they to whom he had ſworn it, were worſhippers of the devil.

For it is not as faithleſs men take it, that he which ſweareth to a man, to a ſociety, to a ſtate, or to a king, and ſweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his preſence, that this promiſe (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a ſociety, to a ſtate, or to a prince; but the promiſe in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect; we therein profeſs that we fear him not, and that we ſet him at naught and defy him. If he that without reſervation of honour giveth a lie in the preſence of the king, or of his ſuperiour, doth in point of honour give the lie to the king himſelf, or to his ſuperiour; how much more doth he break faith with God, that giveth faith in the preſence of God, promiſeth in his name, and makes him a witneſs of the covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearful thing for a ſon to break the promiſe, will, or deed of the father; for a ſtate, or kingdom, to break thoſe contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick faith. For tho' it were 400 years after *Joſhua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, ſlaughtered ſome of thoſe people deſcended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgat not what the predeceſſors and fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Iſraelites* had ſworn in his name, afflicted the whole nation with a conſuming famine; and could not be appeaſed, till ſeven of *Saul*'s ſons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous diſtinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to ſwear one thing by the name of the living God, and to reſerve in ſilence a contrary intent: the life of man, the eſtates of men, the faith of ſubjects to kings, of ſervants to their maſters, of vaſſals to their lords, of wives to their husbands, and of children to their parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world, be torn aſunder. It is by oaths (when kings and armies cannot paſs) that we enter into the cities of our enemies, and into their armies. It is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this: That he that ſweareth by the name of God, doth aſſure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the world is true, whom he calleth for a witneſs, and in whoſe preſence, he that taketh the oath hath promiſed? I am not ignorant of their poor evaſions, which play with the ſeverity of God's commandments in this kind: but this indeed is the beſt anſwer: That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whoſoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The Chriſtians in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greateſt, and had brought the caliph of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not only loſe it again, but were ſoon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* itſelf: by reaſon (ſaith *William* of *Tyre*, a reverend biſhop which wrote that ſtory) that *Almerick* the fiftieth king after *Godfrey* brake faith with the caliph *Elhadeck*, and his vicegerent, the ſoldan *Sanar*; who being ſuddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the Turk, *Syracon*, to their aid; whoſe nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the Chriſtians out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden croſs (the very croſs, ſay they, that Chriſt died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their laſt refuge; ſeeing they had foreſworn themſelves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the Holy Ghoſt, [c] *That he that ſpeaketh lies, ſhall be deſtroyed*, and that *the mouth which uttereth them, ſlayeth the ſoul*: how much more perilous is it (if any peril be greater than to deſtroy the ſoul) to ſwear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the pope that perſuaded, or rather commanded the king of *Hungary* after his great victory over *Amurath* the *Turk*, and when the ſaid king had compelled him to peace, the moſt advantageous that ever was made for the Chriſtians, to break his faith, and to provoke the *Turk* to renew the war. and tho' the ſaid king was far ſtronger in the field than ever; yet he loſt the battle with 30000 Chriſtians, and his own life. But I will ſtay my hand: for this firſt volume will not hold the repetition of God's judgments upon faith-breakers; be it againſt Infidels, Turks, or Chriſtians of divers religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-days is rather made a matter of cuſtom than of conſcience.

It is alſo very remarkable; that it pleaſed God to leave ſo many cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Iſrael*, to ſcourge and afflict them, by foreſeeing their idolatry, and as it is ſaid in the ſcriptures, [d] *To be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make war*. For theſe cities hereafter named, did not only remain in the *Canaanites* poſſeſſion all the time of *Joſhua*, but ſoon

[a] Joſh. 9. 7. [b] Joſh. 9. 14. [c] Pſal. 5. 6. Wiſdom 1. 11. [d] Joſh. 23. Judg. 1. *and* Judg. 3. 2.

after his death, the [a] children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain countries, and enforc'd to inhabit the mountains, and places of hardeſt acceſs. And thoſe of *Judah* were not able to be maſters of their own vallies; becauſe, as it is written in *Judges* i. 19. *The Canaanites had chariots of iron.* And thoſe principal cities which ſtood on the ſea-ſide, adjoining unto [b] *Judah*, were ſtill held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philiſtines*; as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Aſdod*, out of one of which cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manaſſeh* over *Jordan* expel the [c] *Geſhurites*, nor the *Maachathites*; which inhabited the north parts of *Baſan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nephtalims* poſſeſs themſelves of *Bethſhemiſh*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they enforc'd thoſe *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did [d] *Aſher* expel the *Zidonians*, nor thoſe of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achzib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, and *Rehob*, nor enforce them to a tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them. Alſo the *Canaanites* dwelt in [e] *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*; and among the children of *Manaſſeh*, on the weſt of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held [f] *Bethſhean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*; yea, *Jeruſalem* itſelf did the *Jebuſites* defend above four hundred years, even till *David*'s time.

Now *Joſhua* lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed *Iſrael*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expreſſed in the ſcriptures, which cauſeth divers to conjecture diverſly of the continuance. *Joſephus* gives him five and twenty years; *Seder Ollam Rabbi*, the author of the *Hebrew* chronology, eight and twenty; and *Maſſeus* ſix and twenty; *Maimonius*, cited by *Maſſius*, fourteen; *Joannes Lucidus*, ſeventeen; *Cajetanus*, ten; *Euſebius* giveth him ſeven and twenty, and ſo doth St. *Auguſtine*; *Melanæthon*, two and thirty; *Codoman* five and twenty. But whereas there paſſed 480 years from the deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the temple, it is neceſſary that we allow to *Joſhua* only eighteen of them, as finding the reſt ſupplied otherwiſe, which to me ſeems the moſt likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The ſame neceſſity of retaining preciſely 480 years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the temple, convinceth of error ſuch as have inſerted years between *Joſhua* and *Othoniel*, of whom [g] *Euſebius* finds eight years, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reaſon in his four and twentieth and laſt chapters upon *Joſhua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine years, *Bucholzer* and *Reuſner* but one, *Codoman* twenty, and *Nicephorus* no leſs than three and thirty; whereas following the ſure direction of theſe 480 years, there can be no void years found between *Joſhua* and *Othoniel*, unleſs they be taken out of thoſe eighteen aſcribed unto *Joſhua* by the account already ſpecified. The praiſes and acts of *Joſhua* are briefly written in the ſix and fortieth chapter of *Eccleſiaſticus*, where, among many others things, it is ſaid of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battles of the Lord?*

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, becauſe it is ſaid in the laſt chapter, verſe 26. *And Joſhua wrote theſe words in the book of the law of God*; which ſeemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which *Joſhua* made with *Iſrael* in *Sichem*, where they all promiſed to ſerve and obey the Lord, which promiſe *Joſhua* cauſed to be written in the book of the law; and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulenſis*: *Theodoret* doth likewiſe conceive that the book of *Joſhua* was collected out of an ancient volume, intitled *Liber Juſtorum*; remembred by *Joſhua* himſelf; and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*; for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon theſe words of the 26th verſe, *And Joſhua wrote theſe words*, &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it; for when the people had anſwered *Joſhua*, [h] *The Lord our God will we ſerve, and his voice will we obey*; it followeth that *Joſhua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the ſame in the book of the law of God.

There lived at once with *Joſhua*, *Erichthonius* in *Attica*, who taught that nation to yoke beaſts together, thereby to till the ground with more eaſe and ſpeed: and about the ſame time the fifty daughters of *Danaus* (as it is ſaid) ſlew the fifty ſons of *Egyptus*, all but *Lynceus*, who ſucceeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived alſo with *Joſhua*, *Phœnix* and *Cadmus*, and near the end of *Joſhua*'s life, *Jupiter* is ſaid to have raviſhed *Europa* the daughter of *Phœnix* (afterwards married to *Aſterius* king of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But [i] St. *Auguſtine* reports this raviſhment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the ſons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether [k] *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in perſon a young or ſtrong man at the ſame *Trojan* war. And ſo doth *Neſtor* reckon up in the counſel of the [l] *Greeks*, *Theſeus* and *Perithous* for men of antiquity, and of ages paſt: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of theſe. But hereof elſewhere.

CHAP. VII.

Of the tribes of Iſrael, *that were planted in the borders of* Phenicia, *with ſundry ſtories depending upon thoſe places.*

SECT. I.

The proem to the deſcription of the whole land of Canaan, *with an expoſition of the name of* Syria.

THE ſtory of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Joſhua*, after whom the commonwealth of the *Jews* was governed by kings, of which ſo many of them as ruled the ten tribes, ſhall be remembred when we come to the deſcription of *Samaria*: but becauſe the land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the ſtages and theatres, whereon the greateſt part of the ſtory paſs'd, with that which followeth hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better underſtanding of both) to make a geographical deſcription of thoſe regions; that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be underſtood and conceived. To which purpoſe (beſides the addition of the neighbour countries) I have be-

[a] Judg. 1. 34. [b] Joſh. 11. 19. 1 Sam. 17. 4. [c] Joſh. 13, 13. [d] Judg. 1. 31. [e] Joſh. 16. 10. [f] Judg. 1. 27. [g] Euſeb. Præp. Evang. [h] Joſh. 5 *laſt ver. and* c. 24. v. 26. [i] Lib. 18. c. 12. De Civitate Dei. [k] Homer. Odyſſ. & Iliad. [l] Hom. Iliad. 1.

ſtowed

ſtowed on every tribe his proper portion; and do ſhew what cities and places of ſtrength were by the *Jews* obtained; and what numbers it pleaſed God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and ſcourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at ſundry times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored thoſe deaf and dead idols of the heathen. *Divina bonitas* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *ideo maxime iraſcitur in hoc ſæculo, ne iraſcatur in futuro; & miſericorditer temporalem adhibet ſeveritatem, ne æternam juſte inferat ultionem*; the divine goodneſs is eſpecially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come; and doth mercifully uſe temporal ſeverity, that it may not juſtly bring upon us eternal vengeance.

To the cities herein deſcribed, I have added a ſhort ſtory of the beginnings and ends of divers kingdoms and common-wealths; and to help my ſelf herein, I have peruſed divers of the beſt authors upon this ſubject; among whom, becauſe I find ſo great diſagreement in many particulars, I have rather in ſuch caſes adventured to follow mine own reaſon, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And becauſe *Canaan*, with *Paleſtina* of the *Philiſtines*, and the lands of *Og* and *Sihon* kings of *Baſan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but ſmall provinces of *Syria*; it ſhall be neceſſary, firſt to divide and bound the general, and ſo deſcend to this particular, now called the holy land.

[a] *Syria*, now *Soria*, according to the largeſt deſcription, as it was anciently taken, imbraced all thoſe regions from the *Euxine* ſea to the *Red* ſea; and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into *Pontus*, called [b] *Leucoſyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it ſhorter, and from the coaſt of *Cilicia*, which is the north border, unto *Idumea* towards the ſouth, *Tigris* towards the ſun-riſing, and the *Mediterranean* ſea weſtward: it then containeth, beſides *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Arabia* the *Deſart*, and *Arabia Petræa*, that region alſo which the *Greeks* call *Meſopotamia*; the *Hebrews Syria*, of the two rivers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for ſo *Aram-Nahairaijm* is expounded; alſo *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriæ*, becauſe the two rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

[c] *Edeſſa*, ſometimes *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the metropolis of this region of *Syria*. In *Syria*, taken largely, there were many ſmall provinces, as *Cœleſyria*, which the *Latins* call *Syria Cava*, becauſe it lay in that fruitful valley between the mountains of *Lybanus* and *Anti-lybanus*, in which the famous cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were ſeated. Then *Damaſcena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the city [d] *Damaſcus*, and the mountains of *Lybanus*, the regal ſeat of the *Adades*, the firſt kings of *Syria*. Adjoining to it was the province of *Sophene*, or [e] *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*; over which *Adadezer* commanded in *Solomon*'s time. Then *Phenicia* and the people *Syraphœnices*: and laſtly, *Syria Paleſtina* bordering *Egypt*; of which [f] *Ptolemy* maketh *Judea* alſo a part; and to that province which *Moſes* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syria Judea*.

SECT. II.

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan, *and of the promiſes touching this land.*

BUT that land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phenicia*, and ſtretcheth from behind *Lybanus* to the great deſarts between *Idumea* and *Egypt*; bounded by the midland ſea on the weſt, and the mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon* towards the eaſt; the ſame hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolemy Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from [g] *Canaan* the ſon of *Cham*, *& lingua appellata fuit Canaan*; The language was alſo called *Canaan*, ſaith *Montanus*; and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*, who took name from *Heber*, the ſon of *Sale*, according to [h] St. *Auguſtine*. But *Arius Montanus* not ſo well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all thoſe of *Noah*'s ſons, which paſs'd over *Euphrates* towards the weſt ſea. For the word *Heber*, ſaith he, is as much as *tranſiens*, or *tranſmittens*, of going or paſſing over. And becauſe the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding; therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were paſſengers, which is alſo the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of [i] *Euſebius* long before them both. It had alſo the name of *Judea* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intitled the holy land, becauſe therein our Saviour Chriſt was born, and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four, namely, into *Edom* (otherwiſe *Seir*, or *Edumea*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*. *Galilee* is double, the ſuperior, called *Gentium*, and the inferior; and that *Galilee* and *Judea* are diſtinguiſhed, it is plain in the [k] evangeliſts, tho' both of them belong to *Phenicia*.

Now beſides theſe provinces of *Phenicia*, and *Paleſtina* (both which the river of *Jordan* boundeth; ſaving that *Phenicia* ſtretcheth a little more eaſterly towards *Damaſcus*) that part alſo to the eaſt of *Jordan*, and within the mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwiſe *Traconi*, fell to the poſſeſſion of half *Manaſſeh*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* alſo; as well becauſe anciently poſſeſs'd by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoy'd by the *Iſraelites*; which eaſtmoſt parts are again divided into *Baſan*, or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the territories of the *Machati*, *Geſſuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are known to the latter coſmographers by the name of *Arabia* in general; and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will ſpeak in their proper places.

But where *Moſes* deſcribeth the land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Geneſis*, he maketh no mention of the latter provinces, which fell to *Manaſſeh*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*; for theſe be his words: *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Zidon, *as thou comeſt to* Gerar *until* Azzah (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the country north and ſouth; then it followeth in the text; *And as thou goeſt unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Seboim, even unto Laſha*; by which words *Moſes* ſetteth down the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead* ſea to the *Mediterranean*. But in [l] *Deuteronomy*, it ſeemeth to be far more large; for it is therein written: *All the places whereon the ſoles of your feet ſhall tread ſhall be yours: your coaſt ſhall be from the wilderneſs, and from Lebanon, and from the river Perah, unto the uttermoſt ſea.* Now for the length of the country north and ſouth, this deſcription agreeth with the former; only *Lebanon* is put for *Zidon*: and the wilderneſs for *Gerar* and *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent eaſt and weſt, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*, then the land promiſed ſtretcheth it ſelf both over *Arabia Petræa* and the deſart, as far as the border of *Babylon*, which the *Iſraelites* never poſſeſs'd, nor at any time did ſo much as invade or attempt.

[a] Ptol Aſiæ Tab. 4. [b] Ptol. 5. [c] Aurogallus. [d] 1 King 11. [e] Herod. in Polym. Dion. l. 27. [f] Ptol. Aſiæ Tab. 4. [g] Strab. l. 16. [h] Caleb. f. 62. [i] Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 3. [k] Matt. 2. Luke 2. John 4. [l] Deut. 11. 24.

And

And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive, that by the river *Perah*, was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*; taking light from this place of *Joshua*; [a] *Behold I have divided unto you by lot these nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your tribes; from Jordan, with all the nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great sea westward.*

And tho' it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the territory of the holy land: yet, as [b] *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it but *per gentes in amicitiam receptas.* For *David* did not at any time enter so far to the east as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia.* Neither doth the not possessing of all these countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavil, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* unperformed: for when both their kings, magistrates, and people fell from his worship and service, it pleased him, not only to inclose them within that territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein, and elsewhere, to subject them unto those idolatrous nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also served and obey'd. And sure, the promise by which the *Hebrews* claimed the inheritance of [c] *Canaan*, and the lasting injoying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heavens were above the earth*, was tied to those conditions, both in the verses preceding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other, than all mankind could or can expect; who knew, that all sorts of comforts, from the merciful goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in *Deuteronomy* xi. 8. the keeping of God's commandments, was a condition joined to the prosperity of *Israel.* For therein it is written; *Therefore shall ye keep all commandments which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the land, whither ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your days in the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers*, &c.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heavens are above the earth. [d] *For if ye keep diligently*, saith he, *all these commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God*, &c. *then will the Lord cast out all these nations before you, and ye shall possess great nations, and mightier than you.* And here, tho' it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of God's commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his All-powerful majesty, to the idolatry of the heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed. Yet I cannot mislike that exposition of *Melancthon*; for, saith he, *ostendit promissionem præcipuam non esse de hoc politico regno*; He sheweth that his chief promise is not of a civil kingdom. To which agrees that answer, which St. *Jerome* made to a certain heretick, in his epistle *ad Dardanum*, who accused St. *Jerome*, that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jews* story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an allegory, and *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram quæ in cœlis est* (that is) Only to that land of the living which is in heaven. *Quoniam tota Judæorum regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat* 160 *milliarium, latitudinem vero* 40, *& in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes, & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Judæis occupata, sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa*; Because the whole country of the *Jews* is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160 miles in length, and 40 miles in breadth; and in these are countries, places, cities, and many towns, which the *Jews* never possess'd, but were only granted by divine promise. In like manner the same father speaketh upon *Isaiah*, touching the blessings promised unto *Jerusalem*; where he hath these words, [e] *De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palæstina regione petendam: quæ totius provinciæ deterrima est, & saxosis montibus asperatur; & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut cœlestibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium cisternarum extructione soletur: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur festinaverunt structores tui*; From whence, saith he, we learn, that *Jerusalem* is not to be sought in that region of *Palestina*, which is the worst of the whole province, and ragged, with craggy mountains, and suffereth the penury of thirst: so as it preserveth rain water, and supplieth the scarcity of wells, by building of cisterns: but this *Jerusalem* is in God's hands, to which it is said thy builders have hastned; so far St. *Jerome.* Where also, to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself; *Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hæreticus sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historiæ veritatem: quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis, sed ut decutiam supercilium Judæorum: qui synagogæ angustias latitudini ecclesiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum vivificantem, ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem*; Neither (saith he) say I this to disgrace the land of *Judea* (as the heretical sycophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the history, which is the foundation of spiritual understanding, but to beat down the pride of the *Jews*; which enlarge the straits of the synagogue, farther than the breadth of the church: for if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickning spirit, let them shew the land of promise flowing with milk and honey.

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely (seeing the west bound in the place, *Deut.* xi. 24. had his truth in the literal sense; that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the east bound, should be taken only for a spiritual sense) yet nevertheless that *Jerome*'s opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be understood for *Euphrates:* and that the promise it self was never so large, much less the plantation and conquest of *Israel.*

And now for a more particular description of this holy land, because *Asher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, held the northermost part, and were seated in *Phenicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Asher* for the first: of which tribe, yet before I speak, I must admonish the reader touching the names of places in this, and the other tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the divers fancies of translators, are diversly expressed; so that to the unskilful they may seem diverse, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly, because the ancient editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* editions have; and partly, because the ancients expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the latter do think fit.

[a] Josh. 23. 4. [b] Vadian. Epitom. trium terræ partium. cap. Palæstina. [c] Deut. 11. 21. [d] Deut. 11. [e] Isa. 49. 14.

SECT. III.

SECT. III.

The Tribe of ASHER.

† I.

The bounds of the tribe of Aſher.

THE *Aſherites* deſcended of *Aſher*, the ſon of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increaſed while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500 and odd perſons, all men above 20 years of age, and able to bear arms at the time, when they were muſtered by *Moſes* at mount *Sinai:* all which number periſhing in the deſarts, there remained of their iſſues, beſides women and children, 53400 bodies fit for the wars: which paſs'd the river of *Arnon*, into the plains of *Moab*; and, after the conqueſt of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phenicia*, from *Zidon*, and the fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais Acon* along the ſea coaſt, containing 30 *Engliſh* miles, or thereabouts; and from the midland ſea to the eaſt border, ſome 12 miles; tho' [a] *Antoninus* makes it ſomewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in wine, oil, and wheat, beſides the *Balſamum*, with other pleaſant and profitable commodities; according to that prophecy, *Aſſer pinguis panis*; concerning *Aſher*, his bread ſhall be fat; [b] *And he ſhall give pleaſures for a king.*

† II.

Of Zidon.

THE firſt city ſeated on the north border of the territory of *Aſher*, was *Zidon*, which *Joſhua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for ſtrength and magnitude. The *Greeks*, and Q. *Curtius*, make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and [c] *Juſtin* derives the name from the abundance of fiſh found on thoſe ſhores; whereof it hath been called *Zidona*. But that it was far more ancient, [d] *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and *Joſephus* witneſs, the ſame being founded by *Zidon*, the eldeſt of *Canaan*'s ſons: and ſo ſtrong it was in *Joſhua*'s time, as neither did himſelf attempt it, neither could the *Aſſerites*, or any of their ſucceſſors, maſter it: but it continued all the time of the judges and kings, even unto the coming of Chriſt, a city interchangeably governed, by their own princes, or other magiſtrates: tho', according to the warnings and threats of the prophets [e] *Iſaiah*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel* and *Zachary*; it was often afflicted, both by the enemies ſword, and by the peſtilence.

Zidon is ſeated on the very waſh of the *Phenician* ſea, which is a part of the *Mediterranean*, or midland ſea. It hath to the north, the city of *Berythus*, and the river *Leontis*; and to the ſouth, *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which ſtandeth between it and *Tyre*; the diſtance between which two great and famous cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14000 paces, ſaith [f] *Seiglerus:* but *Vadianus* makes it 200 furlongs, and ſo doth *Weiſſinbury*, in his deſcription of the holy land, and both from *Strabo:* which 200 furlongs make 25 miles. This difference of diſtance, as well between theſe two known cities, as all the reſt, make it over-difficult to deviſe any new ſcale to the map and deſcription of the holy land.

What kings it had till *Agenor*'s time, there is no memory. The ſtory which *Zeno* the philoſopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time conſumed and loſt. It ſeemeth to be more ancient than *Tyre*; which was alſo built by the *Zidonians*. For as [g] *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* ſpeaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*; becauſe it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a city ſubject to the kings thereof: tho' it be true, that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and ſtrong. From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* their principal workmen, both in timber and ſtone, for the building of the temple. For as it flouriſhed in all ſorts of learning, ſo did it in all other mechanical arts and trades: the prophet [h] *Zachary* calling them the wiſe *Zidonians*. The city was, both by nature and art, exceeding ſtrong, having a caſtle or citadel on the north ſide, ſtanding upon an unacceſſible rock, and compaſſed by the ſea; which after the citizens became Chriſtians, was held and defended by the knights of the *Dutch* order: and another caſtle it hath on the ſouth ſide, by the port of *Egypt*, which the templers guarded. It alſo ſent many other colonies beſides that of *Tyre*, into places remote; as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, cities of *Beotia* in *Greece*.

Strabo and [i] *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of [k] glaſs, which they uſed to make of thoſe ſands which are taken out of the river *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterranean* ſea, near *Ptolomais* or *Acon*; and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of thoſe clear glaſſes which they make at *Murana*; of which St. *Jerome* and *Pliny*. Zidon *inſignis artifex vitri*, Zidon *vitrariis officinis nobilis*; *Zidon* a famous glaſs-maker, or a ſkilful worker in glaſs-houſes.

They were in religion idolaters (as the reſt of the *Canaanites*) worſhippers of *Baal* and [l] *Aſtaroth:* which idols, tho' common to the other of the iſſue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1 *Sam.* xxxi. 10. and *Judges* x. 6.) yet eſpecially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*; as appears 1 *Kings* xi. 5. in the ſtory of *Solomon*'s idolatry, where *Aſtaroth* is called the God of the *Zidonians:* and 1 *Kings* xvi. 33. in the ſtory of *Achab*, the chief worſhipper of *Baal*, where it is ſaid, that he marrying *Jezebel*, the daughter of the king of the *Zidonians*, worſhipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals*, and divers *Aſtaroths*, in their idolatries, they acknowledged; as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim* and *Aſtaroth*, 1 *Sam.* xii. 10. and elſewhere: for even the name *Aſtaroth*, as I am informed by a ſkilful *Hebrician*, is plural; the ſingular being *Aſtoreth:* whence *Judg.* ii. 13. the *Septuagint* read ἐλάτρευσαν ταῖς ἀσταρτίαις; *They worſhipped the* Aſtarties. The occaſion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, and *Aſtoreths*, may be diverſly underſtood; either in reſpect of the diverſity of the forms of the images, or of the worſhip in divers places, or of the ſtories depending upon them; which (as fables uſe to be) were doubtleſs in divers cities diverſe. *Auguſtine Quæſt.* 19. *in Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Aſtarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by ſome ſuch name as *Aſtarte*, *Tull. l.* 3. *de Nat. Deorum*, making divers goddeſſes of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Aſtarte*; whom he makes to be born of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the wife

[a] Ant. Itin. [b] Gen. 49. [c] Juſtin. l. 18. [d] Gen. 10. Joſeph. [e] Iſa. 23. Jer. 47. Ezek. 28. & 32. Zach. 9. [f] Palæſt. Seig. f. 19. Vadian. Phœn. f. 278. Strab. l. 16. [g] Strab. l. 16. [h] Zach. 9. 2. [i] Plin. l. 5. c. 9. [k] *It ſeems that even in* Joſhua's *time they practiſed Glaſs-making; whence* Junius *for* Miſbrephoth maim, *which* ad verbum, *is as much as* combuſtiones aquarum, *reads* fornaces vitrarias, Joſh. 11. 8. *as it ſeems, becauſe theſe furnaces were where there was ſtore of water, either for the moving of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other neceſſary uſes. But there are others that take them for ſalt-pits, and others again for hot-baths.* [l] *The form of* Aſtoreth (*or* Aſtarte) *ſeemeth to have been a ſheep; for,* Deut. 7. 13. *the word in the plural number ſignifieth ſheep; and this may confirm* Auguſtine's *opinion, that* Aſtarte *was* Juno: *for the form of her huſband* Jupiter Hammon *was a ram.*

of *Adonis*. As alſo *Macrob.* 2. *Saturn. cap.* 21. ſays, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worſhipped of the *Aſſyrians*. And *Jerome*, upon *Ezekiel* viii. 44. notes, that *Thammuz* (whom there the idolatrous women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may ſeem, that in the worſhip of *Aſtarte*, or *Venus*, they did bewail her husband *Adonis*. As alſo the *Grecians* did in their ſongs of *Adonis*, [a] *Mourn for* Adonis *the fair, dead is* Adonis *the fair*. Howbeit, others in that place of *Ezekiel*, not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Oſiris*, in the ſacrifices of *Iſis*: whoſe loſs of her huſband *Oſiris*, was as famous in the *Egyptian* idolatry, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus*'s loſs of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iſide & Oſiride*; that *Oſiris* with the *Egyptians*, is called *Ammuz*: which word may ſeem to be the ſame with *Ezekiel*'s *Thammuz*. But howſoever theſe *Zidonians* were thus anciently foſtered with the milk of idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the doctrine and goſpel of Chriſt after this aſcenſion, than the *Jews*: who had been taught by *Moſes*, and the prophets, ſo many years, whereof our Saviour, in *Matthew* and *Luke*; [b] *Wo be to thee Chorazin*, &c. *For if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone*, &c. *But I ſay unto you, it ſhall be eaſier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgment, than for you.*

It received a Chriſtian biſhop with the firſt; who was afterwards of the dioceſe of *Tyre*. But in the year of our redemption 636, it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*; and continued in their poſſeſſion till *Baldwinus* the firſt, then king of *Jeruſalem* in the year 1111, by the help of the *Danes* and *Norways*, who came with a fleet to viſit the holy land, and took port at [c] *Joppa*; it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to *Euſtace Gremer*, a nobleman of that country. And again, in the year 1250, it was re-edified and ſtrengthened by *Lodowick* the *French* king; while he ſpent four years in the war of the holy land. [d] Laſtly, in the year 1289, it was reconquered by the *Saracens*; and is now in poſſeſſion of the *Turks*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

† III.

Of Sarepta, *with a brief hiſtory of* Tyre *in the ſame coaſt.*

Sarepta, or, after the *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next city ſouthward from *Zidon*, between it and the river called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) ſtanding in the way towards *Tyre*, a city very famous for the excellent wine growing near it: of which *Sidonius*;

Vina mihi non ſunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæque Sareptano palmite miſſa bibas.

I have no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta*'s vine.

This city had alſo a biſhop of the dioceſe of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks*, as the reſt, and now called *Saphet*, ſaith *Poſtellus*.

Not far from *Sarepta*, was ſituate that ſome time famous city of *Tyre*, whoſe fleets of ſhips commanded, and gave the law over all the *Mediterranean* ſea, and the borders thereof; during which time of greatneſs and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*; of which *Virgil*; [e] *Urbs antiqua fuit Tyrii tenuere coloni, Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called [f] *Punica quaſi Phœnicum*, a colony of the *Phenicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italy*, *Nola*. In *Aſia* the leſs, *Dromos Achillis*, which city the [g] *Scholiaſt* of *Apollonius* placeth near the river *Phyllis* in *Bithynia*.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*; and ſo it is written in *Joſhua* xix. taking name from the ſituation, becauſe built on a high rock, ſharp at one end. The *Latins*, as it ſeems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*; for [h] *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Oſtrum Sarranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day, the place being ſtill known by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and becauſe it was a colony of the *Zidonians*, the prophet *Iſaiah* xxiii. calleth it the daughter of *Zidon*: which *Trogus* alſo confirmeth, tho' *Beroſus*, by affinity of name, makes *Thiras* the ſon of *Japhet* to be the parent thereof: and tho', no doubt, it was very ancient (for ſo much the prophet *Iſaiah* xxiii. alſo witneſſeth, *Is not this your glorious city, whoſe antiquity is of ancient days?*) yet, that *Thiras* the ſon of *Japhet* ſet himſelf in the boſom of the *Canaanites*, who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that region, I ſee nothing to perſuade me.

But that new *Tyre*, in after-times ſo renowned, ſeemeth to be the work of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was [i] *Curtius* and *Joſephus*. And *Euſebius* makes this city elder than *Solomon*'s temple 240 years: *Cedrenus* 361, who alſo addeth that *Tyrus*, the wife of *Agenor*, gave it her name: but of *Agenor*, I will ſpeak more at large in the ſtory of their kings.

For ſtrength, and for the commodiouſneſs of the harbour, and the better to receive trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an iſland 700 paces from the continent; and therefore [k] *Ezekiel* placeth it in the midſt of the ſea, as ſome read; or as others, in the innermoſt part of the ſea; whence he calleth it, *ſituate at the entrance of the ſea*; as alſo the ſame prophet calleth it, *the mart of the people for many iſles*: and *Iſaiah* xxiii. 3. *A mart of the nations*. And ſo proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this city, as the prophet *Iſaiah* xxvii. 8. calleth the merchants thereof *princes*, and their chapmen *the nobles of the world*.

It excelled, both in learning, and in manufacture; eſpecially in the making and dying of purple and ſcarlet cloth: which, ſaith *Julius Pollux*, was firſt found out by *Hercules*'s dog, who paſſing along the ſea coaſt, and eating of the fiſh *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worſhipped the ſame idols that *Zidon* did; ſaving that *Hercules* became their patron in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* preſented him with a crown of gold, and other gifts, deſiring to remain his friends and allies, anſwered them, that he had vowed a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, the defender of their city, and the anceſtor of the *Macedonian* kings, and muſt therefore enter it. Whereupon they ſent him word, that *Hercules*'s temple was in the mountain of old *Tyre*, where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not, for *Alexander* was not ſo ſuperſtitious, as ambitious; he deſired to enter the town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ſhips as he could, and brought from *Li-*

[a] Κλαίετε καλὸν Ἄδωνιν. [b] Matth. 11. 20. [c] Tyr. 11 Bell. Sacr. 14. Vitriac. c. 27. [d] Niger Poſtellus. [e] Virgil. l. 1. [f] Plin. l. 5. c. 19. [g] Marcelin. l. 22. [h] Gellus, l. 4. c. 6. [i] Juſtin. l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Euſeb. in Chron. Joſeph. Ant. l. 8. c. 2. Cedren. p. 17. [k] Ezek. 28. 2. & 27. 3.

banus

banus ſo great a number of cedars, and ſo many weighty ſtones from the old city of *Tyre* adjoining, as notwithſtanding that his materials were often waſhed away with the ſtrength of the ſea and the tides, yet he never reſted, till he had made a foot paſſage from the continent to the iſland: and having once approached their walls, he over-topp'd them with turrets of wood, and other frames; from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving ſpirit of reſolution) he became lord thereof, putting all to the ſword that reſiſted; after which, he cauſed 2000 more to be hung up in a rank all along the ſea-ſhore; which execution in cold blood he performed (as ſome authors affirm) upon the iſſues of thoſe ſlaves which had formerly ſlain all their maſters, taking their wives, children, riches, and power of government to themſelves. This victory of *Alexander* over the *Tyrians*, [a] *Joſephus* remembreth; and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000 ſoldiers; who was the laſt *ſatrapa*, or provincial governour, which *Darius* ſeated in *Samaria*; the ſame who having married his daughter to *Manaſſeh*, brother to *Jaddus* the high prieſt of *Jeruſalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a temple might be built on the mountain *Garizim*, over *Samaria*; that the forces of the *Jews* being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which prieſthood he beſtowed on his ſon-in-law *Manaſſeh*, whom the *Jews* oppugned, for that he had married out of their tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* beſieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom [b] *Gulielmus Tyrius* calleth *Sanabula*, died.

Long before this deſolation of *Tyre*, by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanaſſar* the *Aſſyrian* king; when the growing pride of the *Aſſyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten tribes, with the reſt of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city. He beſieged it both on the land ſide, and with threeſcore ſhips of war held the port; to the end that neither any victuals nor any ſupply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve ſail ſcattered that fleet, and took five hundred priſoners of the [c] *Aſſyrians*; notwithſtanding, the *Aſſyrian* continued his reſolution, and lay before it by his lieutenants five years, but with ill ſucceſs. And this ſiege *Menander Epheſius*, cited by *Joſephus*, made report of in his chronicles, as he found the ſtory among the annals of the *Tyrians* (which the ſaid *Menander* converted into *Greek*) adding that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Heliſæus*, was then king of *Tyre*, having governed the ſame ſix and twenty years. Soon after this repulſe of *Salmanaſſar*, and about 200 years before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, at ſuch time as he deſtroyed *Jeruſalem* with the temple, came before this city; who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that deſpairful work of joining it to the continent. For *Nabuchodonoſor* had formerly done it; tho' by the diligence of the citizens, and the ſtrength of the ſea, the ſame cawſey and paſſage was again broken down and demoliſhed.

Againſt *Nabuchodonoſor* for many years the *Tyrians* defended themſelves; for ſo long did theſe *Babylonians* continue before it: *As every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder made bare*, ſaith, *Ezekiel* xxix. 18. who with the prophet *Iſaiah* ch. 23, *&c.* had manifeſtly foretold the deſtruction of this proud place. In the end, and after thirteen years ſiege or more, the *Tyrians*, deſpoiled of all their hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of God's prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ſhips, abandoned their city, tranſporting with themſelves the ableſt of all that remained; and with their wives, children, and portable riches, ſailed thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other maritimate cities of their tributaries, or confederates; ſo as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to ſatisfy ſo many labours and perils, or any perſon upon whom to avenge themſelves for the loſs of ſo many bodies in that war. It pleaſed God in recompence thereof (who ſtrengthened this reſolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nabuchodonoſor* victorious over the [d] *Egyptians*; and gave him that kingdom and the ſpoil thereof, as it were in wages for his army. Whereupon St. *Jerome* noteth, that God leaveth not the good deeds of the heathen unrewarded; who tho' they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternal happineſs reſerved for his ſervants and ſaints; yet ſuch is the boundleſs goodneſs of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal bleſſings.

Now of this enterpriſe of *Nabuchodonoſor* againſt *Tyre*, profane hiſtorians have not been ſilent. For both *Diocles* and *Philoſtratus* (as [e] *Joſephus* citeth them) the one in his ſecond book, the other in his *Phenician* hiſtories remember it.

After theſe two great vaſtations by the kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this city of *Tyre* repaired and recovered itſelf again; and continued in great glory about 300 years, even to the coming of our Saviour Chriſt; and after him flouriſhed in the Chriſtian faith near 600 years; the archbiſhop whereof gave place to none but to the patriarch of *Jeruſalem* only; who within his own dioceſe had fourteen great cities, with their biſhops and ſuffragans; namely, [f] *Caipha*, otherwiſe *Porphyria*, *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæſarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Biblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthoſia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortoſa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the year 636, it was with the reſt of that beautiful region of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtina*, ſubjected to the cruel and faithleſs *Saracen*. Under the burden and yoke of whoſe tyranny it ſuffered with the other *Paleſtine* cities 488 years.

[g] In the year 1112, it was attempted by *Baldwin* king of *Jeruſalem*, but in vain; yet in the year 1124, by *Guaremonde*, patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, vicegerent to *Baldwin* II. with the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, and their fleet of gallies, it was again recovered, and ſubjected to the kings of *Jeruſalem*, and ſo it remained 165 years.

Finally, in the year 1189, *Saladine* having firſt taken *Jeruſalem*, removed his whole army, and ſat down before *Tyre*, drawing his fleet of ſhips and gallies from *Alexandria* into the port, this city as then only remaining in the Chriſtian power.

The citizens finding themſelves reduced into great famine, and many other miſeries, they at once with certain rafters of timber, fired, burnt and brake the *Saracens* fleet, and ſallying out reſolvedly upon his army, ſlew ſo great numbers of them, and followed their victory with ſuch fury, as that the *Saracens* forſaking their trenches and tents, removed in great diſorder and diſhonour. Two years after which victory, the body of that famous *Frederick Barbaroſſa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the Chriſtians enemies over a river unfordable, periſhed by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and

[a] Joſeph. Ant. Judæ, l. 11. c. 8. [b] De bell. ſac. l. 13. c. 4. [c] Joſeph. Ant. l. 9. c. 14. Et cont. Ap. 1. Gul. Tyrius, de bell. ſac. 13. 4. Joſeph. Ant. l. 9. c. 15. [d] Ezek. 29. 19. [e] Joſeph. Ant. l. 10. c. 13. [f] Gul. Tyr. bell. ſac. [g] Gul. Tyr. 11. bell. ſacr. 17.

interred

interred in the cathedral church of *Tyre*, near unto that glorious ſepulchre of *Origen*, garniſhed and graven with guilt pillars of marble, 940 years before therein buried; but in the year 1289, the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth ſubject to the *Turks*.

† IV.

Of Ptolomais, *or* Acon.

THE third city along the coaſt of the ſea, which the *Aſherites* could not obtain, on the ſouth bound of *Aſher* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name thereof, after *Jerome*; tho' other good authors affirm, that it took name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolemy*. [a] *Pliny* calleth it *Ace*; and otherwiſe the colony of *Claudius*. It had alſo the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*; and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*.

But, laſtly, it was intitled *Ptolomais*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolemies*; which city alſo, as it is 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the [b] *Ptolemies* perfidiouſly wreſted from his ſon-in-law *Alexander*, which called himſelf the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the ſame *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra*, daughter of the ſaid *Ptolemy*, not long before. Therein alſo was *Jonathan Maccabeus* treacherouſly ſurprized and ſlain, as it is 1 *Maccab.* xii. 48. by the perfidiouſneſs of [c] *Tryphon*; whom ſoon after *Antiochus* purſued, as it is in the ſtory enſuing; and by like reaſon, about the ſame time, was the aforeſaid *Alexander* in the war againſt *Demetrius*, one of the ſons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolemy* joined, overthrown and treacherouſly murdered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*, to whom he fled for ſuccour; and his head preſented unto his father-in-law *Ptolemy*, who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treaſon above three days, for [d] God ſtruck him by death.

For the beauty and ſtrength of this city, this *Alexander* made it his regal ſeat; two parts of the ſame being environed by the ſea; and the port of ſafety and capacity, not inferiour to any other in all that tract. This city is diſtant from *Jeruſalem* ſome 34 miles: four miles to the north, from the mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the ſouth from *Caſtrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, [e] *Antoninus* maketh it 32 *Italian* miles. In the midſt of the city there was a tower of great ſtrength, ſome time the temple of *Belzebub*, and therefore called the caſtle of flies; on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, like unto that called [f] *Pharus* in *Egypt*; to give comfort in the night to thoſe ſhips, which came near and ſought that part. it had in it a biſhop's ſeat, of the dioceſe of *Tyre*, after it became Chriſtian; but in the year 636 (a fatal year to the Chriſtians in thoſe parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen*. In the year 1104, it was regained by [g] *Baldwin* I. by the help of the gallies of *Genoa*; to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the year of our Lord God 1187, *Saladine*, king of *Egypt* and *Syria*, became lord thereof. In the year of Chriſt 1191, by *Richard* king of *England*, and *Philip* king of *France*, it was repoſſeſſed and redelivered to the Chriſtians. Laſtly, In the year 1291, it was, by the fury of the *Saracens*, beſieged with an army of 150000, entred, ſack'd, and utterly demoliſhed; tho' in ſome ſort afterward re-edified, and it is now *Turkiſh*.

† V.

Of the caſtle of St. George.

FIVE miles from *Ptolomais*, toward the eaſt, is the caſtle of [h] St. *George* ſeated, in which he was born; the valley adjoining bearing the ſame name. And tho' for the credit of [i] St. *George*'s killing the dragon, I leave every man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the kings of *England* had not ſome probable record of that his memorable act, among many others, it was ſtrange that the order, full of honour, which *Edward* III. founded, and which his ſucceſſors royally have continued, ſhould have borne his name, ſeeing the world had not that ſcarcity of ſaints in thoſe days, as that the *Engliſh* were driven to make ſuch an erection upon a fable, or perſon feigned. The place is deſcribed by *Adrichomius*, in his deſcription of *Aſher*, to have been in the fields of *Libanus*, between the river *Adonis* and *Zidon*. His own words are theſe: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorant inclitum Chriſti militem* D. Georgium, *regis filiam ab immaniſſimo Dracone aſſervâſſe: eamque mactata beſtia parenti reſtituiſſe. In cujus rei memoriam eccleſia poſtmodum fuit ædificata*; In this place, which by the inhabitants is called *Cappadocia*, not far from *Berytus*, men ſay that the famous knight of Chriſt, St. *George*, did reſcue the king's daughter from a huge dragon; and having killed the beaſt, delivered the virgin to her parent. In memory of which deed, a Church was afterwards built there: Thus far *Adrichomius*. His authors he citeth *Ludovicus Roman. Patric. Navigationum*, *l.* 1. *c.* 3. and *Bridenbach*, *Itin.* 5. The valley under this caſtle ſome time called *Aſher*, was afterward called the valley of St. *George*. If this authority ſuffice not, we may rather make the ſtory allegorical, figuring the victory of Chriſt, than accept of *George* the *Arian* biſhop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

† VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, *and others.*

BETWEEN *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* along the ſea-coaſt, was the ſtrong city of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which [k] St. *Jerome* calleth *Achziph*, and *Joſephus*, *Ecdippos*; *Pliny*, *Ecdippa*, one of thoſe which defended itſelf againſt the *Aſherites*. *Belforeſt* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the caſtle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelve ſearchers of the land which *Moſes* ſent from *Cades-barne*, travelled as far to the north as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the tribe of *Aſher*, which *Recbob*, as alſo *Berothæ*, which by *Ezekiel* xlvii. 16. is placed in theſe north borders, belong'd, in *David*'s time, to the king *Hadarezer*, as it may be gathered out of 2 *Sam.* viii. 8. and x. 6. and it defended itſelf againſt the *Aſherites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomai*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek* did.

This *Aphek* it was, whoſe wall falling down, ſlew 27000 of *Benhadad*'s ſoldiers after that 100000 had been ſlaughtered by the *Iſraelites*, under the conduct of *Ahab*. Here *Junius* finds that the *Philiſtines* incamped, a little before the battle at *Gilboa*, tho' in his note upon 1 *Sam.* ix. 1. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battle the ark was taken) to have been in [l] *Juda*. Of which *Joſhua* xv. 53. and in 2 *Kings* xiii. 17. he reads *Fortiter*,

[a] Plin. lib. 5. c. 19. in deſcrip. ter. ſanct. [b] Ptolomæus Philometer. [c] 1 Mac. 1. 10. [d] 1 Mac. 11. 18. [e] Ant. Itin. [f] Herrold. [g] G. Tyr. bell. ſac. l. 10. c. 28. Herrold. l. 1. bell. ſac. Tit. 7. & l. 2. c. 2. & alibi. [h] Broch. [i] Itin. 4. *Of the place and memory of his death. See chap.* 9. §. 1. [k] Jerom. de locis heb. Joſ. bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 19. [l] 1 Kings 20. 29. 1 Sam. 29. 1.

for

for, in *Aphek*. Where others convert it, *Persutiens Syros in Apheck*.

The next place along the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it, when he besieged *Tyre*: and set it on a point of land which extendeth itself into the sea, between *Azciba* and *Tyre*: which castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified, in the year of Christ 1157, when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre*.

Not much above a mile from this castle, there ariseth that most plentiful spring of water, which *Solomon* remembreth, called the [a]*Well of living waters*: from whence, not only all the fields and plains about *Tyre*, are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn; but the same spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the sea, driveth six great mills in that short passage, saith [b]*Brochard*.

Within the land, and to the east of [c]*Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hosa*: and beyond it, under the mountains of *Tyre*, the city of *Achsaph*, or *Axab*, or after St. *Jerome*, *Aciſap*, a city of great strength, whose king, amongst the rest, was slain by *Joshua*, at the waters of *Merom*.

† VII.

Of Thoron, Giscala, *and some other places.*

FARTHER into the land, towards *Jordan*, was seated the castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the eastermost hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107, thereby to restrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the Christians; the place adjoining being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant, From this castle, the lords of *Thoron*, famous in the story of the wars for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, derive their names, and take their nobility. It had in it a curious chappel, dedicated to the blessed virgin, in which *Humphrey* of *Thoron*, constable to *Baldwine* III. king of *Jerusalem*, lieth buried: There were five castles besides this within the territory of *Asher*; whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other; to wit, *Castrum Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum regium*, and *Belfort*. The first near the sea, under the hills of *Saron*; the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort* and *Regium*, stand more within the land, and belonged to the brotherhood and fellowship of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch* knights (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians, at such time as the *Saracens* possessed the best part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which order was in *Ptolomais Acon*. The first fortress was, for beauty and strength, called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the river *Naar*, near the city *Rama*: of which in this tribe, *Joshua* xix 29. for which the Vulgar reads *Horma*, making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels; from the siege of this castle of [d]*Belfort*, the great *Saladine*, king of *Syria* and *Egypt*, was by the Christians army raised, and, with great loss and dishonour, repulsed.

To the east of *Belfort*, is the strong city of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which St. *Jerome* calleth *Chalab*; one of those that defended themselves against *Asher*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not far thence did.

Towards the south from *Roob*, they place *Gabala* (which *Herod*, surnamed the *Ascalonite*, rebuilt) making it of the territory of *Chabol*, [e] *Quod Syrorum lingua displicere significat* (saith *Weishenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre*, was ill pleased with those twenty cities, seated hereabout, which *Solomon* presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the temple. Others think this [f]*Chabol*, or *Chabul*, containing a circuit of those twenty cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compass of the *Holy Land*; tho' bordering *Asher* on the north side: as it is said, 1 *Reg.* ix. 11. that they were *in regione limitis*; that is, *in limite regionis*, in the border of the country: for it was not lawful, say they, to give to strangers any part of the possession allotted to the *Israelites*: howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appears 2 *Chron.* viii. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David*, from the *Syri Rechobeæ*, whose city *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the castle of *Thoron*, they place the cities of *Giscala*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over *Jordan*: *Giscala* was made famous by *John* the son of *Levi*, who from a mean estate, gathering together 400 thieves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*; at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Judea*; by whose practice *Josephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly endangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his second book of those wars, chap. 36. This *John* betraying, in all he could, the city of *Giscala* (whereof he was a native) to the *Roman* state: and finding a resistance in the city, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and the *Gadarims*, to surprize it; who at the same time forced it, and burnt it to the ground: But being by *Josephus*'s authority rebuilt, it was afterwards rendred to *Titus* by composition. They find also the cities of *Cana major*, and [h] *Cades* (or *Cedessa*;) of the first was that *Syro-Phenician*, whose daughter Christ delivered of the evil spirit. Near the other, they say, it was that *Jonathas Maccabæus* overthrew the army of *Demetrius*.

There are, besides these forenamed cities within the tribe of *Asher*, divers others; as on the south border, and near the sea, *Messal*, or *Misheal*: within the land [i] *Besara*, [k] *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, standing on the south border, between *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the north-side, joining to *Syro-Phœnicia*, is the city of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the utmost of the *Holy Land* that way; under which, towards the sea, is *Chali*, and then [l] *Enoch*, supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his son *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as *Ammon*, or *Chammon*, of which *Joshua* xix. 28. where also we read of *Nehiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beton*: the cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misheal*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Asherites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made *Judges* i. 30. to which, out of [m] *Joshua*, we may add *Ebron*, *Amhad*, and others, on which no story dependeth, and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

† VIII.

Of the rivers and mountains of Asher.

THE rivers to the north of *Asher*, are *Adonis*, afterwards *Canis*, to which *Zeigler* joineth *Lycus*, *Ptolemy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the

[a] Cant. 4. [b] Itin. 1. [c] Josh. 12. 20. [d] Herold. l. 2. c. 4. Continuationis bell. sac. [e] Joseph. Ant. 13. 21. *and* 15. 10. [f] Jun. Annot. in 1 Reg. 9. 11. [g] 2 Sam. 10. 6. [h] *See* Kadesh *in* Nephtalim, Mat. 15. Mark 7. Mac. 1. 73. Jos. Ant. 13. c. 8. [i] *Of which* Joshua in vita sua. [k] *Of both which*, Josh. 19. 27. Ezek. 47. 15. [l] *Or* Enosa, Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. [m] Josh. 21. 30.

ſea near *Berytus:* which river of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws near unto *Zidon:* finding his head notwithſtanding, where [a]*Ptolemy* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath alſo a river called *Fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome*, out of *Brochard*, entitleth *Eleutherus:* for which he alſo citeth [b]*Pliny*; and 1 *Maccabees* xi. but neither of thoſe authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Aſher:* for this river falleth into the ſea at the iſle of *Aradus*, not far from *Balanæa*, witneſs [c]*Ptolemy:* and therefore [d]*Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Poſtellus*, *Valana:* which river boundeth *Phœnicia* on the north-ſide: to which *Strabo* alſo agreeth: but this principal river of *Aſher Arius Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Chriſtianus Schrot*, out of the mouth and papers of *Peter Laicſtan* (which *Laicſtan* in this our age both viewed and deſcribed the *Holy Land*) calleth the main river, *Fons hortorum Libani:* and one of the ſtreams which runneth into it from the north-ſide, *Naar*; and another from the ſouth-weſt, *Chabul*, of the city adjoining of the ſame name; for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is alſo another river deſcribed by *Adrichome*, named *Jepthael*, which I find in no other author, and for which he citeth *Joſhua* xix. but the word [e]*Ghe*, which is added there to *Jepthael*, is not taken for a river, but for a valley: and for a valley, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arius Montanus* turn it. There is alſo found in *Aſher* the river of *Belus*, remembred by *Joſephus* and *Tacitus*, which is alſo called *Pagidas*, ſaith [f]*Pliny:* out of the ſands of this river are made the beſt glaſs, which ſome time the *Zidonians* practiſed; and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arius Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*; which it cannot be; for *Belus* is known to flow from out of the lake *Cendevia*; as all coſmographers, both ancient and modern, and the later travellers into thoſe parts witneſs. It is true, that the river of *Chiſon*, taketh water from *Chedumim*; but not in that faſhion which *Montanus* hath deſcribed it: neither doth it find the ſea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus*, but farther to the ſouth, between *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witneſs *Zeigler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Beſides theſe rivers, there are divers famous ſprings and fountains, as that of living waters adjoining to *Tyre:* and [g]*Maſerephot*, or after St. *Jerome*, *Maſerephotmaim*, whoſe well filled by the flood of the ſea adjoining (they ſay) the inhabitants, by ſeething the water, make ſalt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

The mountains which bound *Aſher* on the north, are thoſe of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœleſyria*; two great ledges of hills, which from the ſea of *Phœnicia*, extend themſelves far into the land eaſtward, four hundred ſtadia, or furlongs, according to [h]*Strabo:* for that length he giveth to the valley of *Cœleſyria*; which thoſe mountains incloſe: but [i]*Pliny* gives them 1500 furlongs in length from the weſt (where they begin at *Theipſophon*, or *Dei facies*, near *Tripolis*) to the mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damaſcus*; where *Antilibanus* turneth towards the ſouth. Theſe ledges, where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Baſan* from the deſart *Arabia*, are called *Hermon:* which *Moſes* alſo nameth *Sion*; the *Phenicians*, *Syrion*; and the *Amorites*, *Sanir*; neither is this any one mountain apart, but a continuation of hills; which running farther ſoutherly, is in the ſcriptures called *Galaad*, or *Gilead:* the ſame being ſtill a part of *Libanus*, as the prophet *Jeremy* proveth; *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani:* noting that this *Galaad* is the higheſt of thoſe hills of *Libanus*. [k]*Strabo* knows them by the name of *Traconitæ*; and *Ptolemy* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth theſe mountains bordering, *Aſher*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other coſmographers, but he giveth no reaſon for his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops; becauſe, according to *Tacitus*, the higheſt of them are covered with ſnow all the ſummer; the *Hebrew* word *Libanos* (ſaith *Weiſſenburgh*) ſignifieth whiteneſs. Others call them by that name of the frankincenſe which thoſe trees yield; becauſe λιβανωτος is alſo the *Greek* word for that gum.

[l]*Niger* out of *Aphrodiſeus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kind of honey-dew, which is by the ſun congealed into hard ſugar, which the inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the *Latin* word *Saccharum*.

The rivers which *Libanus* beſtoweth on the neighbour regions, are, *Chryſorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The reſt of the mountains of *Aſher*, are thoſe hills above *Tyre*, and the hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful; but thoſe are but of a low ſtature, compared with *Libanus:* for from *Nebo*, or the mountain of *Abarim*, in *Ruben*, *Moſes* beheld *Libanus* 60 miles diſtant.

SECT. IV.

The Tribe of NEPHTALIM.

† I.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, *and of* Heliopolis, *and* Abila.

THE next portion of the land of *Canaan*, bordering *Aſher*, was the upper *Galilee*; the greateſt part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the ſon of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the handmaid of *Rachel:* who, while they abode in *Egypt*, were increaſed to the number of 53400 perſons, able men to bear arms, numbred at mount *Sinai:* all which leaving their bodies in the deſarts, there entred the holy land of their ſons 45400, beſides infants, women, and children, under 20 years of age. The land of *Nephtalim* took beginning on the north part from the fountains of *Jordan*, and the hills of *Libanus* adjoining, as far ſouth as the ſea of *Galilee*, bounded on the weſt by *Aſher*, and on the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt by *Jordan*.

On the north ſide of *Libanus*, and adjoining to this territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) alſo inhabit; in which tract, and under *Libanus*, was the city of *Heliopolis*; which the height of the mountains adjoining ſhadowed from the ſun, the better part of the day. *Poſtellus* calls it *Balbec*; *Niger*, *Marbech*; and *Leonclavius*, *Beallebeca*.

Of this name of [m]*Heliopolis*, there are two great cities in *Egypt:* the firſt called *On*, by the *Hebrews*, and the *Chaldean* paraphraſt, otherwiſe *Bethſemes*,

[a] Aſiæ Tab. 4. [b] Plin. l. 9. [c] Aſiæ Tab. 4. [d] Poſt Orthoſiam & Eleutherum eſt Tripolis. [e] *The word* Nachal *is ambiguous, either for a valley, or for a river: but this word* Ghe, *is always a valley, as in* Gehinnon *and* Geſſemanim. Joſeph. l. 2. Bell. Jud. c. 3. [f] Lib. 5 c. 19. In Joſh. 19. 26. *it is called* Shichor; *of which name many underſtand another ſtream,* Joſh. 13. 3. *which running by* Petra *of* Arabia, *falleth into the lake* Sirbonis, *and divideth* Egypt *from the promiſed land; whereabout they place* Rhinocolura, *for which city* Junius *taketh* Shichor *in that place of* Joſhua; *but howſoever, whether this* Shichor, Joſh. 13. 3. *be a river or a city, it appears that this name is found, both in the north bound of the* Holy Land, Joſh. 19. 26. *and in the ſouth bound.* Joſh. 13. 3. [g] *See the note in the ſecond ſection of this paragraph.* [h] Strabo, l. 10. [i] Plin. l. 5. c. 20. Deut. 4. 48. [k] Strab. l. 10. Ptol. Aſiæ Tab. 4. Sueton. [l] Nig. p. 503. [m] Guil. Tyr. Bell. ſac. l. 9. c. 15. Theodor. 4. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Mela. l. 3. c. 9. Juſt. Geſtel. in itinerar. Joſeph. in pluribus locis. Euſeb. 8. Demonſt. Volat. l. 11. f. 243.

or

or after the *Latins*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus ſolis*; The city of the ſun: into which, ſaith *Ulpian*, *Severus* the *Roman* emperor ſent a colony: the other *Geſtelius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* alſo findeth a city in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is alſo, in the ſame valley adjoining to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, over which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* the queen commanded.

Abilon alſo gave name to the region adjoining; of which *Lyſanius*, the ſon of *Herod* the elder, became tetrarch or governour; whereof *Ptolemy* gave it the addition of *Lyſanii*, and called it *Abila Lyſanii*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous ſophiſter, was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphileus*, not *Abileus*. After that this city of *Abila*, or *Aphila*, had received the Chriſtian faith, *Priſcillinus* became biſhop thereof; ſlain afterwards by our *Britiſh Maximus* at *Trever*. For diſtinction of this city (if it be not the ſame, as it may be thought to be the ſame) it is to be remembred, that in the tribe of [a] *Manaſſeh*, joining upon the bounds of the tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another city of the ſame name, ſaving that it is written with an [*E*] for an [*I*], and called *Abela*, remembred in the xxth chapter of the 2d of *Samuel*. The ſame *Joſephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Jerome*, *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel*, for diſtinction ſake, it is written, *Abel Beth-Mahaca* (for belike it was the town of *Mahaca*, the wife of *Macir*, the ſon of *Manaſſeh*, the father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This city *Joab* beſieged; becauſe *Seba* the ſon of *Bichri*, who rebelled againſt *David*, fled thereinto for ſuccour; but a certain wiſe woman of the city perſuading the people to caſt *Seba*'s head over the wall, *Joab* retired his army. The ſame city was afterwards taken by the king of *Damaſcus*, *Benhadad*; and after a while by *Teglatphalaſar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to ſignify bewailing, or a plain ground, and therefore no marvel, that many towns (with ſome addition for diſtinction ſake) were thus called; for even of bewailing many places took name, as *Bochim*, *Judg.* ii. 4. and ſo doubtleſs [b] *Abel-Miſraim*, *Gen.* l. 11. and yet *Junius*, in his note upon *Numb.* xxxiii. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was ſo called, rather by reaſon of the plain ground there (to wit, in the land of *Moab*) and ſo perhaps *Abel-Mehola* in the tribe of *Ephraim*; the town of *Eliſha* the prophet; alſo *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jeptha* purſued them.

† II.
Of Hazar.

IN this tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous city of *Jabin*, in *Joſhua*'s time, called *Aſar* (or, after the *Chaldean* paraphraſt, *Haſzor*) by *Joſephus*, *Aſora*; by *Junius*, [c] *Chatzor*; which *Laicſtan* names *Heſron*, the regal city and metropolis of *Canaan*, ſeated in the weſt part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Aſher*. In this city was that great rendezvous, and aſſembly of thoſe 24 kings againſt *Joſhua*; who being all overthrown, ſlain, and ſcattered, this their powerful city was by *Joſhua* taken and burnt to duſt. But in proceſs of time, the ſame being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*, a ſecond king *Jabin*, 137 years after the death of this firſt *Jabin*, invaded the *Iſraelites*: and being ordained of God to puniſh their idolatry, he prevailed againſt them, and held them in a miſerable ſervitude 20 years; till *Deborah* the propheteſs overthrew *Siſera*, *Jabin*'s lieutenant, and his army, near the mountain *Tabor*. This city *Solomon* reſtored at ſuch time as he alſo re-edified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*, with [d] *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other cities; but about 260 years after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalaſar*, king of the *Aſſyrians*. It is now, ſaith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiopia*; it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*. There is another city of this name in the territory of *Benjamin*, ſeated on the confines of *Aſcalon*, called the new *Hazar*, [e] ſaith *Jerome*.

† III.
Of Cæſaria Philippi.

THere was alſo on the border, and within the territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned city of *Laiſh*, or *Lajiſch*, as *Junius* writes it, or [f] *Leſchem*; which city the children of *Dan* (being ſtraightned in their territory under *Juda*) invaded and maſtered, and gave it the name of their own parent *Dan*; and by that name it is written in *Gen.* xiv. at which place *Abraham* ſurpriſed *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates; and followed his victory as far as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the diviſion of *Syria*, otherwiſe called *Sophena*. And after the poſſeſſion of the *Danites*, it had the joint name of *Leſchem Dan*. *Weiſſenburgh* writes it *Lacis*; the *Geneva*, [g] *Laiſh*; *Joſephus*, *Dana*; *Benjamin*, *Balina*; *Breitenbach*, *Belena*; but the now inhabitants know it by the name of *Balina* to this day: witneſs *Nubrigenſis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the monk, and *Poſtellus*; who alſo taketh this city to be the ſame which in *Matthew* xv. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*: for which the *Greek* text hath *Magdala* in that place; and in St. *Mark* viii. 10. ſpeaking of the ſame ſtory, *Dalmanutha*. At ſuch time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it ſeemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or elſe ſubject unto the kings thereof; for it is written, *Judges* xviii. 28. *And there was none to help, becauſe Lais was far from Zidon: and they had no buſineſs with other men*; for it was above 30 *Engliſh* miles from the *Mediterranean* ſea, and from *Zidon*.

In after-times, when theſe regions became ſubject to the ſtate of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a fountain adjoining ſo called; and therefore *Ptolemy* calls it *Cæſaria Paniæ*. *Hegeſippus* calls it *Parnium*, ſaith *Weiſſenburgh*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy, for in *Hegeſippus*, ſet out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum*, without an [*R*]: and at ſuch time as *Philip* the ſon of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, became governour of *Traconitis*, ſome time *Baſan*, this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tibe-*

[a] *Alſo a third in* Ephraim *called* Abel Mechola; *and a 4th in* Reuben, *called* Abel-Sittim, *alſo* Abel-Mitſraim, *at the ford of* Jordan, *and* (*as it ſeems*) *in the ſame tribe of* Reuben, *of all which, in that which follows, to which alſo we may add,* Abel-Magnum, *the name, as ſome think, of a city, otherwiſe called* Bethſhemes, *near the border of the* Philiſtines; *or according to others, of the great ſtone in the border.* 1 Sam. 6. 18. Joſeph. Ant. l. 7. c. 10. 2 Sam. 20. 1 Kings 15. 2 Kings 15. [b] *And* Abel Magnum. 1 Sam. 6. 18. Judg. 7. 24. 1 Reg. 19. 15. Judg. 11. 35. [c] *Of two other cities of this name in* Juda, *ſee chap.* 9. *ſect.* 1. *Of a fourth in* Benjamin, *ſee that which follows in this place. Of a fifth in this tribe of* Nephtalim, *called* Hen Chatſor, *we read* Joſh. 19. 37. *to which we may add* Chatſor-Henan, *in the uttermoſt north-eaſt of* Manaſſeh, *over* Jordan, Ezek. 47. Numb. 34. 8. *Alſo in* Simeon, Chatſar-Suſima, *of which* 1 Chron. 4. 31. *which alſo is called* Chatſar-Suſa, *and* Chatſar-Gaddæ: *and laſtly,* Chatſar-Shuleb, *another city of* Simeon. *fol.* 19. 3. [d] 1 Kings 9. [e] Hieron. loc. Hebr. l. *E. out of* Nehem. 11. 33. *as it ſeems.* [f] Judg. 18. 27. Joſ. 19. 47. [g] Judg. 18.

rius

rius Cesar, he called it [a] *Cæsaria Philippi*; and so it became the metropolis, and head city of *Traconitis*; and one of the first cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa*, in the succeeding age, greatly adorned; by him, in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that emperor, but the memory of his impiety; so in St. *Jerome*'s time the citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and so recalled it, with the territory adjoining, by the ancient name. Of this city was that woman whom Christ healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hem of his garment with a constant faith: who afterwards, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of God's goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as [b] *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two statues to be cast in pure copper; the one representing Christ, *as near as it could be moulded*; the other made like her self, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These she mounted upon two great bases or pedestals, of the same metal, which she placed by a fountain near her own house; both which (saith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfection, even to his own time; which himself had seen, who lived in the reign of *Constantine* the great. But in the year after Christ 363, that monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthy monument to be cast down and defaced, setting up the like of his own in the same place; which image of his was with fire from heaven broken into fitters; the head, body, and other parts, sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Saliminius*, in his 5th book and 20th chapter.

This city built by the *Danites*, was near the joining together of those two rivers which arise from the springs of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two [c] apparent fountains of *Jordan*; in a soil exceeding fruitful and pleasant; for as it is written, *Judges* xviii. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the world*. In the fields belonging to this city, it was that St. *Peter* acknowledged Christ to be the son of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this city received the Christian Faith, it was honoured with a bishop's seat: and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was afterwards taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and Christians; under *Fulch* the 4th king of *Jerusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Bulloin*, the king of *Damascus* wrested it from the Christians: and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth, with all that part of the world, subjected to the *Turks*.

† IV.

Of Capernaum, *and the cities of* Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable cities within this tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least; so often remembred by the evangelists. This city had the honour of Christ's presence three years; who for that time was as a citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our salvation; according to that notable prophecy of *Isaiah* ix. *The people that walked in darkness, have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.*

Capernaum was seated on *Jordan*, even where it entreth into the sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich soil: of whose destruction Christ himself prophesied in these words: *And thou Capernaum, which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell*, &c. which shewed the pride and greatness of that city; for it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*, and the metropolis of *Galilee*. And tho' there were some marks of this city's magnificence in St. *Jerome*'s time, as himself confesseth, it being then a reasonable burgh, or town; yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as *Brochard*, *Bridenbech*, and *Saliniac*, affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor fishermens houses.

The region of ten principal cities, called *Decapolitana*, or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned; and in St. [d] *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, also remembred; but I find no agreement among the cosmographers, what proper limits it had; and so *Pliny* himself confesseth: for [e] *Marius Niger* speaking from others, bounds it on the north by the mountain *Casius* in *Casiotis*, and endeth it to the south at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it embraceth *Phenicia*, a part of *Cœlesyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Judea*.

[f] *Pliny* also makes it large, and for the ten cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*; to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, [g] *Opotos*, *Raphana*; then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or, as I guess, *Amona* rather, because it was the chief city of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptol. Philadelphus* gave it this latter and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, sometime *Nysa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his nurse, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Bethsan:* for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœlesyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Seleucia*;) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, near the river *Hieromaix*. This river *Ortelius* takes to be the river *Jaboc*, which boundeth *Gad* and *Manasseh* over *Jordan:* but he mistaketh it, for *Hieromaix* falleth into the sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippos* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the same sea between *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seventh, he nameth [h] *Hippos* or *Hippion*, a city so called of a colony of horsemen there garisoned by *Herod*, on the east side of the *Galilean* sea, described hereafter in the tribe of *Manasseh* over *Jordan*. For the eighth, *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the south border of the region over *Jordan*, called *Peræa*. For the ninth, *Gelasa*, which *Josephus* takes to be *Gerasa:* and *Gerasa* is found in *Cœlesyria* by *Josephus*, *Hegesippus* and *Stephanus*; but by *Ptolemy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phenicia*. The tenth, and last, *Pliny* nameth *Canatha*; and so doth *Suetonius*, and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*; but *Hegesippus* rightly *Camala*, a city in the region of *Basan* over *Jordan*, so called, because those two hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a camel. But the collection of these ten cities, whereof this region took name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saliniac*, which make them to be these; *Cæsaria Philippi*, and *Asor*, before remembred, *Cedes Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the evan-

[a] *Of another* Cæsaria (*or* Cæsarea) *called* Cæsarea Palestinæ, *see hereafter in the former part of* Manasseh. *Of* Diocæsarea, *see* Sephoris *in* Zabulon. [b] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 14. Niceph. l. 6. c. 15. [c] Josephus *in the book of the* Jewish *war*, 18. *saith, That* Philip *the tetrarch cast chaff into a fountain called* Phiala, *distant* 120 *stadia north-east from* Cæsarea; *which chaff being carried under ground, was cast up again at* Panium, *or* Dan, *whereby it is conjectured, that the first spring of* Jordan, *is from this fountain called* Phiala, *from whence* Jor *and* Dan *receive their waters.* [d] Matt. 4. Mark 7. Luke 8. [e] Niger. comment. Asiæ 4. f. 503. [f] Plin. l. 5. c. 18. [g] Opotos, *a city standing in the valley of* Cœlesyria, *watered by* Chrysorrhoas *as* Damascus *is.* Plin. l. 5. [h] Pliny *hath* Hippon Dion, *for which* Volaterran *reads* Hippidion. Ortelius *takes them for two cities.*

gelist

geliſt St. *Matthew* makes it manifeſt, that this region, called *Decapolitana*, was all that tract between *Zidon*, and the ſea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written in *Matthew* iv. *And he departed again from the coaſts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the ſea of Galilee, through the midſt of the coaſts of Decapolis:* ſo that it was bounded by *Damaſcus* and *Libanus* on the north, by the *Phenician* ſea, between *Zidon* and *Ptolemais* on the weſt; by the hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethſan* on the ſouth; and by the mountains *Tracones*, otherwiſe *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the eaſt; which is, from eaſt to weſt, the whole breadth of the holy land; and from the north to the ſouth, near the ſame diſtance, which may be each way 40 *Engliſh* miles.

† V.

Of Hamath.

BUT to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is ſeated, near the foot thereof, the city of [a] *Hammath*, or *Chammath*, of which (as they ſay) the country adjoining taketh name: the ſame which *Joſephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathenſis*: [b] *Jacobus Zeigler*, *Ituræa. Ituræa regio tenet borealia tribus Nephtali, per montem Libanum uſque Trachones.* The country of *Ituræa*, ſaith he, containeth the north parts of the tribe of *Nephtali*, along the mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis*, *Ituræa*, he miſtakes the ſeat of this region; and ſo doth *Mercator*. For indeed, were *Ituræa* (which *Hegeſippus* calls *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the ſame with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it ſelf is far more to the eaſt than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*; for *Traconitis* lieth between *Cæſaria Philippi*, and the mountains *Trachones*, which the *Hebrews* call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath*, or *Chammath*, is ſeated under *Cæſaria*, towards the ſea weſtward. And it ſeemeth that this miſtaking grew, by confounding *Emath*, or *Hamath* the great in *Cœleſyria*, beyond the mountains *Trachones*, which [c] *Jerome* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*; with *Hammath*, or *Hamath* the leſſer in *Phenician*; and *Nephtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our tranſlation *Hamath* (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* viii. 3. is ſet far from the north border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numb.* xxxiv. 8. and *Numb.* xiii. 22. and in *Ezek.* xlvii. 16. In the firſt of which places, it bordereth the land of promiſe: theſe being the words; *From mount Hor you ſhall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *until it come to Hamath.* In the ſecond place, thus: *So they went up and ſearched out the land from the wilderneſs in Sin, unto Rehob to go to Hamath.* Then in *Ezekiel*; *The weſt part alſo ſhall be the great ſea from the border, till a man come over-againſt Hamath*; that is, the coaſt of the ſea ſhall be the weſt border from the ſouthermoſt part of the holy land, till you come directly over-againſt *Hamath* northward: from whence, if a line be drawn to the ſea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon*; which is [d] the north-weſt corner of the holy land.

Now that this *Hamath* or *Hammath*, which *Moſes* alſo made the confine of the holy land, is that of *Nephtalim*, both the reference which it hath to the weſt ſea, and the city of [e] *Rehob* adjoining prove it: the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the forenamed mountains, which incloſe all thoſe lands which *Iſrael* ever had poſſeſſion of) is that *Emath*, which is alſo called *Ituræa*, witneſs [f] *Stella* and *Laicſtan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where [g] *Jonathus Macchabæus* attended the army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night.

For tho' *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is ſaid to be *finitima Galilææ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the mountains *Traconis*, and ſo it ſtretcheth into the plains of the territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was tetrarch or preſident, both of *Ituræa* and *Traconitis*; both which are over *Jordan* towards the eaſt. But *Chamath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the weſt ſide of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterranean* ſea.

The country *Ituræa* was ſo called of *Jethur*, one of the ſons of *Iſhmael*; it is placed in the bounds of *Cœleſyria* and *Arabia* [h] the deſart.

The people of *Ituræa* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent archers. Of whom *Virgil*;

Ituræos taxi torquentur in arcus,
Of yew the *Itureans* bows were made.

The city *Chamath*, or *Hamath*, in *Nephtalim*, ſeems to have been as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amatheus*, the 11th ſon of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for king, it is not certain; for *Hamath*, or *Emath*, beyond the mountains, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim* were both neighbours to *Damaſcus*; at whoſe ſubjugation *Tohu* rejoiced, becauſe *Hadadeſer*, whom the *Damaſceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tohu* fearing the ſtrength and proſperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his territory, bought his peace with many rich preſents, and with many ancient veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs.

But it ſeemeth that *David* in ſuch great ſucceſs, would not have had peace with *Tohu*, if he had been king of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tſoba*; which city *Solomon*, after his father's death, made himſelf maſter of, as a part of the lands ([i] in the larger and

[a] *The* Septuagint *write it* Ammath. Jerome, Emath. Joſephus, Amath. Joſh. 19. 35. Chammath. *ch.* 21. *v.* 32. Chammoth-Dor. 1 Chron. 6. 76. Chammon. 2 Kings 14. 8. Chammath-Jehudæ, *as* Junius *reads it. Whereas alſo, for farther diſtinction, there is added* (*in* Iſrael) *to note that it was of old belonging to* Judah, *tho' ſeated in* Iſrael, *that is, in the kingdom of the ten tribes; the other* Chamath *being in* Syria Soba. [b] Zeigler. *in* Neptal. [c] *So* Jerome *in his comment on* Amos 6. 2. *where there is mention of* Hamath *the great, as it ſeems, for diſtinction from the other in* Nephtalim; *tho'* Mat. Beroaldus *rejecting* Jerome, *rather follows the opinion of* Zeigler *abovementioned, as indeed it cannot eaſily be juſtified, that either one or other of theſe is either* Antiochia, *or* Epiphania: *howbeit, that the ſame city which,* Joſh. 19. 35. *is called* Chammath, *and placed in* Nephtalim, *was alſo called* Chamath (*whence the word* Hamath *and* Emath *were framed*) *it may be gathered, partly becauſe the other* Hamath, 2 Chron. 8. 3. *for diſtinction is called* Chamath-Tſoba, *as this* (*as it may ſeem by* Joſh. 21. 32.) *was* Chamath-Dor, *and* Chamath-Judæ, *as we have noted* 2 Kings 24. *Secondly, becauſe* Numb. 34. 8. *and alſo* Ezek. 47. 10. Chameth *in the north ſide of the holy land, is placed too near the weſt corner to be that* Chamath-Tſoba: *for in the line which ſhould make the north border, which begins at the great ſea, they make* Moſes *to name never a place eaſtward along all the breadth of the holy land, until we come to* Hermon (*for ſo they expound mount* Hor, Numb. 34. 7.) *and beyond* Hermon *eaſtward in this north ſide, they make him to name divers towns, firſt* Chamath, *then* Tſedad, *then* Ziphron; *and laſtly,* Chatſar-henan: *a thing moſt unlikely, ſeeing* Iſrael *had little or nothing eaſtward beyond* Hermon. *Therefore we muſt needs expound* Hor *to be one of the hills near* Sidon; *and ſo thoſe towns, as they are named to lie in order on the north ſide of* Aſher, Nephtalim, *and* Manaſſeh: *and in like manner thoſe in* Ezekiel; *firſt,* Chetlon, *then* Chamath; *and ſo in order,* Berotha, Sibraim, Tſedad, Chauran, Chatſar-Henan. [d] *Of which,* Joſh. 19. 35. [e] *Which* Rehob, *or* Rechob, *in* Joſh. 19. 28. *is placed in* Aſher *towards* Zidon, *in the confines of* Nephtalim. [f] Tilemanus Stella, *and* Peter Laicſtan, *in their tables of the holy land.* [g] Joſeph. *Ant.* 13. 8. [h] *That it doth properly belong to* Arabia, *the name of* Jethur Iſhmael's *ſon, whoſe iſſue ſettled in the* Arabiaes, *may in part give witneſs. Alſo the place of* 1 Chron. 5. 19. *confirms it, where* Jethur *is named among the* Hagarens, *againſt whom the* Reubenites *and* Gadites *made war, and whoſe country they poſſeſs'd in the time of* Jeroboham, *as their forefathers had done in the time of* Saul, *after his conqueſt of the* Amalekites, 1 Chron. 5. 10. *where the country is placed at the eaſt of* Gilead. [i] *Of the larger promiſe expreſs'd* Deut. 1. 7. *where* Euphrates *is named for one of the bounds, ſee chap.* 7. *ſect.* 2. Hieron. de Locis Hebr.

conditional promiſe) allotted by God to the children of *Iſrael*.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been ſaid, poſſeſſed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While St. *Jerome* lived, it remained a city well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

† VI.

Of Reblatha *and* Rama, *and divers other towns.*

IN the border of *Hamath*, or *Emath*, towards *Jordan*, ſtandeth the city *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountain *Daphnis*, which falleth into the lake of *Meron*. Hereunto was *Zedekiah* brought priſoner, after his ſurpriſe in the fields of *Jericho*, and delivered to *Nabuchodonoſor*: who, to be avenged of *Zedekiah*'s infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, firſt cauſed the princes his children to be ſlain in his preſence: and to the end that this miſerable ſpectacle might be the laſt that ever he ſhould behold in this world, and ſo the moſt remembred, he commanded both his eyes preſently to be thruſt out: and binding him in iron chains, he was led a ſlave to *Babylon*, in which eſtate he ended his life. Of which ſeldom-exampled calamity, tho' not in expreſs words, [a] *Jeremiah* the prophet foretold him in *Jeruſalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, ſpeaking in the perſon of God, [b] *I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldeans, yet ſhall he not ſee it, tho' he ſhall die therein.*

There are beſides theſe before-remembred, many other ſtrong cities in *Nephtalim*; as that which is called [c] *Cedes*: there are two others of the ſame name, one in [d] *Iſſachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Joſh.* xv. 23. and therefore to diſtinguiſh it, it is known by the addition of [e] *Nephtalim*, as *Judg.* iv. It is ſeated on a high hill, whence *Joſh.* xx. 7. *Kedeſh in Galilæa in monte Nephtali*: *Joſephus* calls it *Cedeſis*: and in St. *Jerome*'s time it was called *Cidiſſus*. *Belforeſt* greatly miſtakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the deſart of *Pharan*.

After the king thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, periſhed by the hand of *Joſhua*, it was made a city of refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barak* born, who overthrew the army of the ſecond *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the mount *Tabor*. It was ſome time poſſeſs'd by *Teglatphalaſſar*, when he waſted all *Nephtalim*: afterwards by the *Romans*, and numbred for one of the ten cities of the *Decapolitan* region: when it had embraced the Chriſtian Faith, it was honoured with a biſhop's ſeat; but in time it fell with the reſt into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demoliſhed.

From *Cedes*, ſome four *Italian* miles towards the ſouth-weſt, ſtandeth *Sephet*, otherwiſe *Zephet*, which was alſo one of the ten *Decapolitan* cities; a place exceeding ſtrong, and for many years the inexpugnable fortreſs of the Chriſtians, and afterwards of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour cities of thoſe regions, both inland and maritimate near it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, ſeated northward near *Sephet*: this is to be noted, that there are [f] divers places of this name in *Paleſtine*, all ſeated on hills; and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebræis excelſum*, *Rama* with the *Hebrews* is high.) Alſo that from this *Rama*, *Joſh.* xix. 36. they read *Arama*, making the article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of divers towns) to be a part of the word: whence caſting away the aſpiration, they read *Arama*. From *Sephet* towards the weſt, they place [g] *Bethſemes*, of which *Joſh.* xix. 38. which defended it ſelf againſt *Nephtalim*, *Judges* i. 33. but paid them tribute. On the other ſide of *Sephet*, towards the eaſt, was *Bethanath*, who alſo kept their city from the *Nephtalims*.

Adjoining to which ſtandeth *Carthan* [h] or *Kiriathajim*, a city of the *Levites*, not far from the mountain, out of which the ſprings of *Capernaum* ariſe, called *Mons Chriſti*; a place by our Saviour often frequented: as alſo then when calling his diſciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his apoſtles or meſſengers; of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the [i] evangeliſts.

Adjoining to theſe are *Magdalel*, a place of ſtrength; and [k] *Maſaloth*, of which we read, that it was forced by *Bacchides*, in the time of the [l] *Maccabees*: alſo (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berothaes* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this tribe; [m] one near *Chamath* in the north border, of which *Ezek.* xlvii. 6. Another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joſeph. Ant. l. 5. c. 2.*) he therefore placeth, in this tract, near the waters of *Merom*; becauſe the kings that joined with *Jabin* againſt *Joſhua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Joſh.* xi. 5. are by *Joſephus* ſaid to have incamped at the city *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedeſa Superior*, which is alſo in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* ſeeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the *Upper Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The ſame *Adrichomius* placeth the region of *Berim* near *Abela* (of which *Abela*, or *Abel-beth-mahacah*, we have ſpoken already;) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, 2 *Sam.* xx. 14. where ſome read *Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim*; but the better reading is, *& omnes Berim*, that is, with all the *Beræi*; for *Sheba* being of *Benjamin* (in which tribe alſo there is a city called *Berotha*, or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that city after him.

To the north of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim*, ſtandeth *Sebarim* under *Libanus*, remembred by *Ezekiel* xlvii. and *Aroſeth gentium*, near the waters of *Merom*, or *Samochonitis*, the city of *Siſara*, lieutenant of the army of the ſecond *Jabin*: from whence, not far off, towards the ſea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a ſtrong city; beſides many others, whereof I find no particular ſtory of importance; as *Ser* in *Joſh.* xix. 35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the firſt of their fenced cities: whence they make two cities, *Aſſedim* and *Ser*: then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*; alſo *Hion*, which they call *Ahion*; of which in the books of *Kings*. Then the ſtrong city of *Cinnereth*, afterwards called *Gennezareth*, whence we read of the land and lake of *Gennezareth*; the ſame lake which is alſo called the ſea of [n] *Tibereas*.

[a] Jer. 52. 11, *&c.* [b] Ezek. 12. 13. [c] *Or* Kedeſh, Joſh. 19. 37. & 10. 7. & 21. 32. item Judg. 4. 6. [d] 1 Chron. 6. 72. *which* Joſh. 19. 20. *is called* Kiſhion. [e] *Sometimes* Kedeſh *in* Galilee, 1 Chron. 6. 76. Joſh. 12. 22. 2 Kings 15. 29. [f] *See in* Benjamin, *and in* Ephraim. [g] *Other cities there were of this name* (*which is as much as* domus Solis) *as that in* Juda, 2 Kings 14. 15. *where* Joaſh *king of the ten tribes, overcame* Amaſia *of* Juda, *of which alſo I underſtand the place,* Joſh. 21. 16. & 1 Sam. 6. 14. & 2 Chron. 29. 18. *A third, as it ſeems, was in* Dan, 1 Kings 4. 9. *which* Joſh. 19. 41. *is written* Herſhemes, *which is as much as* civitatis Solis. Judg. 1. 31. [h] *So it appears by comparing the places,* Joſh. 21. 32. & 1 Chron. 6. 76. Adrichomius, *both here and elſewhere deceived by the double name, makes two of one: altho' I deny not but that there was another* Kiria-thajim *in* Reuben; *of which* Joſh. 13. 19. [i] Mark 3. Mat. 10. Acts 1. Mat. 5. 6, 7. [k] Joſh. 19. 38. [l] 1 Mac. 9. 2. [m] Barathæn. Ptolomæo in fine Arabiæ deſertæ: Junio eadem cum Berothai una civitatum Hadadezeris. 2 Sam. 8. 8. Joſh. 18. 25. Aſiroth Hieron. Judg. 4. Lyr. in Judg. 4. Joſh. 19. 37. 1 Kings 15. 20. 2 Kings 15. 29. [n] Mar. 6. 53. Luke 5. 1.

In

In the body of the land they place *Galgala* to the ſouth border; of which [a] *Maccab.* xix. 2. alſo divers named, *Joſh.* xix. as *Urucа*, or *Chukkok*: *Horem* and *Azanoth-tabor* (which they place towards the eaſt parts) and out of the ſame place of *Joſhua*: *Jirzon*, *Lakkum*, *Jepnael*, *Heleb*, and [b] *Reccath*; which two laſt they place near *Ceſaria Philippi*: To theſe they add out of *Joſhua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*; for which two *Junius* readeth *Foſſa Adamæi*, making it no town, but a ditch caſt by ſome of *Adamath*, as it ſeems; or at leaſt the cuſtody of which march or limit belonging to the town. To theſe out of *Numb.* xxxiv. 10. they add *Sephano*, which 1 *Sam.* xxx. 21. ſeems to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tychon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.* xlvii. 16. and the latter out of *Joſhua* xix. 33. it may appear by *Junius*'s tranſlation, that neither are to be taken for cities: for the former he readeth *Mediani*, and for the latter *Quercetum*. The city of [c] *Nephtalim*, which they make the native place of *Toby*, and *Naaſſon* near unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* tranſlation, *Tob.* vii. 7. but in the *Greek* text there is no ſign, neither of the one nor of the other.

SECT. V.

The Tribe of ZABULON.

OF *Zabulon*, or *Zebulon*, another of the ſons of *Jacob* by *Leah*, there were muſtered at mount *Sinai* 57400 able men, beſides women, children, and aged unable perſons; all which dying in the deſarts, there entred the *Holy Land* of their iſſues 65000 fit to bear arms; who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Aſher* to the river of *Chiſon*; ſouthward, and from the ſea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterranean*, eaſt and weſt.

The cities within this tribe, which border *Aſher*, are *Sicaminum* on the ſea-ſhore, of which *Joſeph. Ant.* 13. *c.* 19. *Debbaſet* of which *Joſhua* 19. 11. *Jeconam*, or [a] *Jokneham* (whoſe king was [e] ſlain by *Joſhua*, and the city was given to the *Levites*) and *Gaba*, afterward called the *City of horſemen*, of a regiment there gariſoned by *Herod*. Then the city which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *City of men*, exceeding ancient or magnificent, [f] burnt to the ground by *Coſtius*, lieutenant of the *Roman* army. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth city of [g] *Elon* judge of *Iſrael*, becauſe he is called *Zabulonita*; not marking that in the ſame place he is ſaid to be buried at *Ajalon*.

To the eaſt of this city of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Joſhua* xix. 15. on the border of *Aſher*; and beyond it the leſſer [h] *Cana* of *Galilee*, where Chriſt converted water into wine; the native city of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the mountains of *Zabulon*: and then the city of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended itſelf againſt *Zabulon*. Then *Berſabe*, which ſtandeth in the partition of the upper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Joſephus* againſt the *Romans*. Not far from hence ſtandeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whoſe king was ſlain by *Joſhua*.

Then *Damna* or *Dimna*, a city of the *Levites*; then *Noa*, or rather *Neha*, of which *Joſhua* xix. 13. Then *Dothan*, or *Dothain*, where *Joſeph* found his brethren feeding their flocks; the ſame wherein *Eliſæus*, beſieged by the *Syrians*, ſtruck them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the eaſt, they imagine [i] *Amthar*, or *Amathar*; then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The laſt of the cities on the north border of *Zabulon*, is *Bethſaida*, one of the ten cities of *Decapolis*, ſeated on the *Galilean* ſea, and watered by the ſprings of *Capernaum*, the native city of the apoſtles, *Peter*, *Andrew* and *Philip*. Herein Chriſt did many miracles; but theſe people being no leſs incredulous than the *Capernaims*, and others, received the ſame curſe of threatned miſeries; as, *Wo be unto thee Bethſaida*, &c.

Along the weſt border of *Galilee*, towards the ſouth from *Bethſaida*, was the ſtrong caſtle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Mary Magdalen*, not long ſince ſtanding.

And beyond it the ſtrong and high ſeated city of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Joſephus* in the *Roman* war: but in the end, after a long ſiege, ſurprized by *Veſpaſian*; who ſlaughtered many thouſands of the citizens; and held 1200 priſoners, whereof *Joſephus* the hiſtorian was one.

The laſt and greateſt of the cities on that [k] ſea, and the lake of *Genezareth* within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*; from whence afterward the *Galilean* ſea alſo changed name, and was called, *The ſea of the city* Tiberias, ſo named in honour of *Tiberius Ceſar*; it was one of the ten cities, and the metropolis of the region *Decapolitan*, and the greateſt and laſt of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Matthew*, from the toll or cuſtom-houſe, to be an apoſtle, and near unto it raiſed the daughter of *Jairus* from death; it was built (as *Joſephus* reports) by *Herod* the tetrarch, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius Ceſar*, in the moſt fruitful part of *Galilee*, but in a ground full of ſepulchres; *Quum juxta noſtras leges* (ſaith he) *ad ſeptem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; Whereas by our law he ſhould be ſeven days held as unclean who inhabited in ſuch a place: by which words, and by the whole place of *Joſephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as ſome have thought) the ſame as the old *Cinnereth*, which was ſeated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

Near unto this *Tiberias* at *Amaus*, there were hot baths, where *Veſpaſian* the emperor encamped againſt *Tiberias*: more into the land, toward the ſouth-weſt, is *Bethulia*, ſeated on a very high hill, and of great ſtrength, famous by the ſtory of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, ſuch as it is. Near which ſtandeth *Bethlehem* of *Zabulon*; and adjoining unto it, *Capharath* fortified by [l] *Joſephus* againſt the *Romans*; and *Japha* an exceeding ſtrong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in fury, ſlew [m] 15000 of the citizens, and carried away above 2000 priſoners.

On the ſouth-ſide are the cities of [n] *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Joſephus* in his own life; then *Jafie* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Joſh.* 19. 12.) for he thinks that it is not that *Japha* of which we ſpake but now out of *Joſephus*. *Jidea-*

[a] *This place of the* Maccab. *warrants no* Galgala *or* Gilgal *in* Nephtali; *but may well be underſtood of* Gilgal *in* Benjamin, *or in* Manaſſeh. [b] *This* Receath, *or* Racath, Junius *thinks that it is the ſame with* Karthan (*one of theſe being made of the other by tranſpoſition of letters*) *of which* Karthan *we have noted already, that it is alſo called* Kirja-thaiim. [c] *In the place* 1 Reg. 4. *is, which alſo they bring to prove that there was a city called* Nephtalim, *as it is evident by the following verſes, the tribe of* Nephtalim *is meant, and not any city of that name.* [d] Joſh. 12. 22. [e] Joſ. 2. bel. 19. [f] Joſ. 2. bel. 22. [g] Judg. 12. 12. [h] *The greater* Cana *is in the tribe of* Aſher, Joſh. 21. 2. Nathaniel *is ſaid to be of* Cana *in* Galilee. *Of* Simon *it may be doubted*: *for* Angelus Caninius reads *Matth.* 10. 4. Simon Kannites, *which word* Luc. 6. *is, he thinketh, to be expounded by* Zelotes. [i] *The* Hebrew Hammethear (*for which the Vulgar hath* Amthar, Joſ. 19. 13.) Vatablus *expounds* quæ gyrat; Junius *joins it with the word going before it, and reads* Rimmonemo Methoarum, Matth. 8. 11. Mark 1. 6. Luke 4. 10. [k] *The names of the chief cities ſeated about this ſea, or lake, thro' which* Jordan *runneth, where* Capernaum, Tiberias, Bethſaida, Gadara, Tarichea, *and they add* Cinnereth, *which in foretimes gave name to the lake and country.* Matth. 9. Luc. 5. Joſeph. Ant. 18. 3. Joſeph. 10. 15. Adrich. in Zab. [l] Joſeph. in via. ſua. [m] Joſeph. 2. bell. 25. [n] Joſh. 21. 34. *otherwiſe* Kiſloth Thabor, *as* Junius *thinks upon* Joſh. 19. 12. *whence* 1 Chron. 6. 77. *it is called* Thaber.

la,

la, of which *Joſh.* xix. 15. *Jerome* calls it *Jadela*; under it weſtward *Legio* (afterwards a biſhop's ſeat) and the city *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding ſtrong, remembred *Judith* vii. 3. otherwiſe *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazaret*, is the city [a]*Saffa*, or *Saffra*, the birth city of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James*, and *John*: then *Sephoris* or *Sephora*, according to *Joſephus*: *Sephorum*, according to *Brochard*; which afterwards, ſaith *Hegeſippus* and *Jerome*, was called *Diocæſaria*; the city of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the parents of the Virgin *Mary*, it was called by *Herod* the tetrarch; and by him, as [b]*Joſephus* ſpeaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*; in another place he ſaith, *Urbium Galilæarum maximæ Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Veſpaſian* ere he won it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the regal ſeat of the nether *Galilee*, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much as to ſay, imperial, ſaith *Joſephus*; and it is now but a caſtle called *Zaphet*.

To the ſouth-weſt of this *Sephoris*, or *Diocæſarea*, was that bleſſed place of *Nazareth*, the city of *Mary* the mother of Chriſt, in which he himſelf was conceived; it ſtandeth between mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterranean* ſea. In this city he abode chiefly 24 years, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the Chriſtians afterwards were for many years. It was erected into an archbiſhoprick in the following age. Near unto it are the cities *Buria*, afterwards well defended againſt the *Turks*, and *Nahalal*, of which *Joſh.* xix. 15. and *Judg.* i. 30. where it is called *Nahalal*: and *Joſh.* xxi. 35. where it is a city of the *Levites*, near the ſea; adjoining to the river of *Chiſon*, is *Sarid*, noted in *Joſhua* for the uttermoſt of *Zabulon*.

In this territory of *Zabulon*, there are divers ſmall mountains; but *Tabor* is the moſt renowned, by the apparition of *Moſes* and *Elias*: and by the transfiguration of Chriſt, in the preſence of *Peter*, *James* and *John*; unto whom *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the mountain, the empreſs *Helen* built a ſumptuous chappel.

The chief river of *Zabulon*, is *Chiſon*; which riſing out of *Tabor*, runneth with one ſtream eaſtward to the ſea of *Galilee*, and with another ſtream weſtward into the great ſea. This river of *Chiſon*, where it riſeth, and ſo far as it runneth ſouthward, is called *Chedumim*, or *Cadumim*: and for mine own opinion, I take it to be the ſame which *Ptolemy* calleth *Chorſeus*; tho' others diſtinguiſh them, and ſet *Chorſeus* by *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*. There is a ſecond torrent, or brook, that riſeth in the hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the ſea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is branch of a river riſing out of the fountains of *Capernaum*, which falleth alſo into the ſame ſea, and near [c]*Magdalum*; which torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the city from which it paſſeth eaſt-ward to *Bethſaida*, and ſo joining with *Jordanis Parvus*, which runneth from the valley of [d]*Jephthael*, which *Joſhua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the ſea of *Galilee*.

SECT. VI.

The Tribe of ISSACHAR.

THE next adjoining territory to *Zabulon*, to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, was *Iſſachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were encreaſed in *Egypt*, as appeared by their muſters at mount *Sinai*, 54400 able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the reſt in the deſarts, there entered the *Holy Land*, 64300.

The firſt city of this tribe, near the ſea of *Galilee*, was [e]*Tarichea* diſtant from *Tiberias* eight *Engliſh* miles, or ſomewhat more, a city wherein the *Jews* (by the practice of a certain mutinous upſtart, *John* the ſon of *Levi*) took arms againſt *Joſephus* the hiſtorian, then governor of both *Galilees*. This city was firſt taken by *Caſſius*, and 3000 *Jews* carried thence captive; and afterwards, with great difficulty by *Veſpaſian*, who entered it by the ſea-ſide, having firſt beaten the *Jews* in a ſea-fight upon the lake or ſea of *Galilee*, he put to the ſword all ſorts of people, and of all ages; ſaving that his fury being quenched with the rivers of blood running thro' every ſtreet, he reſerved the remainder for ſlaves and bondmen. Next to *Tarichea* is placed [f]*Ceſſion*, or *Ciſhion*, of the *Levites*, and then *Iſſachar*, remembred in 1 *Kings* iv. 17. then *Abes*, or *Ebets*, *Joſh.* xix. 20. and *Remeth*, of which *Joſh.* xix. 21. otherwiſe *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.* vi. 73. or *Jarmuth*, *Joſh.* xxi. 29. this alſo was a city of the *Levites*, from whoſe territory the mountains of *Gilboa* take beginning; and range themſelves to the *Mediterranean* ſea, and towards the weſt as far as the city of *Jezrael*; between which and *Ramoth* are the cities of *Bethphefes*, or *Bethpaſſes*, according to *Zeigler*, and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*: near which *Saul* ſlew himſelf: under thoſe [g]*Aphec*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Iſſachar*; between which and *Suna*, he ſaith, that the *Philiſtines* encamped againſt *Iſrael*, and afterwards againſt *Saul*, a land thirſty of blood; for herein alſo, ſays he, the *Syrians*, with 32 *Reguli* aſſiſting *Benhadad*, incountred *Achab*, and were overthrown and ſlaughtered: to whom the king of *Iſrael* made a moſt memorable anſwer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory; which was, *Tell Benhadad, Let not him that girdeth his harneſs boaſt himſelf, as he that putteth it off*; meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following, in the fields, as they ſay, adjoining to this city, was the ſame vain-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and diſcomfited by *Achab*, and 100000 footmen of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, ſlain: before which overthrow, the ſervants and counſellors of *Benhadad* (in deriſion of the God of *Iſrael*) told him, [h]*That the Gods of Iſrael were Gods of the mountains; and therefore if they fought with them in the plains, they ſhould overcome them.*

Under *Aphec*, towards the ſea, they ſet the city of *Eſdrelon*, in the plains of *Galilee*, called alſo the great field of *Eſdrelon*, and *Maggedo*; in the border whereof are the ruins of *Aphec*, to be ſeen, ſaith *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*. After theſe are the cities of [i]*Caſaloth*, of which 1 *Maccab.* ix. 2. *Anem*, or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Levites*; and *Seeſima*, or *Shahatſima*, the weſt border of *Iſſachar*, of which *Joſh.* xix. 22. From hence ranging the ſea-coaſt, there is found the caſtle of pilgrims; a ſtrong caſtle, environed with the ſea, ſome-time the ſtore-houſe and magazine of the Chriſtians, and built by the earl of St. *Giles*, or *Tolouſe*.

From the caſtle of pilgrims the ſea maketh a great bay towards the north, and at the farthermoſt ſhore beginneth mount *Carmel*, not far from the river *Chiſon*; where *Elijah* aſſembled all the prophets and prieſts of *Baal*, and prayed king *Achab*, and the people aſſembled, to make trial, whether

[a] Johan. de Montevilla, cap. 4. 20. [b] Joſeph. Ant. 18. 3. & in vita ſua. [c] *See* Laickſtan's *map in* Ortelius. [d] Joſh. 19. 14. [e] Tarichea in Sueton. [f] Joſh. 21. 28. Kiſhion, *which* 1 Chron. 6. 72. *is called* Kedeſh. [g] Joſh. 19. 1 Sam. 3. 19. 1 Kings 20. 26. *In the latter two places* Junius *makes* Aphek *in* Aſher, *according to* Joſh. 19. 30. *In the firſt he placeth it in* Juda, *cut of* Joſhua 15. 53. 1 Kings 20. [h] 1 Kings 20. 23. [i] Judith 1. 8. *and* 7. 3. 1 Chron. 6. 73. Joſh. 21. 29.

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the God of *Iſrael*, or the idol of *Baal*, were to be worſhipped, by laying a ſacrifice without fire on the altar: which done, the prieſts of *Baal* prayed, and cut their own fleſh after their manner, but the fire kindled not; while *Elijah* in deriſion told them, that their God *was either in purſuit of his enemies, not at leiſure, or perchance aſleep*, &c. But at the prayer of *Elijah*, his fire kindled, notwithſtanding that he had cauſed the people to caſt many veſſels of water thereon; by which miracle the people incenſed, ſlew all thoſe idolaters on the banks of *Chiſon* adjoining.

At the foot of this mountain, to the north, ſtandeth *Caiphas*, built, as they ſay, by *Caiphas* the high prieſt. It is alſo known by the name of *Porſina* and *Porphyria*, ſometime a ſuffragan biſhop's ſeat. Returning again from the ſea-coaſt, towards *Tiberias*, by the banks of *Chiſon*, there are found the city of *Hapharaim*, or *Aphraim*, and the caſtles of *Meſra* and *Saba*; of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*; and then *Naim* on the river *Chiſon*, a beautiful city while it ſtood, in the gates whereof Chriſt [a] raiſed from death the widow's only ſon.

Then *Seon*, or *Shion*, named *Joſh.* xix. between the two hills of *Hermon*, in *Iſſachar:* beyond it ſtandeth *Endor*, famous by reaſon of the enchantreſs that undertook to raiſe up the body of *Samuel*, at the inſtigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it ſtands *Anadarath* and *Rabbith*, named *Joſh.* xix. 19, 20. Then *Dabarath*, as it is named *Joſh.* xxi. 28. or *Dobratha*, as it is named 1 *Chron.* vi. 72. This city (which ſtretcheth itſelf over *Chiſon*) was a city of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Daberath* is *Arbela* ſituate, near the caves of thoſe two thieves which ſo greatly moleſted *Galilee* in *Herod*'s time. It joineth on one ſide to the mountain of *Iſſachar* or *Hermon*, and on the other the valley of *Jezreel*; which valley continueth itſelf from *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*, the eaſt border of *Iſſachar*, even to the *Mediterranean* ſea; two parts whereof are encloſed by the mountains of *Giliboa* on the ſouth, and by *Hermon* and the river *Chiſon* on the north. In theſe plains [b] *Gideon* overthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they think, *Saul* fought againſt the *Philiſtines*, *Achab* againſt the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* againſt the *Saracens*.

SECT. VII.

The Half of the Tribe of MANASSEH.

† I.

Of the bounds of this half tribe, and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, *and others.*

THE next tribe which joineth itſelf to *Iſſachar* towards the ſouth, is the half of *Manaſſeh*, on the weſt-ſide of *Jordan*. *Manaſſes* was the firſt begotten of *Joſeph*, the 11th ſon of *Jacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the daughter of *Putiphar*, prieſt and prince of *Heliopolis:* which *Manaſſes*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongſt the ſons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve patriarchs.

Of *Manaſſeh*, there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at mount *Sinai*, 32200 able men: all which being conſumed in the deſarts, there entred of their iſſue 52700 bearing arms. The territory which fell on this one half of *Manaſſeh*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the eaſt, and *Dora* upon the *Mediterranean* ſea on the weſt, *Jezrael* on the north, and *Machmata* is the ſouth border.

The firſt and principal city which ſtood in this territory, was *Bethſan*, ſometime [c] *Nyſa*, ſaith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his nurſe there buried, of the ſame name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterwards, when the *Scythians* invaded *Aſia* the leſs, and pierced into the ſouth, to the uttermoſt of *Cœleſyria*, they built this city anew, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the city of *Scythians* given it by the *Greeks*.

Theſe barbarous northern people, conſtrained the *Jews* to fight againſt their own nation and kindred, by whoſe hands when they had obtained victory, they themſelves ſet on the *Jews* which ſerved them, and ſlew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmoſt towards the ſouth of *Cœleſyria*: and *Strabo* joins it to *Galilee*. It is ſeated between *Jordan* and the hills of *Gilboa*, *In aulone ad montes Acrabitenæ*, ſaith *Zeigler*. But I find it in the eaſt part of the valley of *Jezrael* near *Jordan:* after that *Jordan* ſtraitneth itſelf again into a river, leaving the ſea or lake *Genezereth*. Notwithſtanding *Montanus* deſcribes it far to the weſt, and towards the *Mediterranean* ſea, near *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laicſtan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the beſt authors. This city was the greateſt of all thoſe of *Decapolis:* but the children of *Manaſſeh* could not expel the inhabitants thereof, and therefore called it *Sane*, an enemy; or *Beth-ſan*, the houſe of an enemy.

Over the walls of [d] *Beth-ſan*, the *Philiſtines* hung the body of *Saul* and his ſons, ſlain at *Gilboa*. It had, while the Chriſtian religion flouriſhed in thoſe parts, an archbiſhop, who had nine other biſhops of his dioceſe numbred by *Tyrius*, *in lib.* 14. *cap.* 12. but the ſame was afterwards tranſlated to *Nazareth*. The later travellers in thoſe parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubbiſh and the ruins of that city, goodly pillars, and other pieces of excellent marble, which witneſs the ſtately buildings and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and deſolate village.

From *Beth-ſan*, keeping the way by *Jordan*, they find an ancient city called *Salim*; which city, the ancient *Rabbins*, ſaith [e] *Jerome*, do not find to be the ſame with *Jeruſalem*; there being, in the time of *Jerome*, and ſince, a town of that name, near *Scythopolis* before remembred; which if the place of ſcripture, *Gen.* xiii. 18. do not confirm, where the *Vulgar* readeth *Tranſivitque in Salem urbem Sichemorum* (for which others read, *Venit incolumis ad civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place *John* iii. 13. where it is ſaid, that *John* was baptizing in *Ænon* near *Saleim*, may ſomewhat ſtrengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Saleim* of which St. *John* ſpeaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalim*, of which in the tribe of *Benjamin*, 1 *Sam.* ix. 4. This word *Junius* maketh to be the plural of *Shuhal*; of which we read, 1 *Sam.* xiii. 17. for as for that which is added out of *Cant.* vi. 12. of *Shulammitis*, as if it had been as much as a woman of this *Saleim*, near *Ænon*, it hath no probability.

Not far from thence, where they place *Salem*, they find *Bezek* the city of *Adonibezek*; *Joſephus* calls it *Bala:* here it was that *Saul* aſſembled the ſtrength of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000, when he meant to relieve *Jabeſh-Gilead*, againſt *Naaſh* the *Ammonite*; who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to ſuffer

[a] Luke 7. [b] *Called* Campus Magnus, 1 Maccab. 12. 49. *and* Harbathæ *for* Harabath. 1 Macc. 5. 23. *and* 9. 2. Judg. 6. 1 Sam. 31. 1 Kings 20. [c] Plin. lib. 5. c. 18. [d] Judg. 1. Joſh. 17. de bell. fac. [e] Hieron. in epiſt. ad Evagr. in loc. Hebr. [f] *This city* Bezek, *by the the place* Judg. 1. 3. *ſeemeth to have been in* Judah, Joſeph. Ant. l. 6. c. 5. 1 Sam. 11.

their right eyes to be thruſt out. Near *Bezek*, is the city of *Bethbera*, or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Judg.* vii. 24. in the ſtory of *Gideon*; and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited; in the border whereof ſtood an altar conſecrated to *Baal*: which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that ſtone on which *Abimelech* the baſtard ſlew his ſeventy brothers (an heatheniſh cruelty, practiſed by the *Turks* to this day;) and not far hence, between the village of *Aſophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomæus Lathurus* overthrew *Alexander* king of the *Jews*; and ſlaughtered, as [a] *Joſephus* numbreth them, 3000; but according to *Timagenes* 5000: after which victory, as *Ptolemy* paſs'd by the villages of the *Jews*, he ſlew all their women, and cauſed the young children to be ſod in great caldrons, that the reſt of the *Jews* might thereby think that the *Egyptians* were grown to be men-eaters, and ſtrike them with the greater terror.

Towards the weſt, and on the border of *Iſſachar*, they place the cities of [b] *Aner* of the *Levites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Junius*, *Judg.* vii. 22. placeth in *Ephraim*; it was the habitation of *Heliſæus* the prophet, numbred among thoſe places, 1 *Reg.* iv. 12. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solomon*; to whoſe charge alſo *Tahanach* belonged, a place of great ſtrength, which at the firſt reſiſted *Joſhua*, tho' their king was afterward hanged, and their city given to the *Levites*.

In the body of this territory of *Manaſſeh*, but ſomewhat nearer to *Jordan* than to the *Mediterranean* ſea, were three great cities, to wit, *Therſa*, whoſe king was one of thoſe that *Joſhua* ſlew; which the kings of *Iſrael* uſed for their regal ſeat, till ſuch time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her ſon's health; who knowing her, tho' ſhe were diſguiſed, told her of her ſon's death.

The ſecond was *Thebes*, near *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame; in the aſſault of the tower of this town, whereunto the citizens retired, the baſtard *Abimilech* was wounded by a weighty ſtone, thrown by a woman over the wall; who deſpairing of his recovery, [c] commanded his page to ſlay him out-right, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that he periſhed by the ſtroke of a woman. But others ſet this city in *Ephraim*, near *Sichem* or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the territory adjoining is called *Acrabatena* (one of the ten toparchies or governments in *Judea*) for which *Jerome*, 1 *Maccab.* v. reads *Arabathena*; but in the *Greek* it is *Acrabatine*: *Iſidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This city had one of the largeſt territories of all *Paleſtine*, belonging to the governour thereof. *Joſephus* remembreth it often, as in his ſecond book of the *Jews* wars, *c.* 11, 25, 28. and elſewhere.

The difference between a tetrarchy and a toparchy, was, that the firſt was taken for a province, and the other for a city, with ſome leſſer territory adjoining; and a tetrarch is the ſame with *Præſes* in *Latin*, and preſident in *Engliſh*, being commonly the fourth part of a kingdom, and thereof ſo called. [d] *Pliny* nameth ſeventeen tetrarchies in *Syria*: the *Holy Land* had four, and ſo hath the kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, [e] *Lempſter*, *Ulſter*, *Connath*, and *Munſter*.

To the ſouth-weſt of *Acrabata*, they place the cities of *Balaam*, or *Bilham*, and *Gethremmon* of the *Levites*: but *Junius* out of *Joſh.* xxi. 25. and 1 *Chron.* vi. 70. gathers, that theſe two are but one; and that *Jibleham*, *Joſh.* xvi. 11. is another name of the ſame city.

Then is *Jezrael* a regal city, ſet at the foot of the mountains of *Gilboa*, towards the ſouth-weſt: herein *Jezabel*, by a falſe accuſation, cauſed *Naboth* to be ſtoned, to the end ſhe might poſſeſs his vineyard joining to the city; which *Naboth* refuſed to ſell, becauſe it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram alſo was caſt unburied into the ſame field; for which his mother [f] *Jezabel* murdered *Naboth*.

Towards the ſea, from *Jezrael*, is the city which they call *Gaber*; in whoſe aſcent, as *Ahaziah* king of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had ſlain *Joram*, he was wounded with the ſhot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adjoining. The ſcripture calls this city of *Gaber*, [g] *Gur*.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good king *Joſias* was ſlain by *Necho* king of *Egypt*, in a war unadviſedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Aſſyria* againſt the king thereof, by the commandment of God; whom *Joſias* thought to reſiſt in his paſſage: it was afterwards called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour city to *Adadremmon* was [h] *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the ſcriptures; whoſe king was ſlain among the reſt by [i] *Joſhua*; yet they defended their city for a long time againſt *Manaſſeh*. The river which paſſeth by the town, may perhaps be the ſame which *Ptolemy* calleth *Chorſeus*: and not that of which we have ſpoken in *Zabulon*. For becauſe this name is not found in the ſcriptures, many of thoſe that have deſcribed the holy land, delineate no ſuch river. *Moore* only ſets it down in his geography of the twelve tribes: but the river which paſſeth by *Maggeddo*, he underſtandeth to be but a branch falling thereinto. *Laicſtan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place; agreeable to this ſcripture in the vth of *Judges*; *Then fought the kings of Canaan in Tanaac, by the waters of Maggeddo*. But theſe authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the torrent ſo called.

But ſeeing that ancient coſmographers ſtretch out the bounds of *Phenicia* even to *Sebaſte*, or *Samaria*; and [k] *Strabo* far beyond it on the ſea-coaſt: and *Joſephus* calls *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ* a city of *Phenicia*: yea, *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phenicia* as far as *Gaza*: ſeeing alſo *Ptolemy* ſets down *Chorſeus* for the partition of *Phenicia* and *Judea*, this river running eaſt and weſt parallel with *Samaria*; it is very probable that this torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the city which it watereth, is the ſame which *Ptolemy* in his 4th table of *Aſia*, calleth *Chorſeus*. The later travellers of the holy land call *Maggeddo*, *Subimbre* at this day.

† II.

Of Cæſaria Paleſtinæ, *and ſome other towns.*

FRom *Maggeddo* towards the weſt, and near the *Mediterranean* ſea, was that glorious city of *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*: firſt, the tower of *Straton*: the ſame which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: tho' *Ptolemy* ſets *Apollonia* elſewhere, and towards *Egypt*, between this city and *Joppe*, to which *Veſpaſian* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world: for beſides the edifices, which he reared within the walls, of cut and poliſh'd marbles, the theatre and amphitheatre, from whence he might look over the ſeas far away, with

[a] Joſeph. Ant. l. 13. c. 21. [b] *This* Aner, Junius *upon* 1 Chron. 6. 70. *makes to be the ſame with* Tahanac, *of which* Joſh. 21. 25. Jerome *names it from* Aner *the confederate of* Abraham, Gen. 14. 13. Joſh. 12. 17. 1 Kings 14. [c] Judg. 9. 54. [d] Plin. l. 5. [e] Euſeb. in Cron. [f] 1 Kings 21. [g] 2 Kings 9. 27. [h] Judg. 1. 5. [i] Joſh. 12. 17. [k] Strab. l. 16. Joſeph. l. 15. c. 13. Niger.

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the high and ſtately towers and gates, he forced a harbour of great capacity, being in former times but an open bay: and the wind blowing from the ſea, the merchants haunting that port, had no other hope, but in the ſtrength of their cables and anchors. This work he performed with ſuch charge and labour, as the like of that kind hath not been found in any kingdom, nor in any age: which, becauſe the materials are fetched from far, and the weight of the ſtones was ſuch, as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Joſephus*'s own words of this work, which are theſe: [a] *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ claſſi recipiendæ ſufficere: & in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrandia ſaxa demiſit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis vero octodecim, altitudine novem-pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia.* To mend this inconvenience of place (ſaith *Joſephus*) he compaſs'd in a bay wherein a great fleet might well ride: and let down great ſtones twenty fathom deep: whereof ſome were 50 foot long, 18 foot broad, and 9 foot thick: and ſome bigger and ſome leſſer. To this he added an arm or cauſway of 200 foot long to break the waves: the reſt he ſtrengthned with a ſtone wall, with divers ſtately towers thereon builded: of which the moſt magnificent he called *Druſus*, after the name of *Druſus* the ſon-in-law of *Ceſar*: in whoſe honour he intitled the city it ſelf, *Cæſaria of Paleſtine*: all which he performed in 12 years time. It was the firſt of the eaſtern cities that received a biſhop: afterwards erected into an archbiſhoprick, commanding 20 others under it, ſaith [b] *Tyrius*.

St. *Jerome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Euſebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Gelaſius*, to have been biſhops thereof. In this city was *Cornelius* the centurion baptized by St. *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the apoſtle. St. *Paul* was herein two years priſoner, under the preſident *Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Feſtus*: by whom, making his appeal, he was ſent to *Ceſar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was paſſing on to celebrate the *Quenquennalia*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatterers, he was ſtricken by an angel unto death, ſaith *Joſephus*.

To the north of *Cæſaria* ſtandeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as ſome read, *Joſh.* i. 2. ſo called (ſaith *Adricomius*) becauſe it joineth to the ſea, whoſe king was ſlain by *Joſhua*. But *Junius*, for *in Naphoth Dor*, reads *in tractibus Dor*: and ſo the *Vulgar*, *in regionibus Dor*, altho' 1 *Kings* iv. 11. for the like ſpeech in the *Hebrew* it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: the *Septuagint* in the place of *Joſhua* call it *Nephith-Dor*, and in the other of the kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Joſh.* xii. 23. *Judg.* i. 27.) may ſeem to be *Dor*. It was a ſtrong and powerful city, and the fourth in account of thoſe 12 principalities, or ſitarchies, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macc.* xv. 11. placeth it between the hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the river *Chorſeus*: for ſo ſome name the river *Corſeus*, of which we have ſpoken already.

Into this city, for the ſtrength thereof, *Typhon* fled from *Antiochus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, where he was by the ſame *Antiochus* beſieged with 120000 footmen, and 8000 horſe: the ſame perfidious villain that received 200 talents for the ranſom of *Jonathan* [c] *Macchabeus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then ſlew him: and after him ſlew his own maſter, uſurping for a while the kingdom of *Syria*. It had alſo a biſhop's ſeat of the dioceſe of *Cæſaria*.

From *Cæſaria* towards the ſouth, they place the cities of *Caparnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for beſides that *Caparnaum* famous in the evangeliſts, they find in theſe parts near the weſt ſea, another of the ſame name. Of *Gabe*, *Jerome*, *in locis Hebraicis*. [d] The famous *Galgal*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they ſay it was, whoſe king was ſlain by *Joſhua*.

Then *Antipatris*, ſo called of *Herod*, in honour of his father: but in the time of the [e] *Macchabees*, it was called *Capharſalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew a part of the army of *Nicanor*, lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an army drawn into *Judea* by a traiterous Jew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the prieſthood, firſt under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was St. *Paul* carried priſoner from *Jeruſalem*, conducted by 470 ſoldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the army of *Godfry* of *Bulloign* attempted it in vain; yet was it taken by *Baldwin*. It was honoured in thoſe days with a biſhop's ſeat, but it is now a poor village, called *Aſſur*, ſaith *Brochard*. Near unto this city the prophet *Jonas* was three days preſerved in the body of a whale.

Into the land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæſaria*, ſtandeth *Narbata*, whereof the territory taketh name: which *Ceſtius* the *Roman*, waſted with fire and ſword, becauſe the Jews which dwelt at *Cæſaria* fled thence, and carried with them the book of *Moſes*. Near unto it is the mountain of *Abdia*, the ſteward of king *Achab*; wherein he hid an hundred prophets, and fed them: after which he himſelf is ſaid to have obtained from God *the ſpirit of prophecy* alſo.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the kingdom of Phenicia.

SECT. I.

The bounds, and chief cities, and founders, and name of this kingdom: and of the invention of letters aſcribed to them.

BEcauſe theſe five tribes, of *Aſher*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Iſſachar*, and the half of *Manaſſeh*, poſſeſs'd the better part of that ancient kingdom of *Phenicia*, to wit, of ſo much as lay to the ſouth part of *Anti-libanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of thoſe kings which have governed therein: at leaſt ſo many of them as time (which devoureth all things) have left to poſterity: and that the reſt periſhed, it is not ſtrange: ſeeing ſo many volumes of excellent learning in ſo long a race and revolution, and in ſo many changes of eſtates, and conqueſts of heathen princes, have been torn, caſt away, or otherwiſe conſumed.

The limits of this kingdom, as touching the ſouth parts, are very uncertain: but all coſmographers do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the north, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Caſiotis*, ends: moſt of them bounding it by *Orthoſia* to the north of *Tripolis*. [f] *Ptolemy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the river *Eleutherus* that falls into the ſea at the iſland of *Aradus*, ſomewhat to the north of *Orthoſia*, and ſtretching from thence along the coaſt of the *Mediterranean* ſea, as far as the river of *Chorſeus*; which ſeems to be that which the Jews call the torrent, or river of *Maggeddo*. [g] *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budæus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phænicia apud priſcos appellata* (ſaith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palæſtina Syriæ dicitur*; It was

[a] Joſeph. l. 15. c. 13. [b] Lib. 4. c. 12. Bell. ſacr. [c] Macc. 1. 13, 15. [d] Gul. Tyr. de Bell. ſac. l. 10. c. 6. [e] Macc. 17. 31. [f] Ptol. 4. Tab. Aſiæ. [g] Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

called

called *Phenicia* of old (ſaith he) which now is called *Paleſtina* of *Syria*.

[a] *Strabo* comprehends in this country of *Phenicia* all the ſea ſide of *Judea*, and *Paleſtina*, even unto *Peluſium*, the firſt port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœleſyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my ſelf, I take a middle courſe, and like beſt of *Ptolemy*'s deſcription, who was ſeldom deceived of his own art. It had in it theſe famous maritimate cities (beſides all thoſe of the iſlands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthoſia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*: and by reaſon of the many ports and goodly ſea-towns, it anciently commanded the trade of the eaſtern world: and they were abſolute kings of the *Mediterranean* ſea.

The ancient regal ſeat of thoſe princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the firſt ſon of *Canaan*: and the people then ſubject to that family were called *Zidonians*; the ſame ſtate continuing even unto *Joſhua*'s time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one king of all that region, afterwards called *Phenicia*: which *Procopius* alſo confirmeth in his ſecond book of *Vandal Wars*. But in proceſs of time the city of *Tyre* adjoining, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the [b] prophet, it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them firſt built, and peopled.

But after the death of *Moſes*, and while *Joſhua* yet governed *Iſrael*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phenician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his ſons *Cadmus*, *Phenix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix* (ſay *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and poſſeſs'd the cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, to wit, the new *Tyrus*; and brought into *Phenicia* (ſo called after the name of his ſecond ſon) the uſe of letters: which alſo *Cadmus*, in his purſuit after his ſiſter *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* king of *Crete*, when he ſurpriſed *Tyre*, had ſtolen her thence: of which the poets deviſed the fable of *Jupiter*'s transformation into a bull, by whom that ſtealth was alſo ſuppoſed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the firſt king of *Phenicia*; and finds *Cadmus* his ſucceſſor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it ſeemeth that *Belus* was the father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: becauſe the ſucceſſors of *Dido* held that name always in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Aſdrubal*, *Hannibal*: whoſe memory *Virgil* alſo toucheth in theſe verſes.

Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitque moro pateram: quam Belus & omnes
A Belo ſoliti.

The queen anon commands the weighty bowl
(Weighty with precious ſtones and maſſy gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus*' line.

Whether this *Belus* were father or grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it ſeems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was anceſtor to theſe *Phenicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the ſon of *Neptune* by *Libya* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the ſon of *Telegonus*, according to *Euſebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops*'s time, ſaith St. *Auguſtin*, *Moſes* left *Egypt*: *Agenor*'s ſucceſſor living at once with *Joſhua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the ſame time into the territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that region the name of *Phenicia*, in honour of his ſon. But inſtead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nabuchodonoſor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the ſame nation, and brought up in *Egypt*, where he learned the uſe of letters (*Egypt* flouriſhed in all kind of learning in *Moſes*'s time) or were he by nation an *Egyptian*; yet it is very likely, that either he came to ſave his own territory; or otherwiſe to defend the coaſt of *Canaan* from the *Iſraelites*, who were by *Moſes* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loſs and diſhonour of that nation, and by *Joſhua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and poſſeſs the *Canaanites* land. For tho' the *Egyptians*, by reaſon of the loſs which they received by the hand of God in the *Red* ſea, and by the ten plagues caſt on them before that, and by the ſlaughter of ſo many of the male children at the ſame time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by land, which alſo they knew had ſo many powerful nations to defend it; the deſarts interjacent, and the ſtrong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Emorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having ſuch veſſels or ſhips, or gallies, as were then in uſe, did not in all probability neglect to garriſon the ſea-coaſt, or aſſiſt *Agenor* with ſuch forces as they had to ſpare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philiſtines*, which held the ſhores of *Canaan* next adjoining unto them, were their friends and confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the courſe of the ſtory, thoſe cities of *Phenicia*, which *Agenor* was ſaid to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended againſt *Joſhua*, and againſt the tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Joſhua* xix. 29. called the ſtrong city, *Accho* afterwards *Ptolomais*, *Achzib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phenicia* had in thoſe days.

That the kings of *Phenicia* were mighty, eſpecially by ſea, it appears, firſt by their defence againſt *Iſrael*: ſecondly, by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not maſter them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their cities, tho' they were then but *reguli*, defended it ſelf 13 years againſt a king of kings, *Nabuchodonoſor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, ſeemed irreſiſtible) ſpent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conqueſt of all the cities in *Aſia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Beroſus* out of *Joſephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the ſon of *Japhet*. And for the region it ſelf, tho' *Caliſthenes* derives it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the *Greeks* from the word *Phonos* of ſlaughter, becauſe the *Phenicians* ſlew all that came on their coaſts; yet for my ſelf, I take it that *Phœnix* the ſon of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phenicia*, or *Cadmus* his ſon in *Greece*, were the inventors of letters it is ridiculous: and therefore the diſpute unneceſſary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the firſt light of all thoſe arts, ſciences, and civil policies, which they afterwards profeſſed and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himſelf was inſtructed by the *Libyans*; to wit, from the ſouth and ſuperiour *Egyptians*: from whom thoſe which inhabited nearer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they ſay, borrowed their divinity and philoſophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received civility. Again, the *Phenicians* challenge this invention of letters and learning, acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither do

[a] Strab. l. 16. Budæ. de. Aſ. l. 4. [b] Iſaiah 23.

they

they allow that *Agenor* and his ſons were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

[a] Phœnices *primi (famæ ſi creditur) auſi,*
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.

Phenicians firſt (if fame may credit have)
In rude characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the ſon of *Agenor*, and was a *Phenician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that anſwer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a ſtranger, and a *Phenician*;

[b] *Si patria eſt* Phœnix, *quid tum? nam* Cadmus *& ipſe*
Phœnix; *cui debet* Græcia *docta libros.*

If a *Phenician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was ſo: to whom *Greece* owes
The books of learned men.

Out of doubt the *Phenicians* were very ancient: and from the records and chronicles of *Tyre*, [c] *Joſephus* the hiſtorian confirms a great part of his antiquities. The *Thracians* again ſubſcribe to none of theſe reports; but affirm conſtantly, that the great *Zamolixis* flouriſhed among them, when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*, *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*, and *Ochus* in *Phenicia*. Yea, ſome of the *French* do not bluſh to maintain, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greeks* the uſe of letters, and other ſciences. And do not we know that our *Bards* and *Druids* are as ancient as thoſe *Gauls*, and that they ſent their ſons hither to be by them inſtructed in all kind of learning?

Laſtly; whereas others beſtow this invention on *Moſes*: the ſame hath no probability at all; for he lived at ſuch time as learning and arts flouriſhed moſt, both in *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, and he himſelf was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that letters were invented by thoſe excellent ſpirits of the firſt age, and before the general flood, either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom elſe God knows; from whom all wiſdom and underſtanding hath proceeded. And as the ſame infinite God is preſent with all his creatures, ſo hath he given the ſame invention to divers nations; whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other, as well in this as in many other knowledges; for even in *Mexico*, when it was firſt diſcovered, there were found written books after the manner of thoſe hieroglyphicks, anciently uſed by the *Egyptians*, and other nations: and ſo had thoſe *Americans*, a kind of heraldry, and their princes differing in arms and eſcutcheons, like unto thoſe uſed by the kings and nobility of other nations: [d] *Jura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c.* Natural laws are common, and general.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of Tyre.

BUT whatſoever remaineth of the ſtory and kings of *Phenicia* (the book of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaſeas*, and others of that nation, being no where found) the ſame is to be gathered out of the ſcriptures, *Joſephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Joſhua*, to whom ſucceeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and ſo far towards the north as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phenicia*: what king ſucceeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at ſuch time as the *Grecians* beſieged *Troy*, *Phaſis* governed *Phenicia*.

In *Jeremy*'s time, and while *Jehoiakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a king apart: for *Jeremy* xxvii. 3. ſpeaketh of the kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of ſeveral kings.

In *Xerxes*'s time, and when he prepared that incredible army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramneſtus* ruled that part of *Phenicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as ſome writers affirm, *Xerxes*'s fleet, or rather, as I ſuppoſe, thoſe 300 gallies, which himſelf brought to his aid: for at this time it ſeemeth, that the *Phenicians* were tributaries to the *Perſians*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty kings in *Jeremy*'s time, they were ſubjected by *Nabuchodonoſor*; of whoſe conqueſts in the chapter before remembred, *Jeremiah* propheſied.

Tennes, tho' not immediately, ſucceeded *Tetramneſtus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his fourteenth book.

Strato, his ſucceſſor, and king of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, becauſe of his dependency upon *Darius*, and that his predeceſſors had ſerved the eaſt empire againſt the *Grecians*. But divers kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were conſumed 130 years, and ſomewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* eſteemed the more unworthy of reſtitution, becauſe (ſaith *Curtius*, *l.* 4.) he rather ſubmitted himſelf by the inſtigation of his ſubjects (who foreſaw their utter ruin by reſiſtance) than that he had any diſpoſition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Of this *Strato*, [e] *Athenæus*, out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and moſt voluptuous; alſo that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers and ſingers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and aſſembled: that having beheld the moſt beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own uſe and delights. Of the ſtrange accident about the death of one *Strato* king of theſe coaſts, St. [f] *Jerome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Perſians* were near him with an army too weighty for his ſtrength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, becauſe of his falling away from that empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himſelf, but fainting in the execution, his wife being preſent, wreſted the ſword out of his hand, and ſlew him: which done, ſhe alſo therewith pierced her own body, and died.

After *Alexander* was poſſeſſed of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the kingdom to *Hephæſtion* to diſpoſe of: who having received great entertainment of one of the citizens, in whoſe houſe he lodged, offered to recompenſe him therewith, and willingly offered to eſtabliſh him therein: but this citizen, no leſs virtuous than rich, deſired *Hephæſtion* that this honour might be conferred on ſome one of the blood and race of their ancient kings: and preſented unto him *Balonimus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*; *Juſtin*, *Abdolomius*; and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal eſtate, was with his own hands working in his garden, ſetting herbs and roots, for his relief and ſuſtenance: tho' otherwiſe a wiſe man, and exceeding juſt.

Theſe were the ancient kings of *Zidon*: whoſe eſtate being afterwards changed into popular or *Ariſtocratical*, and by times and turns ſubjected to the emperors of the eaſt, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the tribe of *Aſher*.

The kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuel*'s time, it doth not appear: *Joſephus* the hiſtorian, as is ſaid, had many things wherewith he gar-

[a] Lucan. l. 5. 3. [b] Athen. 1. Dipnoſ. [c] Joſeph. contra Appionem. [d] Juriſconſ. [e] Athen. l. 12. c. 13. [f] Heron. l. 1 cont. Jovin.

niſhed his antiquities from the *Tyrian* chronicles: and out of *Joſephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a deſcent of ſome 20 kings of the *Tyrians*; but theſe authors, tho' they both pretend to write out *Menander Epheſius*, do in no ſort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the firſt king of the *Tyrians*, that *Joſephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus:* the ſame perchance that the ſon of *Sirach* mentioneth in his 46th chapter, ſpeaking of the princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* ſucceeded, if he be not one and the ſame with *Abibalus*. *David* (ſaith [a] *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus*) conſtrained this *Suron* to pay him tribute, of whom alſo *David* complaineth, *Pſalm* lxxxiii.

Hiram ſucceeded *Suron*, whom *Joſephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* ſometimes *Hieronimus*, ſometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and ſent him cedars, with maſons and carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Jeruſalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebuſites*. The ſame was he that ſo greatly aſſiſted *Solomon:* whom he not only furniſhed with cedars, and other materials towards the raiſing of the temple, and with great ſums of money, but alſo he joined with him in his enterpriſe of the eaſt *India*, and of *Ophir:* and furniſhed *Solomon* with mariners and pilots; the *Tyrians* being of all nations the moſt excellent navigators: and lent him 120 talents of gold. Of this [b] *Hiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of ſcripture, but in *Joſephus*'s antiquities, the 7th and 8th chap. ver. 2, 3. in *Theophilus*'s 3d book, in *Tatianus*'s oration againſt the *Greeks*, and in *Zonaras*, tome the firſt. This prince ſeemeth to be very mighty and magnificent; he deſpiſeth the 20 towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defendeth himſelf againſt that victorious king *David:* and gave his daughter in marriage to [c] *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian:* for whoſe ſake he was contented to worſhip *Aſteroth*, the idol of the *Phenicians*. *Hiram* lived 53 years.

Balaſtartus, whom [d] *Theoph. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, ſucceeded *Hiram* king of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7 years, according to *Joſephus*.

Abdaſtartus the eldeſt ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, governed 9 years, and lived but 20 years according to *Joſephus:* but after *Theophilus*, he reigned 12 years, and lived 54, who being ſlain by the 4 ſons of his own nurſe, the eldeſt of them held the kingdom 12 years.

Aſtartus, brother to *Abdaſtartus*, recovered the kingdom from this uſurper, and reigned 12 years.

[e] *Aſtarimus*, or *Atharimus*, after [e] *Theophilus*, a 3d brother, followed *Aſtartus*, and ruled 9 years, and lived in all 54.

[f] *Phelles* the 4th ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, and brother to the 3 former kings, ſlew *Aſtarimus*, and reigned 8 months, and lived 50 years.

Ithobalus (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) ſon to the 3d brother *Aſtarimus*, who was the chief prieſt of the goddeſs *Aſtarta*, which was a dignity next unto the king, revenged the death of his father, and ſlaughtered his uncle [g] *Phelles:* and reigned 32 years, the ſame which in 1 *Kings* xvi. is called *Ethbaal*, whoſe daughter *Jezebel Achab* married.

Badezor, or *Bazor*, the ſon of *Ithobalus*, or [h] *Ethbaal*, brother to *Jezebel*, ſucceeded his father, and reigned 6 years, and lived in all 45.

Mettimus ſucceeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9 years (ſaith [k] *Joſephus*) he had two ſons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Eliſa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his father 40 years, and lived 56. In the 7th year of whoſe reign, *Eliſa* ſailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143 years and 8 months after the temple of *Solomon:* which by our account was 289 years after *Troy* was taken, and 143 before *Rome*; and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* muſt be far out of ſquare. For *Pygmalion*, covetous of *Sicheus*'s riches, who had married his ſiſter *Eliſa*, ſlew him traiterouſly as he accompanied him in hunting: or, if we believe [l] *Juſtin* and *Virgil*, at the altar: whereupon *Eliſa*, fearing to be deſpoiled of her huſband's treaſure, fled by ſea into *Africa*, as aforeſaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to purſue, he was by his mother's tears, and by threats from the oracle arreſted. *Barca* accompanied his ſiſter, and aſſiſted her in the erection of *Carthage:* and from him ſprang that noble family of *Barcæ* in *Africa*, of which race deſcended many famous captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, becauſe of her manlike acts: others from *Jedidia*, a ſurname of *Solomon*.

Eluleus ſucceeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36 years: the ſame that overthrew the fleet of *Salmanaſſar*, in the port of *Tyre:* notwithſtanding which he continued his ſiege before it on the land ſide 5 years, but in vain.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himſelf to be as wiſe as *Daniel:* and that he knew all ſecrets (ſaith *Ezekiel*) of whom the prophet writeth at large in his xxviiith chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this prince died, or was ſlain in that long ſiege of *Nabuchodonoſor:* who ſurrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13 years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10 years a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonoſor:* for after his death, it was governed by divers judges, ſucceeding each other: firſt by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the prieſt, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſtus*, who held it among them ſome 7 years and odd months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a king for one year: after him *Merbalus* ſent from *Babylon* 4 years; after him *Irom*, ſent thence alſo 20 years. In the 17th of whoſe reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Perſia*.

SECT. III.

Of Bozius's *conceit, that the* Edumeans *inhabiting along the* Red *ſea, were the progenitors of the* Tyrians, *and that the* Tyrians *from them received and brought into* Phenicia *the knowledge of the true God.*

OF the great mutations of this kingdom and ſtate of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a diſcourſe of divers other nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a tract at large, intitled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And altho' the great and many alterations found in this and other cities, yea in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who only is unchangeable and the ſame for ever; yet whereas the ſaid *Bozius*, inforcing here-hence, that the proſperity and ruin of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forſaking the true religion; to prove this his aſſertion, ſuppoſeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumeans*, deſcended from *Eſau*, *Jacob*'s brother: firſt, it can hardly be believed that *Tyre*, when it flouriſhed moſt in her ancient glory, was in any ſort truly devout and religious. But to this end [i] beſides the proof which the ſcriptures give

[a] Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. [b] 2 Sam. 5. &c. 2 Sam. 5. 1 Kings 1. 9. 20. 1 Chron. 14. 2 Chron. 2. 8, 9. [c] 1 Kings 11. [d] Theo. 17 *years*. [e] Joſeph 54. Theoph. 58. [f] Theoph. [g] Joſeph. 32. Theoph. 12. [h] 1 Kings 16 31. Joſeph. 6. *years*. Theoph. 26. [i] Joſeph. 9. Theoph. 29. [k] Juſtin. l. 11. Virgil. l. 1. [l] Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7.

of

of *Hiram*'s good affection, when *Solomon* built the temple) he brings many conjectural arguments, whereof the ſtrongeſt is their pedigree and deſcent: it being likely in his opinion, that the poſterity of *Eſau* received from him by tradition the religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, he endeavours to ſhew, partly by weak reaſons painfully ſtrained from ſome affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others witneſs, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red* ſea, in which there were three iſlands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Zidon:* which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the cities of *Phenicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the *Red* ſea, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumeans:* as *Elah* and *Eſiongaber*, or under the *Amalekites* who deſcended of *Amalek* the nephew of *Eſau*, whoſe chief city was *Madian*, ſo called of *Madian* the ſon of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whoſe poſterity did people it: the conſequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites:* differing little or nothing in religion from the children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his companions brought not into *Greece* the worſhip of *Aſtartis* the idol of the *Sidonians*. That the parents of *Thales* and *Pherecides* being *Phenicians*, themſelves differed much in their philoſophy from the idolatrous cuſtoms of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a town of the *Edumeans*, was an univerſity, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who diſputed with *Job*, religion was ſincerely taught.

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozius*, who labouring to prove one paradox by another, deſerves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, they were then of the true religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumeans* at all. In what religion *Eſau* brought up his children, it is no where found written; but that himſelf was a profane man, and diſavowed by God, the ſcriptures in plain terms expreſs. That his poſterity were idolaters, is directly proved in the 25th chapter of the 2d book of *Chronicles*, that the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the houſe of *Iſrael*, ſave only when *David* and ſome of his race, kings of *Juda*, held them in ſubjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *David*'s unfriendly behaviour amongſt them, when firſt they were ſubdued? Surely, it was not any argument of kindred or alliance between *Tyrus* and mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* ſlew all the males of *Edom:* neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill treated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſdom of *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumeans* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *David* in his own days found them. Altho' indeed the city of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Job*, is not that in *Edumea*, but another of the ſame name, lying eaſt from the ſea of *Galilee*, and adjoining to *Huſ*, the country of *Job:* and to *Sueh* the city of *Bildad* the *Shuite*; as both ſuch chorographers who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy text maketh manifeſt. For *Job* is ſaid to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wiſdom, all the people of the eaſt; not the inhabitants of mount *Seir*, which lay due ſouth from *Paleſtina*. True it is, that *Eiephaz* the ſon of *Eſau* had a ſon called *Teman:* but that fathers were wont in thoſe days to take name of their ſons, I no where find. And *Iſhmael* alſo had a ſon called *Thema:* of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the eaſt had the name; for as much as in the ſeventh chapter of the book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the eaſt are called *Iſhmaelites*. He that well conſiders how great and ſtrong a nation *Amalek* was, which durſt give battle to the hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000 able men, will hardly believe that ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau*'s grandchildren. For how powerful and numberleſs muſt the forces of all *Edom* have been, if one tribe of them, yea, one family of a tribe had been ſo great? ſurely mount *Seir*, and all the regions adjoining, could not have held them. But we no where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalek*, or aſſiſted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalek* is no where in ſcripture named for a tribe in *Edom*, but a nation of itſelf, if diſtinct from the *Iſhmaelites*. The like may be ſaid of *Midian*, that the founder thereof being ſon to *Abraham* by *Keturah*, doubtleſs was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seigniory* of the *Red* ſea coaſt, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumeans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held ſome places, as *Elan* and *Ezion-gaber* on the *Red* ſea ſhore, yet in *Moſes*'s time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moſes* himſelf ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſs all the borders of *Edom*; within which limits had *Midian* ſtood, *Moſes* muſt needs have known it: becauſe he had ſojourned long in that country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural arguments, how probable ſoever, are needleſs in ſo manifeſt a caſe. For in the lxxxiii. *Pſalm*, *Edom*, *Amalek*, and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct nations: yea, the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good authors ſhew, and *Bozius* himſelf confeſſeth, were *Canaanites*, as appears *Gen.* x. 15, 19. appointed by God to have been deſtroyed, and their lands given to the children of *Aſher*, *Joſh.* xxix. becauſe they were idolaters, and of the curſed ſeed of *Canaan*, not couſins to *Iſrael*, nor profeſſors of the ſame religion. For tho' *Hiram* ſaid, *Bleſſed be God who hath ſent king David a wiſe ſon:* we cannot infer that he was of *David*'s religion. The *Turk* hath ſaid as much of Chriſtian princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sidonians* then worſhipped *Aſhteroth*, and drew *Solomon* alſo to the ſame idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great proviſion of corn and oil, and the offer of twenty towns or villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly conſider things, it will appear, that *Hiram* in all points dealt merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over-peſtered, being otherwiſe apt to yield ſilks: as the *Andarine* ſilks which come from thence, and other good commodities. For corn and oil, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well ſpare to *Solomon*. Alſo gold for land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiſer; who having got the gold firſt, gave to *Hiram* the worſt villages that he had; with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleaſed. But it was a neceſſary policy, which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Iſrael*. For *David* had ſubdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates:* thro' which countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and re-carry their wares on camels, to their fleets on the *Red* ſea, and back again to *Tyrus:* ſo that *Solomon* being lord of all the countries thro' which they were to paſs, could have cut off their trade.

But the *Iſraelites* were no ſeamen, and therefore glad to ſhare with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as lord of the ſea-towns, which his father had taken from the *Philiſtines*, might have greatly

greatly diſtreſſed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into ſubjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his father's treaſure in magnificent works, than in purſuing the conqueſt of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and ſent him cunning workmen, to increaſe his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and inſtruments of pleaſure.

As theſe paſſages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no ſtrong arguments of piety in the *Tyrians*: ſo thoſe other proofs which *Bozius* frames negatively upon particular examples, are very weak. For what the religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no man knows. It ſeems to me, that having more cunning than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchaſed divine honours: which his daughters, nephews, and others of his houſe obtained, but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of ſuch hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but ſingle examples. Every ſavage nation hath ſome whoſe wiſdom excelleth the vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wiſdom of theſe men expreſs any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of *Greece*; whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to ſay, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I think, the iſlands beforementioned in the *Red* ſea to have been, for they traded in all ſeas) were idolaters, even from their firſt beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were ſo likewiſe.

This their idolatry from *Solomon*'s time onwards, is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a ſtrange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancy he is ſo peremptory, that he ſtileth men of contrary opinion, *impios politicos*; as if it were impiety to think that God (who even among the heathen, which have not known his name, doth favour virtue, and hate vice) hath often rewarded moral honeſty, with temporal happineſs. Doubtleſs this doctrine of *Bozius* would better have agreed with *Julian* the apoſtate, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Aſſyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all thoſe nations of the *Gentiles*, did then proſper moſt, when they drew neareſt unto the true religion: what may be ſaid of the foul idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as faſt as *Rome* itſelf grew; and was inlarged with ſome new ſuperſtition, almoſt upon every new victory? How few great battles did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a temple to ſome new God, or ſome new honour to one of their old Gods? Yea, what one nation, ſave only that of the *Jews*, was ſubdued by them, whoſe gods they did not afterwards entertain in their city? Only the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* majeſty. Shall we hereupon inforce the leud and fooliſh concluſion, which heathen writers uſed againſt the Chriſtians in the primitive Church; that ſuch idolatry had cauſed the city of *Rome* to flouriſh, and that the decay of thoſe abominations, did alſo bring with it the decay of the empire? It might well be thought ſo, if proſperity were a ſign or effect of true religion. Such is the blind zeal of *Bozius*, who writing againſt thoſe whom he falſly terms impious, gives ſtrength to ſuch as are impious indeed. But ſuch indiſcretion is uſually found among men of his humour; who having once either fooliſhly imbraced the dreams of others, or vainly faſhioned in their own brains, any ſtrange *Chimera's* of divinity, condemn all ſuch in the pride of their zeal, as atheiſts and infidels, that are not tranſported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is, that ſuch mad dogs are oftentimes encouraged by thoſe, who having the command of many tongues, when they themſelves cannot touch a man in open and generous oppoſition, will wound him ſecretly by the malicious virtue of an hypocrite.

CHAP. IX.

Of the tribe of Ephraim; *and of the kings of the ten tribes, whoſe head was* Ephraim.

SECT. I.

Of the memorable places in the tribe of Ephraim.

HAVING now paſs'd over *Phenicia*, we come to the next territory adjoining; which is that of *Ephraim*, ſometime taken, *per excellentiam*, for the whole kingdom of the ten tribes. *Ephraim* was the ſecond ſon of *Joſeph*; whoſe iſſues, when they left *Egypt*, were in number 45000; all which dying in the deſarts, *Joſhua* excepted, there entered the *Holy Land* of their children, grown to be able men, 32500, who ſat down on the weſt ſide of *Jordan*, between *Manaſſeh* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the north and ſouth; as *Jordan* and the *Mediterranean* ſea did by the eaſt and weſt.

The firſt and chief city which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria* the metropolis of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, built by *Amris*, or *Homri*, king thereof, and ſeated on the top of the mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the ſea-coaſt. It was afterwards called *Sebaſte*, or *Auguſta*, in honour of *Auguſtus Ceſar*. This city is often remembred in the ſcriptures: and magnificent it was in the firſt building; for as *Brochard* obſerveth, the ruins which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, tell thoſe that behold them, what it was when it ſtood upright: for to this day there found great ſtore of goodly marble pillars, with other hewen and carved ſtone, in great abundance, among the the rubbiſh.

It was beaten to the ground by the ſons of *Hyrcanus* the high prieſt: reſtored and built by the firſt *Herod*, the ſon of *Antipater*; who, to flatter *Ceſar*, called it *Sebaſte*. Herein were the prophets *Heliſæus* and *Abdias* buried; and ſo was *John Baptiſt*. It now hath nothing but a few cottages filled with *Grecian* monks.

Near *Samaria* towards the ſouth, is the hill of *Bethel*, and a town of that name; on the top of which mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden calves to be worſhipped; with which he ſeduced the *Iſraelites*.

In ſight of this mountain of *Bethel*, was that ancient city of *Sichem*; after the reſtauration called [b]*Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*, and *Napolaſa*: it was deſtroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the raviſhment of their ſiſter *Dinah*: and after that by *Abimelech* evened with the ſoil. *Jeroboam* raiſed it up again; and the *Damaſcenes* a third time caſt it down.

[a] Pſal. 59. 78, 108. Par. 25. [b] Sichar. Joh. 4. 5. Maborthan. Joſeph. 11. Ant. 1.

Under

Under *Sichem* towards the ſea, ſtandeth *Pharaton*, or *Pirhaton*, on the mountain [a]*Amalek*, the city of *Abdon* judge of *Iſrael*; and under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built, as it is ſaid, by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this city, *Judas Maccabeus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lyſias*, lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This city had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Between *Bethoron* and the ſea, ſtandeth *Samir*, of which *Joſh.* x. and *Saron*, whoſe king was ſlain by [b]*Joſhua:* it is alſo mentioned *Acts* ix. 35. And of this *Saron* the valley taketh name; which beginning at *Cæſaria Palæſtinæ*, extendeth itſelf along the coaſt as far as *Joppe*, ſaith *Adrichome*. Tho' indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this valley, but to every fruitful plain region; for not only this valley is ſo called, to wit, between *Ceſaria* and *Joppe*, but that alſo between the mountain *Tabor* and the ſea of *Galilee*; for ſo St. *Jerome*, upon *Iſaiah* xxxv. interprets the word *Saron:* and ſo doth the ſame father, in his commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Aſſaron*; underſtanding thereby a plain near *Lidda:* which *Lidda*, in his time, was called *Dioſpolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, one of the toparchies of *Judea*, the fifth in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where St. *Peter* (*non ſua ſed Chriſti virtute*) cured *Æneas*. [c]*Niger* calls all that region, from *Antilibanus* to *Joppe*, *Sarona*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, thoſe ravens and ſpoilers of all eſtates, diſturbers of commonwealths, uſurpers of other princes kingdoms: who with no other reſpect led, than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themſelves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the moſt ſavage and barbarous nations.

In *Dioſpolis* (ſaith *Will.* of *Tyre*) was [d]St. *George* beheaded, and buried; in whoſe honour and memory, *Juſtinian* the emperor cauſed a fair Church to be built over his tomb; theſe be *Tyrius*'s words; *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pertranſeuntes, Liddam quæ eſt Dioſpolis, ubi & egregii Martyris* Georgii *uſque hodie ſepulchrum oſtenditur, pervenerunt, ejus eccleſiam quum ad honorem ejuſdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus princeps Romanorum*, Auguſtus Juſtinianus *multo ſtudio & devotione prompta ædificari præceperat*, &c. They having left, ſaith he, on the right hand, the ſea-towns *Antipatris* and *Joppe*, paſſing over the great open plain of *Eleutheria*, came to *Lidda*, which is *Dioſpolis*; where the ſumptuous tomb of the famous martyr St. *George* is at this day ſhewed: whoſe Church, when the godly and orthodox prince of the *Romans*, high and mighty *Juſtinian*, had commanded to be built, with great earneſtneſs and preſent devotion, *&c.* Thus far *Tyrius*, by whoſe teſtimony we may conjecture that this St. *George* was not that *Arian* biſhop of *Alexandria*, but rather ſome better Chriſtian; for this of *Alexandria*, was ſlain there in an uproar of the people, and his aſhes caſt into the ſea, as [e]*Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet alſo it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better Chriſtian than he is commonly thought: for his words of the temple of *Genius*, *How long ſhall this ſepulchre ſtand?* occaſioned the uproar of the people againſt him, as fearing leſt he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful temple. This alſo *Marcellinus* reports; who tho' he ſays, that this *Georgius* was alſo deadly hated of the Chriſtians, who elſe might have reſcued him: yet he addeth, that his aſhes, with the aſhes of two others, were therefore caſt into the ſea, leſt if their relicts had been gathered up, Churches ſhould be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not *Georgius*, whoſe name lives in the right honourable order of our knights of the garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius*, above cited, witneſſeth to have been buried at *Lidda*, or *Dioſpolis*. The ſame alſo is confirmed by [f]*Vitriac.* St. *Jerome* affirms that it was ſometimes called *Tigrida*; and while the Chriſtians inhabited the *Holy Land*, it had a biſhop ſuffragan.

Near to *Lidda*, or *Dioſpolis*, ſtandeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia:* afterward *Rama* and *Ramula*, the native city of *Joſeph*, which buried the body of *Chriſt*. [g]There are many places which bear this name of *Rama:* one they ſet in the tribe of *Judah* near *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which, they ſay, adjoineth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the ſame with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama* in the hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the north, along the coaſt, are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which 1 *Chron.* vi. *Apollonia*, of which [h]*Joſephus* in his antiquities, and in the wars of the *Jews*. Alſo *Balſaliſa* (for which *Junius*, 2 *Kings* iv. 42. reads *Planities Shaliſtæ*) they place hereabout in this tribe of *Ephraim:* but *Junius*, upon 1 *Sam.* vi. where we read of the land of *Shaliſha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

On the other ſide of the mountains of *Ephraim*, ſtandeth *Goſna*, one of the toparchies, or cities of government, the ſecond in dignity, of which the country about it taketh name.

Then [i]*Thamnath-ſara*, or, according to the *Hebrew Thimnath-ſerach*; one alſo of the ten toparchies or preſidencies of *Judea*, which they call *Thamnitica*; a goodly city and ſtrong, ſeated on one of the high hills of *Ephraim*, on the north of the hill called *Gaas*; which city and territory *Iſrael* gave unto their leader *Joſhua*; who alſo amplified it with buildings, near which he was buried. His ſepulchre remained in [k]St. *Jerome*'s time, and over it the ſun engraven, in memory of that greateſt of wonders which God wrought in *Joſhua*'s time.

In the places adjoining ſtandeth *Adarſa*, or *Adaſa*; where [l]*Judas Maccabeus*, with 3000 *Jews*, overthrew the army of *Nicanor*, lieutenant of *Syria*, near to *Gaſer*, or *Gezer*, which *Joſhua* took, and hang'd their king, a city of the *Levites*. It was afterwards taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*, the people all ſlain, and the city razed: *Solomon* rebuilt it.

To the eaſt of this place, is the frontier city of *Jeſleti*, of which *Joſh.* xvi. 3. otherwiſe *Pelethi*, whence *David* had part of his pretorian ſoldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous mountain and city of *Silo*, whereon the ark of God was kept ſo many years, till the *Philiſtines* got it.

To this they join the city of [m]*Machmas*, or *Michmas*, in which *Jonathan Maccabeus* inhabited; a place often remembred in the ſcriptures. It ſtandeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Jeruſalem*, and is now called *Byra*.

Then the village of *Najoth* where *Saul* propheſied; and near it [n]*Ephron*, one of thoſe cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*, after the great

[a] Judg. 12. 15. [b] Joſh. 12. 18. [c] Acts 6. Luke 23. Niger. Comm. 4. Aſiæ fol. 503. 14. [d] *Of this St.* George *ſee more above in this ſecond book*, c. 7. §. 3. † 5. [e] Lib. 22. c. 11. [f] Salig. Tom. 6. c. 4. [g] *See in the tribe of* Benjamin, c. 12. §. 1. [h] Ant. 13. 21. de bell. Jud. 1. 6. [i] Judg. 2. 9. *it is called* Thimnath-Chores, Joſh. 19. 50. [k] Hieron in loc. Heb. [l] 1 Mac. 7. 40. [m] *See in* Benjamin. 1 Mac. 9. *v.* ult. [n] 1 Kings 4. *And ſee* Rama *in* Benjamin.

overthrow given him. Then *Kibtſaim* of the *Levites*, of which *Joſh.* xxi. 22. which *Junius* thinks to be the ſame with *Jokmeham*, of which 1 *Chron.* vi. 68. As for *Abſalom's Baalhaſar*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it in the plain of *Chatſor*; and finds it in the tribe of *Juda*; as *Joſhua* xv. we read of two *Chatſors* in that tribe, one near *Kadeſh*, ver. 23. and the other the ſame as *Chetzron*, ver. 25. towards *Jordan*.

In this tribe alſo they find the city of *Mello*; whoſe citizens, they ſay, joined with the *Sichimites* in making the baſtard *Abimelech* king: adding, that for the building thereof, with other cities, *Solomon* raiſed a tribute upon the people. But it ſeems that *Mello*, or [a] *Millo*, is a common name of a ſtrong fort or citadel: and ſo *Junius*, for *Domus Millo*, reads *incolæ munitionis*; and for *Salomo ædificabat Millo*, he reads, *ædificabat munitionem*; and ſo the *Septuagint* read τὴν ἄκραν in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Jeruſalem*.

The other cities of note in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whoſe king was ſlain by *Joſhua*; and *Janoach*, or *Janoah*, ſpoiled by *Teglatphalaſſar*: *Pekah* then governing *Iſrael*; with divers others, but of no great fame.

The mountains of *Ephraim* ſometime ſignify the greateſt part of the land of the ſons of *Joſeph*, on the weſt of *Jordan*; ſeveral parts whereof are the hill of *Samron*, or *Samaria*, 1 *Reg.* xvi. 24. [b] the hill of *Gahas*, *Judg.* ii. 9. the hill of *Tſalmon*, or *Salmon*, *Judg.* ix. 48. the hills of the region of *Tſuph*, or *Tſophim*, *Judg.* ix. 5. where *Rama Sophim* ſtood, which was the city of *Samuel*.

The great plenty of fruitful vines upon the ſides of theſe mountains, was the occaſion that *Jacob* in the ſpirit of prophecy, *Gen.* xlix. 22. compared *Joſeph's* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, to the branches of a fruitful vine planted by the well ſide, and ſpread her [c] daughter-branches along the wall: which allegory alſo *Ezek* xxii. in his lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten tribes, whoſe head was *Ephraim*) proſecutes: as alſo in his lamentation for *Judah*, he followeth the other allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen.* xlix. 9. comparing *Judah* to a lion. Upon the top of one of the higheſt of theſe hills of *Ephraim*, which overlooketh all the plains on both ſides of *Jordan*, they find the caſtle called *Dok*; which they make to be the ſame with *Dagon*, of which *Joſeph.* 1. *bell. Jud. c.* 2. in which caſtle, as it is 1 *Mac.* xvi. *Ptolemy* moſt traiterouſly, at a banquet, ſlew *Simon Maccabæus* his father-in-law.

Among the rivers of this tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 30. where tho' *Junius* reads, *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahaſi*; yet the *Vulgar*, and *Vatablus*, read *Giddai* of the river of *Gaas*. Alſo in this tribe they place the river of *Carith*, by which the prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought, where he was [d] fed by the ravens: and after that the river was dried up, he travelled (by the ſpirit of God) towards *Sidon*, where he was relieved by the poor widow of *Zarepta*, whoſe dead ſon he revived, and increas'd her pittance of meal and oil, whereby ſhe ſuſtained her life.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of the ten tribes, from Jeroboam *to* Achab.

OF the firſt kings of *Iſrael*, I omit in this place to ſpeak, and reſerve it to the catalogue of the kings of *Judah*; of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the kings of the ten tribes; but briefly, beginning after the diviſion from *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to ſpeak. The firſt of theſe kings was *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite* of *Zereda*; who being a man of ſtrength and courage, was by *Solomon* made overſeer of the buildings of the *Millo* or munition of *Jeruſalem*, for as much as belong'd to the charge of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, and ſo many of them as wrought in thoſe works. During which time, as he went from *Jeruſalem*, he encountred the prophet *Ahijah*; who made him know that he was by God deſtined to be king of *Iſrael*, and to command ten of the twelve tribes. After this, fearing that thoſe things might come to *Solomon's* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shiſhak*, whom *Euſebius* calleth *Oſochores*, whoſe daughter he married: the predeceſſor of which *Shiſhak* (if not the ſame) did likewiſe entertain *Adad* the *Idumean*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his captain *Joab*; which *Adad*, the king of *Egypt* married to his wife's ſiſter *Taphnes*; uſing both him and *Jeroboam* as inſtruments to ſhake the kingdom of *Judea*, that himſelf might the eaſilier ſpoil it, as he did: for in the fifth year of *Reboboam*, [e] *Shiſhak* ſack'd the city of *Jeruſalem*, and carried thence all the treaſure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the ſpoils which *David* took from *Adadezer* of *Soba*, with the preſents of *Tohu* king of *Hamath*, which were of an ineſtimable value.

This *Jeroboam*, after the death of *Solomon*, became lord of the ten tribes: and tho' he were permitted by God to govern the *Iſraelites*, and from a mean man exalted to that ſtate: yet preferring the policies of the world, before the ſervice and honour of God (as fearing that if the tribes under his rule ſhould repair to *Jeruſalem* to do their uſual ſacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worſhip (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, ſaith [f] St. *Ambroſe*, or rather of *Aaron's* calf in *Horeb*;) further, he made election of his prieſts out of the baſeſt and unlearned people. This king made his chief ſeat and palace at *Sichem*: he deſpiſed the warning of the *Judean* prophet, whom *Joſephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas*, *Joel*: his hand thereafter withered, and was again reſtored; but continuing in his idolatry, and hardned, upon occaſion that the prophet returning was ſlain by a lion, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purpoſed to root out his poſterity.

He was afterward overthrown by [g] *Abia* king of *Judah*, and died, after he had governed 22 years; whom *Nadab* his ſon ſucceeded: who in the ſecond year of his reign, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*, was ſlain, and rooted by *Baaſha*, who reigned in his ſtead; ſo *Nadab* lived king but two years.

Baaſha the ſon of *Ahijah*, the third king after the partition, made war with *Aſa* king of *Judah*: he ſeated himſelf in *Therſa*, and fortified *Rama* againſt *Judah*, to reſtrain their excurſions. Here-

[a] Judg. 9. 6, 20. 1 Reg. 11. 27. Vatablus *expounds* Millo *in this place*, Locum publicum neceſſarium civibus Hieroſolymitanis atque Iſraelitis. 2 Kings 15. 29, Joſh. 17. 15, 16. [b] *Alſo the hill of* Phineas, *where* Eleazar *the high prieſt, the ſon of* Aaron *was buried*, Joſh. 24. 33. *And the two tops of hills*, Gerizzim, *where the bleſſings, and* Hebal *where the curſings were to be read to the people, of which* Deut. 11. *and* 27. Joſh. 8. [c] *It ſeemeth that* Jacob *in this prophecy the rather uſeth the word* daughters *for* branches *thereby the more plainly to ſignify* colonies: *which in the* Hebrew *phraſe are called* daughters *of the metropolis*; *as in* Joſhua *and elſewhere often.* [d] 1 Reg. 17. 5. [e] 1 Reg. 14. [f] Ambroſe *on* Rom. 1. [g] 1 Kings 11. 12, 13, 14, 15.

upon

upon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who invaded *Nephtalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the mean while *Asa* carried away the materials, with which *Baasha* intended to fortify *Rama*; but being an idolater, he was threatned by *Jehu* the prophet, that it should befal his race, as it did to [a] *Jeroboam*; which afterward came to pass. He ruled twenty-four years, and died.

To *Baasha* succeeded *Ela* his son, who at a feast at his palace of *Therza*, was in his cups slain by *Zambris*, after he had reigned two years: and in him the prophecy of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a king seven days: but *Ambris* in revenge of the king's murder, set upon [b] *Zambris*, or *Zimri*; and inclosed him in *Therza*, and forced him to burn himself.

Ambris, or *Homri*, succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the regal seat from *Therza* to *Samaria*, which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This [c] *Ambris* was also an idolater, no less impious than the rest; and therefore subjected to *Tabremmon* king of *Syria*; the father of *Benhadad*, according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*. But how this should stand, I do not well conceive; seeing *Benhadad* the son of *Tabremmon*, was invited by [d] *Asa* king of *Juda*, to assail *Baasha* king of *Israel*, the father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned 12 years, 6 in *Therza*, and 6 in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab*, and *Athalia*.

SECT. III.

Of Achab *and his successors; with the captivity of the ten tribes.*

ACHab, or *Ahab*, succeeded *Omri*, who not only upheld the idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*; but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian*; and as *Jeroboam* followed the religion of his *Egyptian* wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*; and erected an altar and a grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Jezabel* to kill the prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*; *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the sacrifice, and killeth the false prophets, and afterwards flieth for fear of *Jezabel*.

Benhadad, not long after, besieged *Samaria*; and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at liberty: for which the prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*) reproveth him: afterwards he caused *Naboth*, by a false accusation, to be stoned. Then joining with *Josaphat* in the war for the recovery of *Ramoth*; he was slain, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

He had 3 sons named in the scripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Joas*; besides 70 other sons by sundry wives and concubins.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruised himself by a fall; he sent for counsel to [e] *Beelzebub* the god of *Acharon*. *Elijah* the prophet meeteth the messenger on the way; and misliking that *Ochozias* sought help from that dead idol, asked the messenger, if there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth 2 captains, and with each 50 soldiers to bring *Elijah* unto him; both which, with their attendants, were consumed with fire. The 3d captain besought mercy at *Elijah*'s hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the king; avowing it to the king that he must then die: which came to pass in the 2d year of his reign.

Joram, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, succeeded: he allured *Josaphat* king of *Juda*, and the king of *Edom*, to assist him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000 sheep. The 3 kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the desarts. The prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The [f] *Moabites* are overthrown; their king flieth to *Kirharaseth*; and being besieged, according to some expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a sacrifice, whereat the three kings, moved with compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that region. Others, as it seems with better reason, understand the text to speak of the son of the king of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the *Moabites*, and that the king of *Moab* shewed him over the walls, threatning, unless the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of *Edom* besought those of *Juda* and *Israel*, to break off the siege for the safety of his son: which when the other kings refused to yield unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatning, had burnt the king of *Edom*'s son upon the rampire, that all the assailants might discern it: the king of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle enraged, forsook the party of the other kings; for want of whose assistance the siege was broken up.

After this the king of *Aram* sent to *Joram*, to heal *Naaman* the captain of his army of the leprosy. The answer of *Joram* was; am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth send to heal a man from his leprosy? adding, that the *Aramite* sought but matter of quarrel against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the king to send *Naaman* to him; promising that he should know that there was a prophet in *Israel*; and so *Naaman* was healed, by washing himself seven times in *Jordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*. But his servant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof; from whence the sellers of spiritual gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are [g] *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*.

Afterwards *Benhadad*, king of *Aram* or *Damascus*, having heard that this prophet did discover to the king of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramite* consulted in his most secret council, sent a troop of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* struck blind, and brought them captives into *Samaria*; *Joram* then asked leave of the prophet to slay them; *Elisha* forbad him to harm them, but caused them to be fed, and sent back to their own prince in safety.

The king of *Aram*, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*; and brought the citizens to extream famine. *Joram* imputeth the cause thereof to the prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha*, by prayer, caused a noise of chariots and armour to sound in the air, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege; an act of great admiration, as the same is written in [h] 2 *Kings* vii. After this, when *Azael* obtained the kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his master; *Joram* entring upon his frontier, took *Ramoth Gilead*; in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezrael* to be cured. But whilst he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanded the army of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed king by one of the children of the prophets sent by *Elisha*) surprized and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of *Ahab*.

Jehu, who reigned after *Jehoram*, destroyed not only the race of his foregoers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupy the throne unto the 4th generation. Yet he upheld the idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous

[a] 1 Kings 15. & 16. [b] 1 Kings 16. [c] 1 Kings 16. [d] 1 Kings 15. [e] Beelzebub *was the same with* Belus *and* Pluto, *saith* Viginere *upon* Livi. 2 Kings 1. [f] 2 Kings 3. [g] 2 Kings 1. 5. [h] 2 Kings 7.

war,

war, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who ſpoiled all the countries to the eaſt of *Jordan*; in which war he was ſlain (ſaith *Cedrenus*) whereof the ſcriptures are ſilent. *Jehu* reigned 28 years.

Joachaz, or *Jehoahaz*, the ſon of *Jehu*, ſucceeded his father, whom *Azael* and his ſon *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end ſubjected, leaving him only 50 horſe, 20 chariots, and 10000 foot; and as it it written in [a] the ſcriptures, he made them like duſt beaten into powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17 years.

After *Joachaz*, *Joas*'s ſon governed *Iſrael*; who, when he repaired to *Eliſha* the prophet, as he lay on his death-bed, the prophet promiſed him three victories over the *Aramites*: and firſt commanded him to lay his hand on his bow; and *Eliſha* covered the king's hands with his, and bad him open the window weſtward (which was towards *Damaſcus*) and then ſhoot an arrow thence-out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who ſmote it thrice, and ceaſed. The prophet then told him, that he ſhould have ſmitten five or ſix times; and then he ſhould have had ſo many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave ſtrokes. And ſo it ſucceeded with *Joas*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battles, and recovered the cities and territory from *Benhadad* the ſon of *Azael*, which his father *Joachaz* had loſt. He alſo overthrew [b] *Amazia* king of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the war; whereupon he entred *Jeruſalem*, and ſacked it, with the temple. This *Joas* reigned 16 years, and died; in whoſe time alſo the prophet *Eliſha* exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam, the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his father, an idolater as his predeceſſors: but he recovered all the reſt of the land belonging to *Iſrael*, from *Hamath*, which is near *Libanus*, to the *Dead* ſea, and reigned 41 years.

Zacharias, the fourth and laſt of the houſe of *Jehu*, ſlain by *Shallum* his vaſſal, who reigned in his ſtead, governed ſix months. *Shallum* held the kingdom but one month, being ſlaughter'd by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem, who took revenge of *Shallum*, uſed great cruelty to thoſe that did not acknowledge him; ripping up the bellies of thoſe that were with child. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, [c] bought his peace with 10000 talents of ſilver; which he exacted by a tribute of 50 ſheckles for every man of wealth in *Iſrael*. *Menahem* governed 20 years.

Pekahiah, or *Phaceia*, or, after *Zonaras*, *Phaceſia*, ſucceeded; and after he had ruled two years, he was ſlain by *Phaca*, or *Pekah*, the commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekah*'s time, *Phulaſſar*, or *Tiglat-Phylaſſar*, invaded the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and won *Ijon*, *Abel-Bethmaaca*, *Janoach*, *Kedeſh*, *Haſor*, and *Gilead*, with all the cities of *Galilee*, [d] carrying them captives into *Aſſyria*: he was drawn in by *Achas* king of *Judah*, againſt *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the laſt of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being waſted by *Pekah* of *Iſrael*, and by *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, did a third time borrow the church riches, and therewith engaged the *Aſſyrian*, who firſt ſuppreſſed the monarchy of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*, and then of *Iſrael*; and this inviting of the great *Aſſyrian*, was the utter ruin of both ſtates, of *Iſrael* and of *Judah*. *Pekah* reigned 20 years.

Then *Hoſhea*, or *Oſea*, who ſlew *Pekah*, became the vaſſal of *Salmanaſſar*; but hoping to ſhake off the *Aſſyrian* yoke, he ſought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* king of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Aſſyrian*, he caſt him into priſon, beſieged *Samaria*, and maſtered it; carried the ten idolatrous tribes into *Nineveh* in *Aſſyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other eaſtern regions, and there diſperſed them: and replanted *Samaria* with divers nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a river in *Perſia*, or rather in [e] *Arabia Deſerta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with thoſe of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Meſopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whoſe conqueſt *Senacherib* vaunteth) alſo with thoſe of *Ava*; which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the land of the *Philiſtines* in *Abraham*'s time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out; and at this time they were of *Arabia* the deſart, called *Havæi*; willing to return to their ancient ſeats. To theſe he added thoſe of *Chamath* or *Ituræa*, the ancient enemies of the *Iſraelites*, and ſometimes the vaſſals of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*, which ſo often afflicted them. And thus did this *Aſſyrian* adviſe himſelf better than the *Romans* did: for after *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* had waſted the cities of *Judea* and *Jeruſalem*, they carried the people away captive; but left no others in their places, but a very few ſimple labourers, beſides their own thin garriſons, which ſoon decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this tranſmigration, plantation, and diſplantation, happened in the year of the world 3292, the 6th year of *Ezekiah*, king of *Judah*; and the 9th of *Hoſea* the laſt king of *Iſrael*.

A catalogue of the kings of the ten tribes.

1.	*Jeroboam*	reigned 22	years
2.	*Nadab*	2	years
3.	*Baaſha*	24	years
4.	*Ela*	20	years
5.	*Zambris*	7	days
6.	*Omri*	11	years
7.	*Achab*	22	years
8.	*Ochozias*	2	years
9.	*Joram*	12	years
10.	*Jehu*	28	years
11.	*Joachaz*	17	years
12.	*Joas*	16	years
13.	*Jeroboam*	41	years
14.	*Zacharias*	6	months
15.	*Shallum*	1	month
16.	*Menahem*	10	years
17.	*Pekahiah*	2	years
18.	*Phaca*	20	years
19.	*Hoſea*	9	years, about whoſe time writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Judah, Reuben, Gad, *and the other half of* Manaſſeh.

SECT. I.

Of Dan, *whereof* Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, *and other towns.*

NOW following the coaſt of the *Mediterranean* ſea, that portion of land aſſigned to the tribe of *Dan*, joineth to *Ephraim*, whereof I ſpake laſt: of which family there were num-

[a] 2 Kings 13. [b] 2 Kings 14. [c] 2 Kings 16. 19. [d] 2 Kings 15. 29. [e] Ptol. l. 5. Iſa. 37.

bred

bred at mount *Sinai*, 62700 fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the reſt in the deſarts, there entred the holy land of their ſons 66400 bearing arms. The firſt famous city in this tribe on the ſea coaſt was *Joppe*, or *Japho*, as in *Joſhua* xix. 46. one of the moſt ancient of the world, and the moſt famous of others on that coaſt, becauſe it was the port of *Jeruſalem*. From hence *Jonas* imbarked himſelf when he fled from the ſervice of God, towards *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this city received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* governed the Jews, the *Syrians* that were garriſoned in *Joppe*, having their fleet in the port, invited 200 principal citizens aboard them, and caſt them all into the ſea: which [a] *Judas* revenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which ſought to eſcape to the ſword.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Ceſtius* the lieutenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Chriſt 1250, *Lodowick* the *French* king gave it new walls and towers: it is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain rocks in that port, whereunto it is reported that *Andromeda* was faſtned with chains, and thence delivered from the ſea-monſter by *Perſeus*. This fable (for ſo I take it) is confirmed by [b] *Joſephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcus Scaurus*, during his office of *Edileſhip*, ſhewed the bones of this monſter to the people of *Rome*. St. *Jerome* upon *Jonas* ſpeaks of it indifferently.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where [c] *Judas Macchabæus* burnt the reſt of the *Syrian* fleet: the fire and flame whereof was ſeen at *Jeruſalem*, 240 furlongs off. It had ſometimes a biſhop's ſeat, ſaith [d] *Will.* of *Tyre*; but there is no ſign of it at this time that ſuch a place there was.

After *Jamnia*, is the city of *Geth* or *Gath*, ſometime *Anthedon*, ſaith *Volaterran*. And ſo *Montanus*, fol. 244. ſeems to underſtand it. For he ſets it next to *Egypt*, of all the *Philiſtine* cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volaterran* gives neither reaſon nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolemy* ſets *Anthedon* far to the ſouth of *Joppe*: and *Geth* was the firſt and not the laſt (beginning from the north) of all the great cities of the *Philiſtines*: and about 16 miles from *Joppe*, where St. *Jerome* in his time found a great village of the ſame name. It was ſometime the habitation and ſeminary of the [e] *Anakims*: ſtrong and giant-like men, whom *Joſhua* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him; nor any of the *Iſraelites*, till *David*'s time: who ſlew *Goliah*, as his captains did divers others, not much inferiour in ſtrength and ſtature unto *Goliah*.

Rehoboam the ſon of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the ſon of *Amazia* deſtroyed it again. It was alſo laid waſte by *Azael* king of *Syria*. *Fulk*, the 4th king of *Jeruſalem*, built a caſtle in the ſame place out of the old ruins. Whether this *Geth* was the ſame that [f] *Will.* of *Tyre* in the holy war calls *Ibijlin*, I much doubt; the error growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthedon*.

Not far from *Geth*, or *Gath*, ſtandeth *Bethſemes*, or the houſe of the *Sun*. In the fields adjoining to this city (as is thought) was the ark of God brought by a yoke of two kine, turned looſe by the [g] *Philiſtines*: and the *Bethſemites* preſuming to look therein, there were ſlain of the elders 70, and of the people 50000, by the ordinance of God. After which ſlaughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great [h] *Abel*, ſaith St. *Jerome*. *Benedictus Theologus* finds three other cities of this name; one in [i] *Nephtalim*, another in *Juda*; and another in *Iſſachar*; *Jerome* finds a fifth in *Benjamin*.

Keeping the ſea-coaſt, the ſtrong city of *Accaron* offereth it ſelf, ſometimes one of the five ſatrapies, or governments of the *Philiſtines*. St. *Jerome* makes it the ſame with *Cæſuria Palæſtinæ*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: it was one of thoſe that defended it ſelf againſt the *Danites* and *Judeans*. It worſhipped *Beelzebub* the god of hornets or flies. To which idol it was that [k] *Ahaziah* king of *Iſrael* ſent to enquire of his health: whoſe meſſengers *Elijah* meeting by the way, cauſed them to return, with a ſorrowful anſwer to their maſter. This city is remembred in many places of ſcripture.

Chriſtianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron*, or *Ekron*. This *Azotus*, or *Aſdod*, was alſo an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Joſhua* failed to deſtroy, tho' he once poſſeſs'd their city. Herein ſtood a ſumptuous temple, dedicated to the [l] idol *Dagon*: the ſame idol which fell twice to the ground of it ſelf, after the ark of God was by the *Philiſtines* carried into their temple: and in the ſecond fall it was utterly broken and defaced. Near it was that famous [m] *Judas Macchabæus* ſlain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, the lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterwards it was taken by *Jonathan*: and the reſt of the citizens being put to the ſword, all that fled into the temple of *Dagon* were, with their idol, therein conſumed with fire: near which alſo he overthrew *Apollonius*.

Gabinius the *Roman* rebuilt it. It had a biſhop's ſeat while Chriſtianity flouriſhed in thoſe parts. But in St. *Jerome*'s time it was yet a fair village. And this was the laſt of the ſea-towns within the tribe of *Dan*.

The cities which are within the land eaſt-ward from *Azotus*, and beyond the fountain of *Ethiopia*, wherein *Philip* the apoſtle baptized the eunuch, are *Tſorah*, or *Sarara*, and *Eſthaol*, and between them *Caſtra Danis* near *Hebron*: tho' this place where *Sampſon* was born, may ſeem by the words, *Judg.* xviii. 12. to be in the tribe of *Judah*, as the other alſo were bordering towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After theſe, within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*: or, as it is, 1 *Macc.* xv. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the lieutenant of *Antiochus*, fortified againſt the Jews, and near which himſelf was by the [n] *Maccabees* overthrown.

Then *Modin*, the native city of the *Maccabees*; and wherein they were buried, on whoſe ſepulcher the 7 marble pillars, which were erected of that height, as they ſerved for a mark to the ſeamen, remained many hundreds of years after their firſt ſetting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witneſs.

There are, beſides theſe, the city of [o] *Cariathiarim*, that is, the city of the woods: ſeated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the ark of God remained 20 years in the houſe of *Aminadab*; till ſuch time as *David* carried it thence to *Jeruſalem*: of this place (as they ſay) was *Zacharias* the ſon of *Barachias*, or *Jehoida*, who was ſlain between the temple and the altar: alſo *Urias*, whom *Joachim* king of *Jeruſalem* ſlaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they

[a] Macc. 2. 12. [b] Lib. 3. 1. 15. de Bel. Jud. Solin. c. 47. Plin. l. 5. c. 9. [c] 2 Macc. 12. [d] De Bell. ſacr. [e] Hieron. in Michæam. [f] Lib. 21. c. 18. [g] 1 Sam. 6. 18. [h] *Or rather not the city it ſelf, but the great ſtone in the field; upon which ſtone the* Philiſtines *ſet the ark, the change being eaſy from* Eben, *or* Aben, *which ſignifieth a ſtone, to* Abel, *which ſignifieth mourning.* [i] *See in* Naph. *c.* 7. *ſect.* 4. † 6. [k] 2 Kings 1. *It was beſieged by* Pſammetichus *the father of* Pharaoh Neco *for* 29 *years together; whence* Jer. 25. 20. *ſpeaks of the reſidue of* Aſhdod, *to wit, the greateſt part having periſhed in this ſiege.* [l] 1 Sam. 5. 4. [m] 1 Macc. 9. 1 Macc. 10. Joſ. 19. 41. Judg. 13. 25, *&c.* 18. 2. [n] 1 Macc. 15. 16. [o] Alias Cariath-baal *and* Baal, *or* Baalpharoſim. 1 Sam. 7. 1. 2 Sam. 6. 2. 2 Chron. 24. 22. Matt. 23. 33. Jer. 26. 20.

place in this tribe, rather as I take it upon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caspin*, taken with great slaughter by [a] *Judas Maccabæus*: and *Lachis*, whose king was slain by *Joshua*, in which also *Amazias* was slain: the same which *Senacherib* took, *Ezechias* reigning in *Juda*.

Of other cities belonging to this tribe, see in *Joshua* xix. from the 41st verse, where also it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of families: and therefore that they invaded *Leshem*, and inhabited it: which city, after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, and made the metropolis of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was tetrarch: but of this city see more in *Nephtalim*. In this tribe there are no mountains of fame.

It hath two rivers or torrents: the northermost riseth out of the mountains of *Juda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the sea by *Sachrona*. [b] The other hath the name of *Sorek*, or *Sored*, whose banks are plentiful of vines, which have no seeds or stones: the wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taste, and savour, *&c.* In this valley of *Sorek*, so called from the river, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loved.

SECT. II.

The tribe of Simeon.

THE tribe of *Simeon* takes up the rest of the sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*; who being the second son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that family, while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at mount *Sinai*, 59300 able men; all which ending their lives in the desarts, there entred the land of promise of their issues 22200 bearing arms, who were [c] in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part severed, inhabiting a small territory on the sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*; of which the first city adjoining to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

The *Reguli*, or petty kings thereof, were called *Ascalonitæ*; of which [d] *Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in the history of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Ascalus* being imploy'd by *Aciamus* king of the *Lydians*, with an army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young woman of that country, built this city, and called it after his own name: the same hath *Nicolaus* in his history, saith *Volaterran*.

Diodorus Siculus, in his third book, remembreth a lake near *Ascalon*, wherein there hath been a temple dedicated to *Derceto* the goddess of the *Syrians*; having the face of a woman, and the body of a fish: who, as I have said before, in the story of *Ninus*, was the mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be cast into this lake, and fed and relieved by doves. And therefore was the dove worshipped, both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the poet:

Alba Palæstino sancta columba Syro.

The white dove is for holy held, in *Syria-Palestine.*

It was one of the chiefest and strongest cities of the *Philistines*. It bred many learned men ([e] saith *Volaterran*) as *Antiochus*, *Sosus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the historian, and *Artemidorus* who wrote the story of *Bithynia*.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* born, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the male-children, of two years old and under, to be slain. In the Christian times it had a bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* king of *England*, while he made war in the holy land, gave it a new wall, and many buildings. [f] *Ejus muros cum* Saladinus *diruisset*, Richardus *Anglorum rex instauravit*, saith *Adrichomius*.

In *David*'s time it was one of the most renowned cities of the *Philistines*; for he nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* only, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul*, and *Jonathan*; not speaking of the other three. [g] *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streets of Ascalon*; it is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* restored it, as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazza*; the *Syrians*, *Azon*, of *Azonus* (as they say) the son of *Hercules*. Other prophane writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyses* the *Persian*, because belike he rebuilt it; and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue, is as much as to say, treasure. This [h] *Gaza* was the first of the satrapies of the *Philistines*, and the south bound of the land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this city was far more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is proved by many scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*; but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as [i] *Alexander Macedon* invaded the empire of *Persia*, it received a garrison for *Darius*: in despight whereof, it was, by the *Macedonians*, after a long siege, demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the desart.

[k] *Alexander Janneus* king of the Jews surprised it, and slew 500 senators in the temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for sanctuary; but this *Gaza* was not set up in the same place again, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but somewhat nearer the sea-side; tho' the other was but two miles off. It was a town of great account in the time of the *Maccabees*, and gave many wounds to the Jews, till it was forced by *Simon*: of which he made so great account, as that he purposed to reside therein himself; and in his absence, left *John* his son and successor to be governor. In [l] *Brochard*'s time it was still a goodly city, and known by the name of *Gazara*.

At the very out-let of the river *Bezor*, standeth *Majoma* the port of *Gaza*: to which the privilege of a city was given by the great *Constantine*; and the place called *Constance* after the name of the emperor's son. [m] But *Julian* the apostate, soon after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza Maritima*.

On the other side of [n] *Besor*, standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Janneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favourite of *Augustus*.

Then [o] *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose torrent is known in the scriptures by the name [p] of *the torrent of* Egypt, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Rinocura*; to difference it, *Isaiah* xxvii. 12. giving the name of the city to the torrent that watereth it.

Pliny calls it *Rhinocolura*; and *Josephus*, *Rhinocorura*.

[q] *Epiphanius* reports it as a tradition, that at this

[a] 2 Macc. 12, 13. Jos. 12. 11. 2 Kings 14. 19. [b] Hieron. in Isai. & Micheam 1. Broch. Breid. Judg. 16. 4. [c] *And therefore no marvel that divers places named* Jos. 15. *in the large portion of* Juda, *be reckoned in this tribe: see* Jos. 19. 1, 9. *where thus much is expresly noted.* [d] Volat. Geog. l. 11. fol. 244. [e] Volat. ut supra. [f] Adrich. *in* Trib. Simeon. [g] 2 Sam. 1. 20. [h] Volat. l. 11. [i] Steph. de Urb. Judg. 1. 6, 16. 1 Kings 6. & alib. [k] Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. [l] Macc. 1. 15. Broch. Itin. 7. [m] Hist. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10. Hist. c. 4. [n] Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. 21. [o] Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. 21. 24, *&c.* [p] Junius *calls it* Vallis Ægypti *the name of the stream seems to be* Shichor. *See in* Asser, *c.* 7. *sect.* 3. † 8. *in the margin.* [q] Epiph. tom. 2. in refut. Manich. & in Ancorato. Gen. 10. 19.

place

place the world was divided by lots, between the three ſons of *Noah*.

Within the land, and upon the river of *Beſor*, they place *Gerar*; which the ſcripture placeth between *Kadeſh* and *Shur*, *Gen.* xx. 1. That it was near to the wilderneſs of *Beerſheba*, it appears, *Gen.* xx. 31. and therefore no marvel that as elſewhere *Beerſheba*, ſo ſometimes *Gerar*, be made the ſouth bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a diſtinct kingdom from the *Philiſtine* ſatrapies, the kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*: St. *Jerome* ſaith, that afterwards it was called *Regio ſalutaris*; The health county: ſo that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Iſaac* lived much in theſe parts. Of king *Aſa*'s conqueſt of the cities about *Gerar*, ſee 2 *Chron.* xiv. 14.

More within the land was [a] *Siceleg*, or *Tſiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*; when *David*, in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philiſtines*, had left his carriages there; but *David* followed them over the river of *Beſor*, and put them to the ſlaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next [b] *Dabir*, ſometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the city of letters, the univerſity, as they ſay, or academy of old *Paleſtine*. In St. *Jerome*'s time it ſeems it had the name of *Daema*: *Joſhua* xv. 49. it is called *Urbs Sannæ*, from the name, as it ſeems, of ſome of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Arbahi*. For even hence alſo were theſe giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by [c] *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Caleb*'s promiſe of his daughter in marriage: but that *Joſhua* and the hoſt of *Iſrael* were at the ſurpriſe, it appears *Joſhua* x. 39. This city, *Joſh.* xxi. 15. is named among thoſe, which out of *Simeon* and *Juda*, were given to the *Levites*. And hence it ſeems they attribute it to this tribe.

Beſides theſe, there are many others in the tribe of *Simeon*, but of leſs fame; as *Haijn*, of which *Joſhua* xix. 7. which alſo *Joſhua* xxi. 16. is reckoned for one of the cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon* (for which *Junius* thinks *Haſham* is named 1 *Chron.* vi. 59. tho' [d] in the place of *Joſhua* theſe two are diſtinguiſhed) alſo *Tholad* ſo named, 1 *Chron.* iv. 29. for which *Joſh.* xix. 4. we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Suſa*, ſo named, *Joſh.* xix. 5. for which *Joſh.* xv. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in ſignification; for *Gadda*, is *Turma*, and *Suſa*, *Equitatus*.

In the ſame places of *Joſhua*, and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named; which they think to be the ſame with that of which *Numb.* xiv. 45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purſued the *Iſraelites*. But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the mountains of *Edumea*. For *Iſrael* fled not that way, but back again to the camp, which lay to the ſouth of [e] *Edumea*, in the deſart.

The ſame places alſo name *Beerſheba* in this tribe; ſo called of the oath between [f] *Abraham* and *Abimelech*; near unto which *Hagar* wandred with her ſon *Iſhmael*.

It was alſo called the city of *Iſaac*, becauſe he dwelt long there.

While the Chriſtians held the holy land, they laboured much to ſtrengthen this place, ſtanding on the border of the *Arabian* deſart, and in the ſouth bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*.

The other cities of *Simeon*, which are named in the places of *Joſhua*, and of the *Chronicles*, above noted, becauſe they help us nothing in ſtory, I omit them.

In the time of *Ezekiah* king of *Juda*, certain of this tribe being ſtreightned in their own territories, paſſed to [g] *Gedor*, as it is 1 *Chron.* iv. 39. (the ſame place which *Joſh.* xv. 36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the iſſue of *Cham*; where they ſeated themſelves: as alſo 500 others of this tribe, deſtroyed the reliques of *Amalek* in the mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

The mountains within this tribe are few, and that of *Sampſon* the chiefeſt; unto which he carried the gate-poſt of *Gaza*. The rivers are *Beſor*, and the torrent of *Egypt* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Aſſer*.

SECT. III.

The tribe of Juda.

OF *Juda*, the 4th ſon of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600; all which (*Caleb* excepted) periſhed in the deſarts. And of their ſons, there entred the land of *Canaan* 76500 bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatneſs of this number, was the greateſt territory given, called afterwards *Judea*; within the bounds whereof, were the portions allotted to *Dan*, and *Simeon* included.

And many cities named in thoſe tribes, did firſt, as they ſay, belong unto the children of *Juda*, who had a kind of ſoveraignty over them; as *Succoth*, *Cariathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethſemes*, *Tſiglag*, *Beerſheba*, and others.

The multitude of people within this ſmall province (if it be meted by that ground given to this tribe only) were incredible, if the witneſs of the ſcriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbred the people, they were found 500000 fighting men.

The cities of *Juda* were many: but I will remember the chiefeſt of them; beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which ſtandeth in the entrance of *Judea* from *Idumea*: whoſe king firſt ſurpriſed the *Iſraelites*, as they paſs'd by the border of [h] *Canaan* towards *Moab*; and took from them ſome ſpoils, and many priſoners: who being afterwards overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, the ſons of *Keni*, the kinſmen of *Moſes*, obtained a poſſeſſion in that territory: who before the coming of the *Iſraelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Following this frontier towards *Idumea* and the ſouth, [i] *Aſcenſus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed, the next to *Arad*; ſo called, becauſe of ſcorpions which are ſaid to be in that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Jerome* thinks that the name of the toparchy, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated; of which we have ſpoken in *Manaſſes*.

On the ſouth ſide alſo of *Judea*, they place the cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Aſhna*, *Jethnam*, and *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, moſt of them frontier towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places ſo called: one beſides this in the body of *Juda*; of which the deſart and forreſt adjoining took name; where *David* hid himſelf from *Saul*.

After theſe are the cities of *Eſron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Aſemona*, or *Hatſmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumea*, towards the north, we find the cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which, ſee *Joſh.* xv. alſo *Carioth*, by *Joſh.* xv. 25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the traitor was called *Iſ-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then [k] *Hetham* the abode of *Sampſon*,

[a] 1 Sam. 30. [b] Joſeph. 10. 11, 12. [c] Joſh. 11. 21. [d] *And alſo* 1 Chron. 4. 32. [e] Deut. 1. [f] Gen. 21. 31. [g] *As it ſeems in the land of* Juda. *See in the firſt paragraph of this chapter, in the cities of* Dan. Judg. 16. 3. [h] Numb. 21. 3. Joſh. 12. 14. Judg. 1. 16. [i] Numb. 34. 3. Deut. 8. 15. [k] Judg. 15. 8. 1 Chron. 11. 6. Jun. *out of the* 1 Chron. 4. 32. *notes, that this* Hetham, *tho' it were within the bounds of* Juda, *belonged to* Simeon.

which

which *Reboboam* re-edified. Beyond theſe, towards the north-border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the city of [a] *Jethar*, or *Jatthir*, belonging to the *Levites*. In [b] St. *Jerome*'s time it was called *Jethira*, and inhabited altogether with Chriſtians: near unto this city was that remarkable battel fought betwixt *Aſa* king of *Juda*, and *Zara* king of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a million of fighting men; and was notwithſtanding beaten and put to flight: *Aſa* following the victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the ſame time he recovered.

Not far from *Jethar*, ſtandeth *Jarmuth*, whoſe king was ſlain by *Joſhua*, and the city overturned. Next unto it is *Mareſa*, the native city of the prophet *Michæa*: between it and *Odolla*, [c] *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Gorgias*; and ſent thence 10000 drachmas of ſilver to be offered for ſacrifice.

[d] *Odolla*, or *Hadullam* it ſelf, was an ancient and magnificent city, taken by *Joſhua*, and the king thereof ſlain. *Jonathan Macchabæus* beatified it greatly. Then [e] *Ceila*, or *Keila*, afterwards *Echela*, where *David* ſometime hid himſelf, and which afterwards he delivered from the aſſaults of the *Philiſtines*: near which the prophet *Abacuc* was buried; whoſe monument remained, and was ſeen by St. *Jerome*.

Near it is *Hebron*, ſometime called *the city of* Arbah, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reaſon of this name they give, as if it ſignified the city of four; becauſe the four patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried; but of *Adam* it is but ſuppoſed; and it is plain by the places, *Joſh.* xiv. 14. and xv. 13. and xx. 11. that *Arbah* here doth not ſignify four, but that it was the name of the father of the giants, called *Anakim*, whoſe ſon, as it ſeems, *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Joſh.* xv.) were the ſons of this *Anak*, *Numb.* xiii. 23. The name of *Anak* ſignifieth *torquem*, a chain worn for ornament: and it ſeems that this *Anak*, enriched by the ſpoils which himſelf and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and ſo got this name: and leaving the cuſtom to his poſterity, left alſo the name: ſo that in *Latin* the name of *Anakim*, may not amiſs be expounded by *Torquati*.

The city *Hebron* was one of the ancienteſt cities of *Canaan*; built 7 years before *Tſoan*, or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief city of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given; to wit, the villages adjoining, and the reſt to the *Levites*. It had a biſhop in the Chriſtian times, and a magnificent temple built by *Helen* the mother of *Conſtantine*.

Not far hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free city, remembred often by St. *Jerome*. Then *Eglon*, whoſe king *Dabir* aſſociated, with the other four kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of [f] *Jeruſalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, beſieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Joſhua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next city of fame was *Emaus*, afterwards *Nicopolis*, one of the cities of government, or preſidencies of *Judea*. In the ſight of this city, [g] *Judas Macchabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias* lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the year 1301, it was overturned by an earthquake, ſaith [h] *Euſebius*. In the Chriſtian times it had a biſhop's ſeat, of the dioceſe of *Cæſaria* of *Paleſtine*.

From *Emaus* towards the weſt ſea there are the cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth*, [i] *Joſh.* xv. 36, 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Joſhua* followed the ſlaughter of the five kings before named, a city of great ſtrength in the valley of [k] *Terebinth* or *Turpentine*: as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam.* xvii. 2. whence (as it ſeems) they ſeat it near unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the *Levites*. It revolted from the ſubjection of the Jews, while *Joram* the ſon of *Joſaphat* ruled in *Jeruſalem*: and next unto this ſtandeth *Maceda*, which *Joſhua* utterly diſpeopled.

On the other ſide of *Emaus*, towards the eaſt, ſtandeth *Bethſur*, otherwiſe *Bethſora*, and *Bethſor*; one of the ſtrongeſt, and moſt ſought for places in all *Juda*: it it ſeated on a high hill; and therefore called *Bethſur* (*the houſe on the rock*, or *of ſtrength*.) It was fortified by *Reboboam*, and afterwards by [l] *Judas Macchabæus*. *Lyſias* forced it, and *Antiochus Eupator* by famine: *Jonathan* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified againſt the *Syrian* kings.

[m] *Bethlehem* is next unto it within ſix miles of *Jeruſalem*, otherwiſe *Lehem*, ſometime *Ephrata*; which name, they ſay, it had of *Caleb*'s wife, when as it is ſo called by *Moſes* before *Caleb* was famous in thoſe parts, *Gen.* xxxviii. 16. Of this city was *Abeſſan*, or *Ibzan*, *Judge of Iſrael*, after *Jephthah*, famous for the thirty ſons, and thirty daughters, begotten by him. *Elimelec* was alſo a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* ſojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda*, in the time of the *Judges*, with whom [n] *Ruth*, the daughter-in-law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethlehem*, and married *Boaz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Iſhai*, of whom *David*. It had alſo the honour to be the native city of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: and therefore ſhall the memory thereof never end.

[o] In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was alſo a city of the ſame name; and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethlehem Juda*.

From *Bethlehem*, ſome four or five miles, ſtandeth *Thecua*, the city of [p] *Amos* the prophet: and to this place adjoining is the city of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethſura* and *Jeruſalem*; on whoſe hills adjoining the glorious gilt ſhields of *Antiochus* ſhined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the Jews. The city of [q] *Bezek* was alſo near unto *Bethlehem*, which alſo *Adoni-bezec* commanded; who had, during his reign, tortured ſeventy kings, by cutting off the joints of their fingers and toes, and made them gather bread under his table: but at length the ſame end befel himſelf by the ſons of [r] *Juda*, after they had taken him priſoner.

The reſt of the cities in this part (moſt of them of no great eſtimation) we may paſs by, until we come to the magnificent caſtle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a hill, mounting thereunto with 200 marble ſteps, exceeding beautiful and ſtrong. [s] And towards the *Dead* ſea, and adjoining to the deſart of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Clivaus floridus*, where in the time of [t] *Jehoſaphat*, the Jews ſtood and looked on the *Moabites*, *Amonites*, and *Edomites*, maſſacring one another, when they had purpoſed to join againſt *Juda*; near which place is the valley of bleſſing, where the Jews the fourth day after ſolemnly came and bleſſed God for ſo ſtrange deliverance.

[a] Joſh. 15. 48. [b] Hieron. in loc. Hebr. [c] 2 Macc. 12. 35. [d] Gen. 38. 1. Joſh. 12. 15. [e] 1 Sam. 23. 1. [f] Joſh. 10. 11. [g] 1 Macc. 3. [h] Euſeb. in Chron. Broch. Itin. 6. [i] *Alſo* 1 Chron. 4. 39. *as is above remembred in the tribe of* Simeon. [k] Junius *for* in Valle Terebinthi, *hath* in valle Querceti. Vatablus *keeps the* Hebrew *reading* in valle Elah. [l] Joſeph. 13. Ant 9. 1 Macc. 6. [m] Gen. 53. 48. [n] Ruth 1. [o] Hieron. in Comm. ſuper Matth. c. 2. Matt. 2. 1. [p] Amos 1. 1. 1 Macc. 6. 32. Joſeph. Ant. 12. 14. 1 Macc. 6. 36. [q] *See in* Manaſſ. c. 7. *ſect.* 7. † 1. [r] Judg. 1. 6, 7. [s] Joſeph. 14. Ant. 22. [t] 2 Chron. 20. 16, 26.

Now

Now the cities of [a] *Judah* which border the *Dead* ſea, are theſe; *Aduran* beautified by *Reboboam*, and *Tſohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth [b] *Segor*; ſo called, becauſe *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one; whence it was called *Tſohar*, which ſignifieth a little one; when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.* xiv. 2. In the *Romans* time it had a gariſon, and was called, as they ſay, *Pannier*: In *Jerome*'s time *Balexona*. The *Engaddi*, or *Hengaddi*, firſt *Aſaſenthamar*; near unto which are the gardens of *Balſamum*, the beſt that the world had called *Opobalſamum*: the moſt part of all which trees, *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, ſent for out of *Judea*; and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her husband, cauſed them to be rooted up, and preſented unto her; which ſhe replanted near *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This city was firſt taken by [c] *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the moſt remarkable cities of *Judea*, and one of the preſidencies thereof.

The reſt of the cities are many in the in-land, and among them [d] *Jezrael*; not that which was the city of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the ſame name, the city of *Achinoan*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon*, whom *Abſolom* ſlew: alſo, as ſome think, the city of [e] *Amaſa*, *Abſalom*'s lieutenant, and the commander of his army. But this ſeemeth to be an error, grounded upon the nearneſs of the words, *Iſrael* and *Jezrael*: and becauſe 2 *Sam.* xvii. 25. *Amaſa*'s father is called a *Jezraelite*, who 1 *Chron.* ii. 17. is called an *Iſhmaelite*: indeed the *Hebrew* orthography ſheweth, that *Amaſa*'s father is not ſaid to be of the city *Jezrael*, but an *Iſraelite* in religion, tho' otherwiſe an *Iſhmaelite*.

In this tribe were many high hills, or mountains, as thoſe of *Engaddi* upon the *Dead* ſea, and the mountains of *Judah*, which begin to riſe by *Emaus*, and end near *Taphna*; and theſe part *Judah* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which ſtand ſingle, there is that of *Hebron*: at the foot whereof was that oak of *Mamre*, where the three angels appeared to *Abraham*, which [f] St. *Jerome* calleth a fir-tree; and ſaith, that it ſtood till the time of *Conſtantine* the younger. There is alſo that mountain, called *Collis Achillæ*, on the ſouth ſide of *Ziph*; on the top whereof the great *Herod*, incloſing the old caſtle, erected by *Jonathan Maccabeus*, and called it *Maſſada*, garniſhed it with ſeven and twenty high and ſtrong towers; and therein left armour and furniture for an hundred thouſand men, being, as it ſeemeth, a place inacceſſible, and of incomparable ſtrength.

In the valley afterward called the *Dead* ſea, or the lake *Aſphaltitis*: this country had four cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorrha*, deſtroyed with fire from heaven for their unnatural ſins.

SECT. IV.

The Tribe of REUBEN, and his borderers.

† I.

The ſeats and bounds of Midian, Moab, *and* Ammon, *part whereof the* Reubenites *won from* Sehon, *king of* Hesbon.

ON the other ſide of the *Dead* ſea, *Reuben* the eldeſt of *Jacob*'s ſons inhabited, of whoſe children there were numbred at mount *Sinai*, forty ſix thouſand, who dying with the reſt in the deſarts, there remained to poſſeſs the land forty three thouſand ſeven hundred bearing arms. But before we ſpeak of theſe or the reſt that inhabited the eaſt-ſide of *Jordan*, ſomething of their borderers, to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whoſe land in our writers are confuſedly deſcribed, and not eaſily diſtinguiſhed. And firſt, we are to remember, that out of *Abraham*'s kindred came many mighty families; as by *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, the nation called *Iſrael*, and afterward *Jews*: by *Eſau* or *Edom*, the *Idumeans*: by *Iſhmael*, the eldeſt ſon of *Abraham*, the *Iſhmaelites*: and by *Keturah*, his laſt wife, the *Midianites*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham*'s brother's ſon, thoſe two valiant nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but ſtrangers in the land of *Canaan* (formerly poſſeſs'd by the *Canaanites*, and by the families of them deſcended) theſe iſſues and alliances of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whoſe children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoining.

Eſau and his ſons held *Idumea*, which bounded *Canaan* on the ſouth. *Iſhmael* took from the ſouth-eaſt part of the *Dead* ſea: ſtretching his poſſeſſion over all *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the deſart, as far as the river *Tigris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the reſt of the coaſt of the *Dead* ſea, leaving a part to *Midian*; and paſſing over *Arnon*, inhabited the plains between *Jordan*, and the hills of *Abarim*, or *Arnon*, as far north as *Eſſebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ammon ſat down on the north-eaſt ſide of *Arnon*, and poſſeſs'd the tract from *Rabba*, afterwards *Philadelphia*, both within the mountains of [g] *Gilead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, tho' in *Moſes*'s time he had nothing left him in all that valley: for the *Amorites* had thruſt him over the river of [h] *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As theſe nations encompaſſed ſundry parts of *Canaan*, ſo the border between the river of *Jaboc* and *Damaſcus* was held by the *Amorites* themſelves, with other mix'd nations: all which territory on the eaſt-ſide of *Jordan*, and on the eaſt-ſide of the *Dead* ſea, was granted by *Moſes* to the tribes of [i] *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſeh*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was firſt poſſeſs'd by the *Emims*, a nation of giants, weakned and broken by *Chedorlaomer*, after expulſed by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the territory, and ancient poſſeſſion of the *Zamzummims*, or *Zuræi*, who were alſo beaten at the ſame time by *Chedorlaomer*, *Amraphel*, and the reſt; and by them an eaſy way of conqueſt was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the ſame is to be underſtood according to the time when *Moſes* wrote. For then had *Sehon*, or his anceſtor, beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain countries, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them thence from *Hesbon* over *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moſes*'s arrival upon that border, when *Vaheb* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab*, when *Moſes* paſs'd *Arnon*, was not the ſon of *Vaheb*; but his name was *Balac*, the ſon of *Zippor*. And it may be, that thoſe kings were elective, as the *Idumeans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far north as *Eſſebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Iſrael* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan*, by *Amoreus*; and therefore did *Jephthah*, the judge of *Iſrael*, juſtly defend the regaining of thoſe countries againſt the claim of the *Ammonites*;

[a] 2 Chron 11. [b] *Some call it* Balſaliſa, *and* Vitula conſternans. *See in* Gad. 10. §. 5. poſt principium in Haroher. Gen. 19. 20. Hieron in Oſe. Heb. Chatſatſon-thamar. 2 Chron. 20. 2. [c] Gen. 14. 7. [d] 1 Reg. 21. [e] 2 Sam. 17. 25. [f] Hieron. in loc. Heb. & quæſt. Heb. Joſeph. 14. Ant. c. 20. [g] Joſh. 13. [h] Numb. 21. 24. [i] Gen. 14.

becauſe (as he alledged) *Moſes* found them in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*, who (ſaith [a]*Jephthah*) had three hundred years time to recover them, and did not: Whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

And leſt any ſhould marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephthah*'s time ſhould make claim to theſe countries; whereas *Moſes* in the place, *Numb.* xxi. 26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient poſſeſſion of the *Moabites* than of the *Ammoaites*: it is to be noted, that *Deut.* iii. 11. when it is ſaid, that the iron bed of *Og* was to be ſeen at *Rabbath*, the chief city of the *Ammonites*; it is alſo ſignified, that much of the land of *Og*, which the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed, was by him, or his anceſtors, got from the *Ammonites*, as much as *Sehon*'s was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* nations were ſeated ſo confuſedly together, that it was hard to diſtinguiſh them; ſo alſo were the ſons of [b]*Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, and *Iſhmael*. Yet the reaſon ſeemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief in *Jephthah*'s time: for ſometimes the one nation, ſometimes the other of all thoſe borderers acquired the ſoveraignty: and again, that one part of the land which *Gad* held, namely within the mountains of *Galaad* or *Gilead*, and as far ſouth as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then ſought to recover it again. Yet at ſuch time as *Moſes* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jahaz*, the *Ammonites* had loſt to the *Amorites* all that part of their poſſeſſion which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*. *Sehon* and *Og*, two kings of the *Amorites*, having diſplanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the mountains. For it is written *Numb.* xxi. 24. that *Iſrael* conquered the land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* to *Jaboc*, *even unto the children of Ammon*; ſo as at this time the river of *Jaboc* was the ſouth bound of *Ammon*, within the mountains; when as anciently they had alſo poſſeſſions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* poſſeſs'd; as appears in *Joſhua* xiii. 25.

† II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THE chief cities belonging to *Reuben* were theſe, [c]*Kademoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, without any ſhew of warrant, readeth *Jethſon*. The *Vulgar*, or *Jerome* followed the *Septuagint*, thoſe two verſes 36 and 37 of *Joſhua* xxi. being wanting in the old *Hebrew* copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedſon* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedſon* by writing, ſlipt into *Jethſon*.

This city, which they gave to the *Levites*, imparts her name to the deſart adjoining; from whence *Moſes* ſent his embaſſage to [d]*Sehon*. In the ſame place of *Joſhua*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Betſer & villa ejus*, reads *Boſor in ſolitudine Miſor*, without any ground from the *Hebrew*: whence *Adrichomius* makes a town called [e]*Miſor*, in the border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, near the *Dead* ſea (for the country between being mountainous, hath few cities) they place two towns of note, *Laſa*, or *Leſhah*, of which *Geneſis* x. 19. the [f]*Greeks* call it *Callirrhoe*; near which there is a hill, from whence there floweth ſprings both of hot and cold, bitter and ſweet water, all which, ſoon after their riſing, being joined in one ſtream, do make a very wholeſome bath, eſpecially for all contractions of ſinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when he was deſperate of all other help, repaired; but in vain. [g]Others ſay, that theſe ſprings ariſe out of the hills of *Machærus* in this tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenees*, and in *Peru*, called, *The baths of the Inga's or kings*. The other town is *Machærus*, the next between *Laſa* and *Jordan*, of all that part of the world the ſtrongeſt in-land city and caſtle, ſtanding upon a mountain, every way inacceſſible. It was firſt fortified by *Alexander Jannæus*, who made it a frontier againſt the *Arabians*; but it was demoliſhed by *Gabinius* in the war with *Ariſtobulus*, ſaith [h]*Joſephus*. It was thither, ſaith he, that *Herod* ſent *John Baptiſt*, and wherein he was ſlain: his army ſoon after being utterly overthrown by *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, and himſelf after this murder never proſpering. Not far from *Machærus* was [i]*Boſor*, or *Bozra*, a town of refuge, and belonging to the *Levites*, and near it [k]*Livias* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius Ceſar*.

To the north of *Livias* is *Setim*, or [l]*Sittim*, where the children of *Iſrael* embraced the daughters of *Midian* and *Moab*; and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, with his ſpear, bringing due vengeance upon them, when they were in the midſt of their ſin: And from hence *Joſhua* ſent the diſcoverers to view *Jericho*, ſtaying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the *Torrent* [m]*Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Joel* iii. 18. *Irrigabit torrentem Setim*. The Vulgar hath *torrentem ſpinarum*; and *Junius vallem cedrorum*; expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*, but for the Church, in which the juſt being placed, grow as the *cedars*, as it is *Pſal.* xcii. 13.

The plain country hereabout, by [n]*Moſes* called the plains of *Moab*, where he expounded the book of *Deuteronomy* to the people, a little before his death, is in the beginning of the ſame book preciſely bounded by *Moſes*. On the ſouth, it had the great deſart of *Paran*, where they had long wandered. On the eaſt, it had *Chatſeroth*, and *Dizahab* (of which two, the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolemy* in *Palæſtina*; the latter was a tract belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petræa*, where was [o] *Mezahab*, of which *Gen.* xxxvi. 39.) by the geographers, called *Medava* and *Medaba*. On the weſt it had *Jordan*, and on the north it had *Laban* (in *Junius*'s edition by the fault of the print, *Lamban*, *Deut.* i. 1.) the ſame which the geographers call *Libias*; and ſome confound it with *Livias*, of which even now we ſpake.

Alſo on the ſame north ſide, towards the confines of *Cœleſyria*, it had *Thophel*, whereabout ſometime *Pella* of *Cœleſyria* ſtood; which was in the region of *Decapolis*; and as *Stephanus* ſaith, was ſometime called *Butis*. It is alſo noted in *Moſes* to be over-againſt, or near unto *Suph*, for which the *Vulgar* hath the *Red* ſea; as alſo *Numb.* ii. 14. it tranſlateth the word *Suphah* in like manner; whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy*, there is no addition of

[a] Judg. 11. [b] Joſh 13. 25. Junius *notes, that he one half of the land of* Hammon, *which in this place of* Joſhua *is ſaid to have been given to the* Gadites, *was taken firſt from the* Ammonites *by* Sehon; *but the place* Deut. 3. 11. *proveth, that as well* Og *as* Sehon *had gotten lands out of the hands of the* Ammonites. [d] Deut. 2. 26. [e] *It was a marginal note out of* Deut. 3. *where the ſeventy kept the word* Miſor, *ſignifying a plain, which after crept into the text.* [f] Joſeph. 17. Ant. c. 9. & Hieron. in quæſt. Heb. in Gen. [g] Acoſta, l. 3. [h] Joſeph. 13. Ant. c. 24. & 14. Ant. c. 10. & alibi. Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 25. [i] Deut. 4. 43. Joſh. 20. 8. [k] Euſeb. in Chron. Hier. in loc. Heb. [l] Numb. 25. 1. [m] Joſh. 3. 1. [n] Deut. 34. 1. [o] *The ſame as it ſeems which* Numb. 21. 30. *is called* Medeba, *whence we read of the plains of* Medeba, Joſh. 13. 9, 16. *of which alſo we read in the wars of* David *againſt* Hanum *the* Ammonite 1 Chron. 19. 7. *Alſo* 1 Mac. 9. 36. Iſaiah 16. 2. *See before*, c. 5. §. 7.

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any word in the *Hebrew* to ſignify the ſea; and yet the ſcripture, when this word is ſo to be taken, uſeth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to diſtinguiſh it from the region of *Saph*, or *Suphah*, which doubtleſs was about theſe plains of *Moab*, towards the *Dead* ſea; where the country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as alſo the *Red* ſea was called *Mare Suph*, for like reaſon.

The place in theſe large plains of *Moab*, where *Moſes* made thoſe divine exhortations, ſome ſay, was [a]*Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the ſtory of *Gideon*, is called *Beth-bara*. [b]*Joſephus* ſays, it was where after the city *Abila* ſtood, near *Jordan*, in a place ſet with palm-trees; which ſure was the ſame with *Abel-ſittim*, in the plains of *Moab*, *Numb.* xxxiii. 49. that ſome call *Abel-ſathaim*, and *Bel-ſathim*, which is reckoned by *Moſes* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42, and laſt place of the *Iſraelites* encamping in the time of *Moſes*. This place is alſo called [c]*Sittim*; which word, if we ſhould interpret, we ſhould rather bring it from cedars than from thorns, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the ark of the tabernacle was made.

Toward the eaſt of theſe plains of *Moab*, they place the cities of [d]*Nebo*, *Baal-meon*, *Sibma*, and *Heſbon*, the chief city of *Sehon* and *Elhael*, and *Kirjathaima*, the ſeat of the giant *Emim*. Of the two firſt of theſe, *Moſes* ſeems to give a note, that the names were to be changed, becauſe they taſted of the *Moabites* [e] idolatry. For *Nebo*, (inſtead of which *Junius*, *Iſa* xlvi. 1. reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their idol-oracle, and *Baal-meon* is the habitation of *Baal*. Of the ſame idol was the hill *Nebo* in theſe parts denominated; from whoſe top, which the common tranſlators call *Phaſgah*, *Moſes*, before his death, ſaw all the land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which ſtory *Junius* does not take *Phaſgah*, or *Piſgah*, for any proper name; but for an appellative ſignifying a hill: and ſo alſo *Vatablus*, in ſome places, as *Numb.* xxi. 20. where he noteth, that ſome call *Piſgah* that top which looketh to *Jericho* and *Hair*, as it looketh to *Moab*; which opinion may be ſomewhat ſtrengthened by the name of the city of *Reuben*, mentioned *Joſh.* xiii. 20. called *Aſhdoth-Piſgah*, which is as much as *Decurſus Piſgæ*, to wit, where the waters did run down from *Piſgah*. In the ſame place of *Joſhua*, there is alſo named *Beth-peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: ſo called from the hill *Peor*, from whence alſo *Baal*, the idol, was alſo called *Baal-peor*, which, they ſay, was the ſame as *Priapus*; the chief place of whoſe worſhip ſeems to have been *Bamoth-baal*; of which alſo *Joſh.* xiii. in the cities of *Reuben*; for which *Numb.* xxii. 41. they read *the high place of Baal* (for ſo the word ſignifieth) to which place *Balak* firſt brought *Balaam*, to curſe the *Iſraelites*.

† III.

Of divers places bordering Reuben, *belonging to* Midian, Moab, *or* Edom.

THERE were beſides theſe divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoined to *Reuben*; among which they place *Gallim*, the city of *Phalti*, to whom [f]*Saul* gave his daughter *Michal* from *David*: but *Junius* thinks this town to be in *Benjamin*; gathering ſo much out of *Iſaiah* x. 29. where it is named among the cities of *Benjamin*. With better reaſon, perhaps, out of *Numb.* xxi. 19. we may ſay, that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in thoſe confines of *Reuben*, thro' which places the *Iſraelites* paſs'd, after they had left the well called *Beer*. Then *Diblathaim*, which the prophet [g] *Jeremiah* threatned with the reſt of the cities of *Moab*.

Madian alſo is found in theſe parts; the chief of the *Madianites* in *Moab*; but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the *Red* ſea, wherein *Jethro* inhabited: for of the *Madianites* there were two nations, of which theſe of *Moab* became idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a regiment of twelve thouſand *Iſraelites*, ſent by *Moſes* out of the plains of *Moab*, at ſuch time as *Iſrael* began to accompany their daughters. Their five kings, with *Balaam* the ſoothſayer were then ſlain, and their regal city, with the reſt, deſtroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was prince, or prieſt, forgot not the God of *Abraham* their anceſtor; but relieved and aſſiſted the *Iſraelites* in their painful travels, thro' the deſarts, and were in all that paſſage their guides. In the ſouth border of [h]*Moab*, adjoining to *Edom*, and ſometime reckoned as the chief city of *Edom*, there is that *Petra*, which in the ſcriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *Rupes* or *Petra*. It was alſo called *Joctheel*, as appears by the place, 2 *Reg.* xiv. It was built (ſaith [i]*Joſephus*) by *Recem*, one of thoſe five kings of the *Madianites*, ſlain, as before is ſaid; after whom it was called *Recem*. Now they ſay, it is called *Crac* and *Mozera*.

The ſoldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding ſtrength thereof, kept therein all their treaſures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*; of which it is the firſt and ſtrongeſt city: the ſame, perhaps, which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence alſo the province adjoining took name; which name ſeems to have been taken at firſt from *Nabaioth*, the ſon of *Abraham*, by *Keturah*. For *Nabathea* is no where underſtood for all *Arabia Petræa* (at leaſt where it is not miſunderſtood) but it is that province which neighboureth *Judea*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Iſhmael*, whoſe people *Ptolemy* calleth *Pharanites*, inſtead of *Iſhmaelites*, and all thoſe territories of the *Cuſites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Iſhmaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*, the lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og* king of *Baſan*, were parts of [k]*Arabia Petræa*; tho' it be alſo true, that ſome part of *Arabia* the deſart belonged to the *Amalekites* and *Iſhmaelites*: all which nations the ſcriptures in 1 *Chron.* v. calleth *Hagarims* of *Hagar*.

This city *Petra*, *Scaurus* beſieged with the *Roman* army; and finding the place in ſhew impregnable, he was content, by the perſuaſion of *Antipater*, to take a compoſition of money and to quit it. Yet *Amaſias*, king of *Judah* (after he had ſlaughtered ten thouſand of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) won alſo this city. St. *Jerome* finds *Ruth* the *Modbite* to be natural of this city. In the time when the Chriſtians held the kingdom of [l]*Jeruſalem*, it had a *Latin* biſhop, having before been under the *Greek* Church. It is ſeated not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died; and on the other ſide, towards the north, is the river of [m] *Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moſes* encamped in the thirty eighth ſtation. *Adrichome* deſcribeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*; and ſo he doth the valley of *Save*: but the waters of [n] *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it ſeems *Adri-*

[a] John 1. 28. Judg. 7. 24. [b] Joſeph. Ant. 4. 7. [c] Numb. 25. 1. Exod. 25. 10. [d] Numb. 31. 37. Gen. 14. 5. Numb. 32. [e] Exod. 23. 13. Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audiatur in ore tuo. Pſal. 16. 4. non aſſumpturus ſum nomina eorum in labeis meis, Hoſ. 2. 17. Amovebo nomina Bahalimorum ab ore ejus. *What name they uſed for* Nebo, *it doth not appear*; Baalmeon *it ſeems they named ſometime* Baiith, *as* Iſaiah 15. 2. *and ſometime* Bethmeon, Iſaiah 58. 23. [f] 1 Sam. 18. [g] Jerem. 48. [h] Iſa. 16. 1. [i] Lib. 4. Ant. 7. [k] 1 Chron. 5. 19, 20. [l] Gul. Tyr. 20. bell. ſac. 3. [m] Numb. 21. Deut. 2. 13. [n] Numb. 32. 3. Joſh. 13 27. Iſa. 15. 21.

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chomius writ *Nemrim*) refreſh'd the plains of *Moab*: and the confluence of thoſe waters of *Nimra* are in the tribe of *Gad*. *Save* alſo cannot be found in this place, that is, to the ſouth of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the purſuit of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* princes, the king of *Sodom* met him in the valley of *Save*, or *Shaveh*, which is the king's dale, where *Abſalom* ſet up his monument, as it ſeems, not far from *Jeruſalem*. And at the ſame time *Melchiſedec*, king of *Salem*, alſo encountred him. But *Abraham* coming from the north, and [a] *Melchiſedec* inhabiting, either near *Bethſan*, otherwiſe *Scythopolis*, in the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, or in *Jeruſalem* (both places lying to the weſt of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was alſo called the *King's Dale*, could not be in theſe parts.

† IV.

Of the Dead *ſea.*

NOW, becauſe the ſea of *Sodom*, or the *Dead* ſea, called alſo the lake of *Aſphaltitis*, and the ſalt-ſea (in diſtinction from the ſea of *Tiberias*, which was freſh water) alſo the ſea of the wilderneſs, or rather the ſea [b] of the plains, is often remembred in the ſcriptures, and in this ſtory alſo; therefore I think it not impertinent to ſpeak ſomewhat thereof: for it is like unto the *Caſpian* ſea, which hath no out-let, or diſburthening. The length of this lake *Joſephus* makes 180 furlongs (which make 22 miles and a half of ours) and about 150 in breadth, which make 18 of our miles, and ſomewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deal leſs. But thoſe that have of late years ſeen this ſea, did account it (ſaith [c] *Weiſſenberg*) 8 *Dutch* miles (which is 32 of ours) in length, and 2 and a half of theirs (which is 10 of ours) in breadth. Of this lake, or ſea, *Tacitus* maketh this report; *Lacus eſt immenſo ambitu, ſpecie maris, ſapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis peſtifer: neque vento impellitur, neque piſces aut ſuetas aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde ſuperjecta ut ſolido feruntur, periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c.* That it is very great, and (as it were) a ſea of corrupt taſte; of ſmell infectious, and peſtilent to the borderers: It is neither moved, nor raiſed by the wind, nor endureth fiſh to live in it, or fowl to ſwim in it. Thoſe things that are caſt into it, and the unskilful of ſwimming, as well as the skilful, are born up by this water. At one time of the year it caſteth up bitumen; the art of gathering which, experience (the finder of other things) hath alſo taught. It is uſed in the trimming of ſhips, and the like buſineſſes.

And then of the land, he ſpeaketh in this ſort: "The fields not far from this lake, which were "ſometime fruitful, and adorned with great cities, "were burnt with lightning; of which the ruins "remain, the ground looking with a ſad face, as "having loſt her fruitfulneſs: for whatſoever doth "either grow, or is ſet thereon, be it fruits or "flowers, when they come to ripeneſs, have no-"thing within them, but moulder into aſhes:" thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that thoſe pomegranates, and other apples, or oranges, which do ſtill grow on the banks of this curſed lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the out-ſide; but being cut, have nothing but duſt within. Of the bitumen which this lake caſteth up, it was by the *Greeks* called *Aſphaltitis*. *Veſpaſian*, deſirous to be ſatisfied of theſe reports, went on purpoſe to ſee this lake, and cauſed certain captives to be caſt into it, who were not only unſkilful in ſwimming, but had their hands alſo bound behind them; and notwithſtanding, they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not ſink.

† V.

Of the kings of Moab, *much of whoſe country within* Arnon, Reuben *poſſeſs'd.*

OF the kings of *Moab*, whoſe country (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* poſſeſs'd (tho' not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in *Numb.* xxi. 14. nameth *Vaheb*, which ſeemeth to be the anceſtor, or predeceſſor of *Balac*, the ſon of *Zippor*, which *Balac* ſent for *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*. For, fearing to contend with *Moſes* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, he hoped, by the help of *Balaam*'s curſings, or enchantments, to take from them all ſtrength and courage, and to caſt on them ſome peſtilent diſeaſes. And tho' *Balaam* at the firſt, moved by the ſpirit of God, bleſs'd [d] *Iſrael*, contrary to the hope and deſire of *Moab*; yet being deſirous in ſome ſort to ſatisfy him, and to do him ſervice, he adviſed *Moab* to ſend *Midianitiſh* women among the *Iſraelites*; hoping by them, as by fit inſtruments of miſchief, to draw them to the idolatry of the heathen; but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counſel, and was ſlain among the reſt of the princes of *Midian*.

After theſe times the kings of the *Moabites* are not named; ſaving that we find in 1 *Chron.* iv. that *Jokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Joaſh*, and *Sareph*, all being of the iſſue of *Judah*, ſometime had the dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the 22d verſe, *Theſe alſo are ancient things*, to wit, as ſome expound it, the particulars of theſe mens governments are no where extant, or remaining: or as others, *hæc prius fuere*; theſe families of *Judah* were once thus famous: but now their poſterity chuſe rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be clay-workers to the king there.

Then we find *Eglon* king of *Moab*, who with the help of [e] *Ammon* and *Amalek*, maſtered *Iſrael*, and commanded them 18 years; which *Eglon*, *Ehud* ſlew in his own houſe, and afterwards 10000 of his nation. What name the king of *Moab* had, unto whom *David* fled, fearing [f] *Saul*, it doth not appear; or whether it were the ſame againſt whom *Saul* made war, it is not manifeſt; for neither are named. But in reſpect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to [g] *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him, knowing that *Saul* fought his life.

After this, *David* himſelf entred the region of [h] *Moab*; but not likely in the ſame king's time: [i] for he ſlaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was ſaid of *David*, [k] *Moab is my waſh-pot, over Edom will I caſt my ſhoo*; meaning, that he would reduce them to ſuch an abjection, and appoint them for baſe ſervices: and that he would tread down the *Idumeans*.

The next king, after *David*'s time, of the *Moabites*, whoſe name liveth, was *Meſha*; who falling from *Judah* (perhaps in remembrance of the ſeverity of *David*) faſtened himſelf to the kings of *Iſrael*,

[a] Gen. 14. [b] *So* Junius *reads for the* Hebrew, Haraboth *every where, and ſo alſo the edition of* Vatablus, Deut. 4. *it hath* mare ſolitudinis, *as alſo* 2 Kings 14. 25. *the reaſon of this name ſeems to be, becauſe it joins to the plains of* Moab, *which are called* Harboth-Moab, Deut. 34. 1. *as alſo we have* Ceſuloth *in* Harbath, *that is in the plains, to wit, of* Zabulon, 1 Macc. 9. 2. *whence* Adrichomius *imagines a city in* Zabulon, *called* Araba. [c] Deſer. Ter. Sancta. [d] Numb. 21. 22, 23, 24. Joſh. 24. [e] Judg. 3. [f] 1 Sam. 22. [g] 1 Sam. 14. [h] 2 Sam. 8. [i] 1 Chron. 18. [k] Pſal. 60. 10.

and

and paid tribute to [d] *Ahab* 100000 lambs, and 200000 rams, with the wooll: who revolted again from *Iſrael*, after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*; with whom joined the kings of *Judah* and *Idumea*; and being by theſe three kings preſs'd and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareſeth*, as is elſewhere ſhewed. There is alſo mention made of the *Moabites* without the king's name; when that nation, aſſiſted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumeans* invaded *Jehoſophat*. And by reaſon of ſome private quarrels among themſelves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* ſet upon the *Idumeans*, and ſlaughtered them; and then one againſt another, ſo as [b] *Jehoſophat* had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Alſo in the time of [c] *Jeremiah* the prophet, there was a king of *Moab*, which is not named, which was after *Meſha* of *Moab* many deſcents: for *Meſha* lived with *Jehoram* and this *Moabite* in *Zedekiah*'s time, 14 kings of *Judah* coming between, who waſted 300 and odd years.

SECT. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, *and the bordering places of* Ammon.

THE territory adjoining to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*; whereof all that part which joined to the mountains, was ſometime in the poſſeſſion of the *Ammonites*, as far to the ſouth as *Aroer*. Of the childen of *Gad*, the 7th ſon of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of [d] *Leah*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the deſarts 45550, and of their ſons, there entred the land promiſed 45000 bearing arms: from the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, the river of *Jabboc* divided them: from *Reuben*, the cities of *Hesbon*, *Elhela* and *Aphec*.

The chief city of *Gad*, was *Aroer*, which they make to be the ſame with *Ar*, or [e] *Rabbath-Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius*, attending diligently to thoſe words of *Moſes*, *Deut.* ii. 36. *Ab Harahero, quæ eſt in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipſa quæ eſt in flumine*; Where the city in the river is diſtinguiſhed from the city upon the bank of the river (as alſo in like manner, *Joſh.* xii. 2. and xiii. 9.) thinketh, that *Haroher*, which doubtleſs belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb.* xxxii. 34. it is ſaid, that they built it) was indeed ſeated near *Har* of the *Moabites*; but diverſe from it. For that *Har* was never poſſeſs'd by *Moſes*, it is plain, *Deut.* ii. 9. where God, forbidding *Moſes* to touch it, ſaith, he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the ſons of *Lot*. Now that this city, which in divers places is ſaid to be within and in the middle of the river of *Arnon* (and ſo diſtinguiſhed from *Haroher*, which is ſaid in the ſame places to be on the bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*; the ſame *Junius* proveth out of *Numb.* xxi. 15. where *Arnon* is ſaid to be divided into divers ſtreams, where, or among which, *Har* is ſeated: and the ſame is confirmed by the place of *Joſh.* xiii. 25. where *Haroher* is ſaid to be ſeated before *Rabbah*; which *Rabbah*, as it ſeems, cannot be the *Rabbah* of the *Ammonites* (for they ſeat not *Haroher* near it, nor in ſight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah*, here we muſt underſtand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*; and ſo we muſt needs diſtinguiſh it from *Haroher*. And as for [f] *Har* (which alſo gave the name to the coaſt adjoining) it ſeems it continued in the poſſeſſion of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the giant-like people, called *Emims*, firſt weakened by [g] *Chedorlaomer*, and his aſſociates: but *Haroher*, by the interchange of times, ſuffered many ancient changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Iſraelites*; and from them, as it ſeems in the ſtory of *Jephtha*, by the *Ammonites*; and from the *Ammonites* again, by the *Iſraelites*, under the conduct of *Jephtha*. In St. *Jerome*'s time, the greateſt part of this city periſhed by an earthquake, as alſo *Zoar* in which *Lot* ſaved himſelf, in the deſtruction of *Sodom*, ſeated not far hence: which they ſay was therefore called *Vitula conſternans*, becauſe as a wanton tumbling heifer, ſhe was thrice overthrown with earthquakes; for which cauſe alſo [h] *Jerome* ſeems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Saliſſa* or *Bal-ſaliſſa*, as if *Bal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah* or *Belah* (of which *Gen.* xiv. 2.) and *Saliſha* which hath a ſignification of the *ternary number*, had alluded to the three earthquakes.

Brochard takes *Haroher* to be *Petra*, but erroneouſly, as before it is noted; ſeeing that *Petra* was in the ſouth border of *Moab*, adjoining to *Edom*, whereas *Haroher* is in the north-eaſt border. Between *Haroher* and *Jordan* they ſeat *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, becauſe they are ſaid to have built it, *Numb.* xxxii. 34. tho' *Joſhua* xiii. 17. it is ſaid that *Moſes* gave it the *Reubenites*. Of this city among the reſt of *Moab*, both *Iſaiah* xv. and *Jeremiah* xlviii. propheſied, that it ſhould periſh; and the lakes about it run with the blood of the inhabitants. It was a great village near *Arnon* in St. *Jerome*'s time.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next cities of fame to *Aroer* was *Beth-nimrah*, of which *Iſaiah* xv. 21. propheſieth, *That the waters thereof ſhould be dryed up: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not far from *Beth-nimrah* in this tribe *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeha*, and *Nobach* or *Nobe*: of both which we read in the ſtory of [i] *Gideon*; and that *Jogbeha* was in *Gad* built by the *Gadites*, it appears *Numb.* xxxii. 35. and therefore *Nobach* alſo muſt needs be in theſe parts: but whether in *Gad* or *Manaſſeh*, it is not certain; only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moſes* witneſſeth; [k] *Nobach alſo* (ſaith he) *went and took Kenath with her towns, and called it Nobach of his own name*; where becauſe the verſes precedent ſpeak of the *Manaſſites*, and becauſe it is not likely that *Moſes* would have ſevered this ſeat of the *Gadites* from the reſt, of which he ſpake before, verſes 34, 35, 36, therefore it may ſeem that this [l] *Nobach* was in that part of *Manaſſeh*, which was in the eaſt of *Jordan*: tho' *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he ſuppoſeth it to be the ſame with *Nob*, which *Saul* deſtroyed, of this we ſhall ſpeak [m] in the tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karker* where *Zebach* and *Zalmunna* reſted themſelves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched thro' this *Nobach* and *Jogbeha*, tho' ſome place it in *Gad*, and make it the ſame with *Kir-chares*, of which *Iſaiah* xv. and 2 *Kings* iii. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the ſame with *Kir-chares*, it is certain that it was a principal city held ſtill by the *Moabites*, and not in the tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this tribe of *Gad* they place [n] *Hataroth*: of which name the ſcripture witneſſeth,

[a] 2 Kings 3. [b] 2 Chron. 20. [c] Jerem. 27. [d] Gen. 30. Numb. 1. 26. 32. Joſh. 13. [e] Iſa. 15. Deut. 2. [f] Deut. 2. 9. *Out of which place the words* Numb. 21. 28. *are to be expounded; not that the city of* Har, *but the coaſt adjoining, was waſted by* Sehon. [g] Gen. 14. 5. Judg. 11. 35. [h] Hier. in Epitaph. Paul & in quæſt. & loc. Hebr. *ſee* Junius's *annotations upon* 1 Sam. 9. 2. *where he makes* Shaliſha *a plain country in* Benjamin, *and the ſame with* Bal-ſhaliſha, 2 Kings 4. 42. *where he expounds* Bal *or* Bahal *to be as much as* Planities. [i] Judg. 8. 11. [k] Numb. 32. 42. [l] Numb. 21. 30. *It is called* Nophach *and placed in the border of the kingdom of* Sehon *towards* Baſan, *and therefore it is altogether improbable that it was in* Gad. [m] *Chap.* 12. *ſect.* 1. Judg. 8. 10. [n] Numb. 32. 34, 35.

that two cities were built by the *Gadites*; the former ſimply called *Hataroth*, the latter *Hatroth-Sophan*: for which latter the *Vulgar* makes two cities *Roth* and *Shophan*; the name *Hataroth* is as much as *Coronæ*.

In the valley of the kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Beth-nimrah*, of which we have ſpoken, *Joſh.* xiii. 27. nameth *Beth-haram*, and *Succoth*: the former *Numb.* xxxii. 36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Beth-nimrah*, is ſaid to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather becauſe in *Joſhua* it is called *Beth-haram*) ſome take to be *Betaramptha* (of which [b] *Joſephus*) after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-haram*, or from *Beth-aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in [c] *Joſephus*) or from *Beth-remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an idol of thoſe countries, we read *Acts* vii. 43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the city *Rephan*, 1 *Macc.* xxxvii.) of this queſtion it were hard to reſolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Joſephus* ſometimes *Betaramptha*) the ſame *Joſephus* placeth it in the region of *Peræa*, beyond *Jordan*; which *Regio Peræa*, as the *Greek* word ſignifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior*, the country beyond the river; and therefore they, which labour to ſet down the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to [d] *Joſephus*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias* in honour of the adoption of *Livia*, *Auguſtus*'s wife, into the *Julian* family: by which adoption ſhe was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he [d] ſaith, was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which he ſaith is the ſame as *Bethſaida*.

Upon the ſea of *Galilee* near to *Julias* in *Peræa* (that is, in the region over *Jordan*) they find *Vetezobra*, as it is called in [e] *Joſephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hiſſopi*. Of a noble woman of this city, which for ſafeguard in the time of war with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Jeruſalem*, and was there beſieged, *Joſephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable hiſtory; how for hunger ſhe eat her own child, with other tragical accidents hereupon enſuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we ſaid *Joſh.* xiii. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the valley of the kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the ſtory of [f] *Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is ſaid, that as he was paſs'd *Jordan*, with his 300, weary in the purſuit of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, he requeſted relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideon*'s return were by him tortured, as it ſeems under a threſhing-car, or *tribulum*, between which and their fleſh he put thorns to tear their fleſh as they were preſs'd and trod under the *tribulum*; and after which ſort alſo *David* uſed ſome of the [g] *Ammonites*, tho' not with thorns, but with the iron teeth of the *tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth ſuch tabernacles as were made in haſte, either for men or cattle, *Moſes Gen.* xxxiii. 17. witneſſeth, that the original of the name was from ſuch harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Meſopotamia* built in that place: as alſo the place beyond the [h] *Red* ſea, where the children of *Iſrael*, as they came from *Rameſes* in *Egypt*, had their firſt ſtation, was upon like reaſon called *Succoth*: becauſe there they ſet up their firſt [i] tabernacles or tents: which they uſed after for forty years in the wilderneſs. In remembrance whereof, the feaſt of *Succoth*, or tabernacles, was inſtituted.

Other four cities of *Gad* are named *Joſh.* xxi. 38. *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, *Mahanaim*, *Chesbon*, and *Jahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the *Levites*; of which *Jahzer*, as *Chesbon* or *Heshbon* was a chief city of *Sehon*, whendce *Numb.* xxxii. 1. his country is called the land of *Jahzer*. It was taken by *Moſes*, having firſt ſent ſpies to view it. In the firſt of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilehad*. In the latter times (as it may be gathered by the prophecy of *Iſaiah*, touching *Moab*) it was poſſeſſed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Iſaiah* vi. 8. alſo *Jeremiah* xlviii. 32. in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it ſeems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Maccabæus*: as it is 1 *Macc.* v. 8. where *Junius* out of *Joſephus* reads *Jahzer*, tho' the *Greeks* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Joſhua* xvi. 3, 8. and *Judg.* i. 29.) was far from theſe countries of *Sehon*, ſeated in the weſt border of *Ephraim*, not poſſeſſed by the *Iſraelites*, until *Solomon*'s time; for whom the king of *Egypt* won it from the *Canaanite*, and gave it him as a dowry with his daughter.

Of *Chesbon* it may be marvelled, that in the place of *Joſhua*, and 1 *Chron.* vi. 81. it ſhould be ſaid to have been given to the *Levites*, by the *Gadites*, ſeeing *Joſhua* xiii. 17. it is reckoned for a principal city of the *Reubenites*. *Adrichomius*, and ſuch as little trouble themſelves with ſuch ſcruples, finding *Casbon*, 1 *Macc.* v. 36. among the cities of *Gilehad*, taken by *Judas Maccabæus*, makes two cities of one; as if this *Casbon* had been the *Chesbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* diſtinct from it; but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering city, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*: for ſo alſo it ſeemeth, that in like reaſon, *Dibon* is ſaid in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another, given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaiim*, which word ſignifieth a double army, we read *Geneſis* xxxii. 2. that it was therefore ſo called, becauſe the angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another hoſt, or company, to join with his for his defence; as alſo *Luke* ii. 13. we read of a multitude of the hoſt of heaven, which appeared to the ſhepherds, at the time of our Saviour's birth; and ſo unto the godly king *Oſwald* of *Northumberland*, when he was ſoon after to join battel with the *Pagan Penda* of Middle-*England*. *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared; whence the field where the battel was fought in the north parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this city of *Machanaiim*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Abſalom*; and the ſame, for the ſtrength thereof, *Abner* choſe for the ſeat of *Iſhboſeth*, during the war between *David* and the houſe of *Saul*.

Of the fourth town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, we read often in the ſcripture; for the recovering of which, king *Achab* loſt his life. *Junius* thinks, that *Ramatha-mitſpæ*, of which *Joſhua* xiii. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* ſware one to the other, as it was called *Gilehad*, which is as much as a witneſſing heap, becauſe of the heap of ſtones which *Laban* and his ſons left for a monument; ſo alſo that it was called *Mitſpah*, which ſignifieth over-looking (becauſe there they called God to overſee, and be witneſs to their covenant) it is plain by the place, *Geneſis*, xxxi. 49. that in theſe parts

[a] Joſeph. 1. Ant. 18. c. 3. [b] Lib. 7. Ant. c. 7. Ubi Græcus Codex legit Αραμαθα, Latinus Rabatha Metropolis Hammonitarum. [c] Ant. 20. 11. [d] Joſeph. Ant. 18. 3. & Bell. Jud. 2. 8. [e] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 8. [f] Judg. 8. 5. [g] 2 Sam. 12. 31. [h] Exod. 12. 37. [i] Levit. 23. 43.

there

there was not only a town, but likewiſe a region called *Mitſpah*, it appears *Joſh.* xi. 3. where we read of the *Chivites* under *Hermon*, in the country of *Mitſpah* [a] the town of *Mitſpah*, as it ſeems both by this place and in the 8th verſe following, being not in the hill country, but in the valley. But ſeeing that *Jephthha* the judge of *Iſrael*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in this town of *Mitſpah*, who doubtleſs was of the tribe of *Manaſſeh*, and thence at firſt expelled by his brethren; it may ſeem that they do not well which place this town of [b] *Mitſpah* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manaſſeh*. By [c] *Judas Macchabæus* this town of *Mitſpah* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manaſſeh*) was utterly ſpoiled and burnt, and all the males of it ſlain: for it was then poſſeſs'd of the *Ammonites*.

Between *Succoth* (of which we have ſpoken) and the river *Jaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name ſignifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; [d] A place where the face of God was ſeen: ſo called for memory of the angel's appearing to *Jacob*, and wreſtling with him there: the churliſhneſs of which city, in refuſing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cauſe that in his return he overthrew their [e] tower, and ſlew the chief aldermen thereof. To theſe places of the *Gadites*, they add *Rogelim*, the city of that great and faithful ſubject [f] *Barzillai*, as it ſeems, not far from *Mahanaima*, where he ſuſtained king *David* during *Abſalom*'s rebellion. To theſe they add the towns of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi* being in *Hebrew* no more then *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnon* alſo no where appears to be the name of a town, but ſtill of a river. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Ἀλέμοις 1 *Macc.* v. 26. ſo that the name ſhould rather be *Alema*; but *Junius* out of *Joſephus* reads *Mallæ*, for this in *Alimis*: and underſtanding [g] *Mallæ* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio* (as we have ſhewed touching the *Millo* of the *Siehemites*), he takes this *Mallæ* to be *Mitſpah Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam.* xxii. 3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moſes* noteth to be as far as the fartheſt of *Manaſſes*, out of the bounds this tribe. So alſo *Dathema*, of which 1 *Macc.* v. 10. (which *Junius* takes to be [h] *Rithma*, of which *Numb.* xxxiii. 18. a place of ſtrength in the territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith* and *Abel vinearum*, tho' by ſome they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two laſt we read in *Jephthha*'s purſuit of the *Ammonites*: ſeated as it ſeems by that place of the book of *Judges*, the former of them in the ſouth-border, and the other in the eaſt-border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief city of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the ſcriptures ſometime *Rabbath*, as *Deuteronomy* iii. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is ſuppoſed to be that [i] *Philadelphia* which *Ptolemy* finds in *Cœleſyria*. *Jerome* and *Calliſtus* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but as it ſeems never poſſeſs'd by the *Iſraelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*; whereupon at length it became the regal ſeat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the poſſeſſion of the *Zamzummims*; which is as much as to ſay, men for all manner of craft and wickedneſs infamous. The ſame were alſo called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his anceſtors; who having been firſt beaten by the *Aſſyrians*, and their aſſiſtants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the eaſier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* were by the *Idumeans*. Yet did the races of *Enoreus*, of whom theſe giants were deſcended, contend with the conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Heſhon* had diſpoſſeſſed *Moab*, ſo had *Og* of *Baſan* the *Ammonites*, and between them recovered the beſt part of all the valley, between the mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was alſo maſter of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: and in the poſſeſſion of the one or the other of theſe two, *Moſes* and *Iſrael* found all thoſe cities and countries, which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*. So that tho' it were 450 years ſince that the *Zamzummims* or *Raphaims* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but having theſe two kings of one kindred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon* both *Amorites*, they recovered again much of their loſt poſſeſſions, and thruſt the ſons of *Lot* over the mountains, and into the deſarts. And as the kings, or captains of *Perſia* and *Aſſyria* (remembred *Geneſis* xiv.) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; ſo by that great conqueſt which *Moſes* had over thoſe two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to look back again into thoſe plains, and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites* and *Manaſſites* forſook the worſhip of the living God, and became ſlothful and licentious, they taking the advantage, invaded them, and caſt them out of their poſſeſſions; and were ſometimes their maſters, ſometimes their tributaries, as they pleaſed or diſpleaſed God; and according to the wiſdom and virtue of their commanders.

In this city of *Rabba*, was the iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth, *Deut.* iii. The city was taken in *David*'s time, and the inhabitants ſlain with great ſeverity, and by divers torments. At the firſt aſſault thereof *Uriah* was ſhot to death, having been by direction from *David*, appointed to be employed in the leading of an aſſault, where he could not eſcape: wherein alſo many of the beſt of the army periſhed, and wherein *David* ſo diſpleaſed God, as his affairs had ill ſucceſs afterward even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich crown of gold, which the [k] kings of *Ammon* wore; or which, as ſome expound it, was uſed to be ſet on the head of their idol, weighing a talent, which is ſixty pound weight after the common talent. In the time of the Chriſtians it had a metropolitan biſhop, and under him twelve others.

The mountains which are deſcribed within this tribe, and that of *Manaſſeh*, with a part of *Reuben*, are thoſe which [l] *Ptolemy* calleth the hills of *Hippus*, a city of *Cœleſyria*; and [m] *Strabo*, *Trachones*, the ſame which contain from *Damaſcus* to near the de-

[a] *Of other towns of this name, ſee in the tribe of* Benjamin. [b] Judg. 11. 36. [c] 1 Macc. 5. 35. [d] Gen. 32. 30. [e] Judg. 8. 17. [f] 2 Sam. 19. 33. [g] Deut. 3. 14. Joſh. 12. 5. [h] *The letters* D *and* R *in the* Hebrew *are very like, ſo that one is oft miſtaken for another, and ſometimes without miſtaking one is put for another, as for* Rodanim, 1 Chron. 7. *we have* Dodanim, Gen. 10. 4. [i] *Other names of this city according to* Stephanus *were* Ammana *and* Aſtarte: *but in this latter perhaps he miſtook, which might ſeem to be the ſame* Aſtaroth, *one of the chief cities of* Og, *of which in that which remaineth to be ſpoken of* Manaſſes. Adrichomius *ſays it was alſo called* Urbs aquarum, *becauſe of the river* Jaboc's *winding about it, but in the place,* 2 Sam. 27. *whence he gathers this opinion,* Junius *reads* intercepi ab urbe aquam, *if we muſt read with others* cepi _ bem aquarum, *yet it cannot be taken of* Rabba *it ſelf, but of ſome fort adjoining,* [k] 2 Sam. 12. Will. Tyr. bell. ſac. 13. cap. 12. [l] Ptolemy [m] Strabo l. 16. Τραχὼν *is* locus aſper & ſalebroſus: *whence it appears, that* Trachonitis regio *in theſe parts was properly the hill country.*

parts of *Moab*, and receive divers names, as commonly mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers countries: for from the south part, as far northward as *Aſteroth*, the chief city of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence northward, they are known by the name of *Hermon*; for ſo *Moſes* calleth them: the *Zidonians* name them *Shirion*; but the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others *Seir*; of which name all thoſe hills alſo were called, which part *Judea* and *Idumea*: and laſtly, they are called *Libanus*; for ſo the prophet *Jer.* xxii. makes them all one, calling the high mountains of *Galaad* the head of *Libanus*. Theſe mountains are very fruitful, and full of good paſtures, and have many trees, which yield [a] *Balſamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The river of this tribe are the waters of *Nimrah* and *Dibon*, and the river *Jaboc*: others do alſo fancy another river, which riſing out of the rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

SECT. VI.

Of the Ammonites, *part of whoſe territories the* Gadites *won from* Og *the king of* Baſan.

THIS tribe of *Gad*, poſſeſs'd half the country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the mountains of *Gilead*: tho' at this time when the *Gadites* won it, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moſes* did not expel the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thruſt the iſſues of *Lot* over the mountains *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the firſt judge of *Iſrael*; the *Ammonites* joined with the *Moabites* againſt the *Hebrews*, and ſo continued long. [b] *Jephtha* judge of *Iſrael* had a great conqueſt over one of the kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them again.

Afterward we find that cruel king of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*; who beſieging [c] *Jabez Gilead*, gave them no other conditions than the pulling out of their right eyes. The reaſon why he tender'd ſo hard a compoſition, was (beſides this deſire to bring ſhame upon *Iſrael*, becauſe thoſe *Gileadites* uſing to carry a target on their left arms, which could not but ſhadow their left eyes, ſhould by loſing their right, be utterly diſabled to defend themſelves: but *Saul* came to their reſcue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may ſeem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul*'s time, tho' [d] *Joſephus* thinks that this *Nahas* was ſlain in the battle, when *Saul* rais'd the ſiege of *Jabez*, who affirmeth that there were three kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

Hanan ſucceeded *Nahas*; to whom when *David* ſent to congratulate his eſtabliſhment, and to confirm the former friendſhip which he had with his father, he moſt contemptuouſly and proudly cut off the ambaſſadors garments to the knees, and ſhaved the half of their beards. But afterwards, notwithſtanding the aids received from the *Aramites* ſubject to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from [e] *Iſtob*, yet all thoſe *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were over-turned; their chief city of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, taken, the crown, which weighed a talent of gold, was ſet on *David*'s head; all ſuch as were priſoners *David* executed with ſtrange ſeverity; for with ſaws and harrows, he tare them in pieces, and caſt the reſt into lime-kilns.

Jehoſaphat governing *Judah*, they aſſiſted the *Moabites* their neighbours againſt him, and periſhed together. *Oſias* made them tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* inforc'd to continue that tribute, and to increaſe it, to wit, one hundred talents of ſilver, ten thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ten thouſand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two years.

The fifth king of the *Ammonites*, of whoſe name we read, was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedekiah*: after whoſe taking by *Nabuchodonoſor*, *Baalis* ſent *Iſhmael* of the blood of the king of *Judah*, to ſlay *Gedaliah*, who ſerved *Nabuchodonoſor*.

SECT. VII.

Of the other half of Manaſſeh.

THE reſt of the land of *Gilead*, and of the kingdom of *Og* in *Baſan*, with the land of *Hus*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein alſo were part of the ſmall territories of [f] *Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Geſſuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* over *Jordan*, of which thoſe three latter provinces defended themſelves againſt them, for many ages. But *Batanea Ptolemy* ſetteth farther off, and to the north-eaſt, as a ſkirt of *Arabia* the deſart: and all thoſe other provinces before named with *Peræa* and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœleſyria*, as far ſouth as *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*; likewiſe all the reſt which belonged to *Gad* and *Reuben*, ſaving the land near the *Dead* ſea, he makes part of *Arabia Petræa*: for many of theſe ſmall kingdoms take not much more ground than the county of *Kent*.

Baſan, or after the *Septuagint*, *Baſanitis*, ſtretcheth it ſelf from the river of *Jaboc*, to the [g] *Machati*, and *Geſſuri*; and from the mountains to *Jordan*, a region exceeding fertile; by reaſon whereof it abounded in all ſorts of cattle. It had alſo the goodlieſt woods of all that part of the world; eſpecially of oaks, which bear maſt (of which the prophet *Zacharias*, *Howl, O ye oaks of Baſan*) and by reaſon hereof they bred ſo many ſwine, as [h] 2000 in one herd were carried head-long into the ſea, by the unclean ſpirits which Chriſt had caſt out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it threeſcore cities, walled and defenced: all which, after *Og* and his ſons were ſlain, *Jair*, deſcended of *Manaſſeh*, conquered, and called the country after his own name, *Avoth Jair*, or the cities of *Jair*.

The principal cities of this half tribe (for I will omit the reſt) are theſe, *Pella*, ſometimes [i] *Butis*, otherwiſe *Bernice*: by *Seleucus*, king of *Syria*, it is ſaid to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*, in which both *Philip* the father, and his ſon *Alexander* the Great were born. It was taken, and in part demoliſhed, by *Alexander Jannæus*, king of the *Jews*, becauſe it refuſed to obey the *Jews* laws; but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the government of *Syria*. It is now but a village, ſaith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the river *Jaboc*, taken by [k] *Judas Maccabeus*, where

[a] Hier. 8. & 9. [b] Judg. 10. [c] 1 Sam. 11. [d] Joſeph. l. 6. Ant. c. 5. &c. 2 Sam. 10. 4. 18. [e] Iſtob, *that is the men of* Thob: Thob *is a ſmall territory under* Amon *hills.* Rehob *is another between* Hazor *and* Sidon, *in the north bound of* Canaan, Num. 13. 22. *of which ſee in the tribe of* Aſher, Hier. 40. *and* 41. 2 Chron. 20. 2 Chron. 36. 2 Chron. 26. 2 Chron. 27. [f] *Another territory adjoining to* Manaſſeh, *whoſe limits were confounded with ſome of theſe, was that* Thiſhbitis, *the country of* Elias, *as it is* 1 Kings 16. 1. *and of* Tobias, Tob. 1. 2. *it lay on the caſt to the tribe of* Nephthali *on the right hand of it, as in* Tob. 1 2. *and was poſſeſſed by colonies of* Iſraelites *in the time of* Saul, *after his victory over the* Amalekites *and* Iſhmaelites *in thoſe parts, as it is gathered out of* 1 Chron. 5. 10. *whence it appears that it was part of* Ituræa, *of which Chap.* 7. *Sect.* 4. † 5 *and* 6. [g] *So they call them of* Mahacath, *of which* Mahacath *ſomewhat hath been ſpoken towards the end of the fifth paragraph of this chapter. See* 1 Mac. 5. 36. *and* Deut. 3. 14. *and* Joſh. 12. 5. [h] Mark 5. 13. [i] *Anciently, as it ſeems, it was called* Tophel. *See above in the bounds of* Moab, *in this chapter, Sect.* 4. † 2. [k] 1 Mac. 5.

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he ſet on fire the [a] temple of their idols, together with all thoſe that fled thereunto for ſanctuary; and near it they place the caſtle of *Carnion*, of which 2 *Mac.* xii. 22. Then the ſtrong city of [b] *Ephron* near *Jordan*, which refuſing to yield paſſage to [c] *Judas Maccabeus*, was forced by him by aſſault, and taken, and burnt with great ſlaughter.

Jabez Gilead, or *Jabeſus*, was another of the cities of this half tribe, which being beſieged by [d] *Nahas*, king of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is [e] elſewhere mentioned. In memory whereof, the citizens [f] recovered, embalmed, and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his ſons, which hung deſpitefully over the walls of *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*. [g] *Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, ſeat by *Pliny* on a hill near the river *Hieromiace*, which river *Ortelius* ſeems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the foot of the hill there ſpring forth alſo hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander Jannæus*, after ten months ſiege, won it, and ſubverted it. *Pompey* reſtored it; and *Gabinius* [h] made it one of the five courts of juſtice in *Paleſtine*. *Jeruſalem* being the firſt, *Gadara* the ſecond, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the third, *Jericho* and *Sephora* in *Galilee* the fourth and fifth. The citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, ſurnamed *Aſcalonita*, accuſed him to *Julius Ceſar* of many crimes; but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Ceſar*, fearing the terrible [i] revenge of *Herod*, they ſlew themſelves; ſome by ſtrangling, others by leaping over high towers, others by drowning themſelves.

To the eaſt of *Gadara*, they place *Sebei* [k] in which *Joſephus*, *Ant.* 5. 13. ſaith *Jephtha* was buried; whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* xii. 7. *Sepultus eſt in Civitate ſua Gilehad* (for *in una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilead* to be the name of a city, and to be the ſame with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, 1 *Mac.* v. 26. where it readeth *Caſphor* for *Chesbon*: the ſame *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *Ampla & firma Gilehaditarum civitas*; ſo of one city *Hesbon*, or *Chesbon*, which they call *Eſſebon*, the chief city of *Sehon* in the tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more. This *Caſphor* in *Manaſſes*, and a city in *Gad*, which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admoniſhed the reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (ſo called, becauſe the hill on which it ſtood, was in faſhion like the back of a camel) which *Joſephus* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, over-againſt *Tarichea*, which is on the weſt-ſide of the ſea or lake of *Tiberias*. See this in *Joſephus*'s fourth book of the *Jewiſh* war, *c.* 1. 3. where he deſcribes the place by nature to be almoſt invincible; and in the ſtory of the ſiege, ſhews how *Veſpaſian*, with much danger of his own perſon, entering it, was at firſt repulſed, with other very memorable accidents; and how at length, after the coming of *Titus*, when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks, with their wives and children, to the number of five thouſand, thus periſhed; beſides four thouſand ſlain by the *Romans*; ſo that none eſcaped, ſave only two women that hid themſelves.

About four miles weſt from *Gadara*, and as much eaſt from *Tiberias* (which is on the other ſide of the lake) *Joſephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence [l] *Ptolemy* gives the name to the hills that compaſs the plains in which it ſtandeth: ſo that it may ſeem to have been of no ſmall note. It is ſeated far from the hill country: on the eaſt of the lake, as alſo *Pliny* noteth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. it was reſtored by *Pompey*; after by [m] *Auguſtus* added to *Herod*'s tetrarchy: it was waſted by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many maſſacres of their nation, they were inraged againſt their borderers.

The next city of note, but of more ancient fame, is [n] *Edrebi* or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* king of *Baſan* chiefly abode, when *Moſes* and *Iſrael* invaded him: and near unto this his regal city, it was that he loſt the battle and his life. It ſtood in St. *Jerome*'s time; and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not far from theſe towns near *Jordan*, in this valley ſtood *Geraſſa* or *Gergeſſa*, inhabited by the *Gergeſites*, deſcended of the fifth ſon of *Canaan*. Of theſe *Gergeſites* we read *Mat.* viii. 28. that Chriſt coming from the other ſide of the lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coaſts; where caſting the devils out of the poſſeſſed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of hogs: in which ſtory, for *Gergeſites* or *Gergeſins*, [o] St. *Luke* and St. *Mark* have *Gadarens*; not as if theſe were all one (for *Gergeſſa* or *Geraſſa* is a diſtinct town in theſe parts from *Gadera*) but the bounds being confounded, and the cities nieghbours, either might well be named in this ſtory. This city received many changes and calamities, of which *Joſephus* hath often mention. For beſides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius* lieutenant to *Veſpaſian*; and 1000 of the ableſt young men put to the ſword, and the city burnt. In the year 1120 it was rebuilt by *Baldwin* king of *Damaſcus*; and in the ſame year recovered by *Baldwin de Burgo* king of *Jeruſalem*, and by him utterly razed. Near unto *Geraſa* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the *Syriak*, *Magedu*, or after the *Greek*, *Magdala*, where the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*, *Matt.* xv. deſired of our Saviour a ſign from heaven; the ſame place, or ſome adjoining to it, which [p] St. *Mark* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumſtances of which ſtory it appears, that this coaſt lay between the lake of *Tiberias*, and the country of *Decapolis*. [q] *Brochard* makes both theſe places to be one; and finds it to be *Phiale*, the fountain of *Jordan* according to *Joſephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the ſea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethſaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the ſtory, not far hence towards the north, was the deſart of *Bethſaida*, [r] where Chriſt filled 5000 people with the five barley loaves and the fiſhes.

On the north of this *Bethſaida* they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the region *Trachonitis* toward the ſouth. It was ſometimes a village, and not long after the birth of Chriſt it was compaſſed with a wall by *Philip* the tetrarch of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*; and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias* called *Julias*, as hath been farther ſpoken in the tribe of *Gad*, where it is noted that [s] *Joſephus* makes this *Julias* to be the ſame as *Bethſaida*. Upon the eaſt-ſide of the ſame lake of *Tiberias* ſtands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which Chriſt in *Matthew*; *Wo be unto the Corazim.*

But the principal city of all theſe in ancient time was *Aſteroth*, ſometime peopled with the giants *Raphaim*; and therefore the country adjoining called the land of giants, of whoſe race was *Og* king of *Baſan*. In *Geneſis* xvi. 5. this city is called *Aſteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1 *Mac.* v. 26. is is called ſimply *Carnaim*, as *Joſh.* xiii. 21. it is cal-

[a] Joſeph. 12. Ant. 12. [b] Mac. 5. [c] 2 Mac. 12. 27. [d] 1 Sam. 11. [e] Joſeph. 6. Ant. 5. [f] 1 Sam. 31. [g] 1 Chron. 10. [h] Joſeph. 14. Ant. 13. [i] Joſeph. 15. Ant. 13. [k] *Of* Mitſpa *in* Gilead, *the city of* Jephtha. *See in the tribe of* Gad. [l] In vita ſua. [m] Joſeph. bell. Jud. 2. c. 19. [n] *Of another* Edrehi *in* Nephtalim. *See* Joſh. 19. 37. Deut. 3. 1. *and* 10. Item Joſh. 13. 31. [o] Mark 5. Luk. 8. [p] Mark 8. [q] Broch. Itin. 2. *Of this* Phiale, *ſee in* Naph. c. 7. Sect. 4. † 3. [r] Mat. 14. Mark 6. Luk. 9. John 6. [s] Joſeph 8. Ant. 3. & alibi.

led *Aſteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word [a]*Carnaim* ſignifieth a pair of horns, which agree well with the name of their idol *Aſtoreth*, which was the image of a ſheep, as it is elſewhere noted, that *Aſtaroth* in *Deut.* ſignifieth ſheep. Others from the ambiguity of the *Hebrew* take *Karnaim*, to have been the name of the people which inhabited this city, and expound it *Heroes* [b]*radientes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this city, *Gen.* xiv. 5. were giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut.* iii. 11. *Og ex reſiduo gigantum*, with the words *Joſh.* xiii. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphaæorum*; but if the *Karnaim*, or *Karnaiim*, were thoſe *Raphæi*, the word would not have been in the dual number; neither would *Moſes* in the place of *Geneſis* have ſaid the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but rather the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or ſome other way fitteſt for perſpicuity; for this naming of both thus in the ſame clauſe, diſtinguiſheth the one from the other.

Not far from *Aſteroth*, *Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, four miles from *Corazin*. This city, ſaith he, is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this city underſtand *David* in *Pſalm* 120, and here the ſepulchre of *Job* is yet to be ſeen, ſaith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the texts which he citeth, it is ſo, that the *Greek* hath *Galaad* inſtead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth uſe in that place of *Judith*, and joineth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles*, and the 120th *Pſalm* do rather prove, that *Kedar* was not hereabout, than any way help *Adrichomius*. For that they ſpeak of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were *decolores*, much more than any under the *Climates* of the land of *Canaan*; whence *Junius* out of *Lampridius* and *Pliny*, placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, far from theſe parts. Touching the ſepulchre of *Job* it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding thoſe places) feign many things to abuſe the Chriſtians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many, if not all, the hiſtorical circumſtances of *Job* are ſo obſcure, that we ſhould rather by finding his country ſeek to get ſome knowledge of him, than by any preſumptions founded upon him, infer what his country was, and build unto him a city by conjecture.

Of *Job* himſelf, whether he were the ſame *Jobab* remembred in *Geneſis* xxxvi. deſcended from *Eſau*, and king alſo of *Idumea*, tho' [c] *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaſter*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinion, yet St. *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Gregory*, with *Athanaſius*, *Hippolytus*, *Irenæus*, *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Euſtachius* and others, cited by St. *Jerome* in his 126th epiſtle to *Evagrius*, take him for the ſame.

The land of *Huts* or *Hus* wherein *Job* dwelt is from the *Greek* [d] ὗς, which the *Septuagint* uſe for the word *Huts*, tranſlated by the *Vulgar* ſometimes *Hus*, as *Job* i. 1. ſometimes *Auſitis*, as *Jer.* xxv. 20. This land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæſtina* and *Cœleſyria*, beſide *Chamatha*, or *Hamatha*, under *Palmyrene* in the country called by *Ptolemy*, *Trachonitis* or *Bathanea*, the bounds of which countries are confounded with *Baſan* in this half tribe of *Manaſſeh*. And that this land of *Hus* was thus ſeated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jeremiah* xxv. 20. where he reckons the *Huſbites* among the promiſcuous borderers of the *Iſraelites*, whom he therefore calleth promiſcuous or *miſcellaneam turbam*, becauſe their bounds were not only joined but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the words of *Jeremiah*, *Lam.* iv. 21. ſpeaking of the ſame prophecy, of which he ſpeaketh in the five and twentieth chapter, muſt needs be expounded; as *Junius* reads them, diſtinguiſhing the land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, ô quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; O daughter of *Edom*, O thou which dwelleſt in the land of *Hus*. Now becauſe the *Vulgar* doth not ſo diſtinguiſh, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; Daughter of *Edom* which dwelleſt in the land of *Hus*: Hence, as it ſeems, ſome of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have ſaid, and king of *Edom*; which if they underſtand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, ſo called in *Moſes*'s time, they are greatly miſtaken, making this land of *Hus* to be in *Idumea*, *Deut.* iii. 9. For it is very probable, that *Eſau*, when he firſt parted from *Jacob*, did not ſeat himſelf in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the ſouth border of *Judea*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the eaſt of *Jordan*, and held a part of thoſe mountains otherwiſe called *Galaad* and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir* for *Seir*, and from this his habitation did *Eſau* encounter *Jacob*, when he returned out of *Meſopotamia*, who paſſed by the very border of *Eſau*'s abiding. It is true, that at ſuch time as *Moſes* wandred in the deſarts, that the poſterity of *Eſau* inhabited *Seir* to the ſouth of *Judea*. For it is like that the *Amorites*, who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did alſo drive the *Edomites* out of thoſe parts, who thenceforward ſeated themſelves to the ſouth of *Judea*, bordering the deſart *Paran*, and ſtretched their habitations over the deſarts as far as *Hor*, where *Aaron* died.

Now for this *Hus*, which gave the name to a part of the land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* x. 23. or rather *Hus* the ſon of *Nachor*, *Abraham*'s brother, the queſtion is doubtful. For my part I rather incline to think, that it was *Hus* the ſon of *Nahor*; partly becauſe theſe families of *Aram* ſeem long before to have been loſt; and partly becauſe in *Job.* xxxii. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Job*'s friends, which ſeems to be of *Job*'s own country, is called a [e] *Buzite*, of *Buz*, the brother of *Hus*, the ſon of *Nachor*; as alſo *Jer.* xxv. in the ſame continuation (tho' ſome other nations named between) where *Hus* is ſpoken of, there *Buz* is alſo named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job* xxxii. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is ſaid to be of the family of *Ram* (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the family of *Aram*:) for that by this *Aram* we are not to underſtand *Aram* the ſon of *Shem*, *Junius* himſelf maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he ſaith that one of *Job*'s friends (which muſt needs be this *Elihu*) was of the poſterity of *Nachor* (as alſo in this place he confeſſeth ſo much expreſly) and in as much as he readeth not, *è familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è familia Syra*; like as elſewhere *Laban* who ſprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

[a] *See chap.* 7. *Sect.* 3. † 2. [b] *Becauſe horn when it is poliſhed ſhineth; hence it is that the verb of this noun is ſometime* lucere; *as it were* corneum eſſe: *whereupon the* Vulgar, Exod. 34. 19. *reading* cornutam carneam, *or* lucidam faciem, *gave occaſion to the fabulous painters to paint* Moſes *with horns*, Judith 1. 8. 1 Cant. 5. [c] Rup. Lyran. Oleaſt. in Gen. bell. in Com. lib. 1. de verb. Dei S. Amb. ſup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 4. Chryſ. Hom. 2. De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job. [d] *For* ου *and* αυ *are often changed one into the other: whence they uſed* Auſitis *for* Ouſitis, *&c. Hence alſo by* Junius *and others it is called* Auſanitis, *and ſo as it ſeems they read it in the* Septuagint. Jun. in Gen. 10. 23. [e] *Whence the* Septuagint *calls him*, ex regione Auſitide.

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As for the [a]other three of *Job*'s friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu*'s being of the *Syrian* family, or the family of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as also by the *Septuagint*'s addition, that this *Elihu* was of the land of *Hus*, or *Auſitis*, it is implied that they thought only *Elihu* to have been of *Job*'s own country.

Franciſcus Brochard the monk, in his deſcription of the holy land in the journey from *Acon* eaſtward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the eaſt of the ſea of *Galilee*, both very near to the land of *Hus*; whereof the one may ſeem to have denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*; two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job*. ii. 11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the deſart, deſcended of *Shuach* the ſon of *Abraham* and *Ketura*; of whom *Geneſis* xxv. 2. perhaps, ſaith he, the ſame whom *Pliny* calls *Sacchæi*. So alſo he thinketh the *Themanites*, of whom *Eliphaz* was, to have been of *Arabia* the deſart; and *Eliphaz* himſelf to have been of the poſterity of *Theman* the ſon of *Eliphaz*, which was the ſon of *Eſau*. And ſo alſo *Nahamah* whence *Tſophar* the third of *Job*'s friends (which in this place of *Job* ii. 11. are mentioned) is by the ſame learned expoſitor thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by tranſpoſition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen.* xxxvi. 40. is named among the ſons of *Eſau* that gave denomination to the places where they are ſeated) or elſe to be the ſame *Nahamah*, which *Joſh.* xv. 41. is reckoned for a city of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not, but that near to the land of *Hus*, in *Baſan*, as it ſeems, in the tribe of *Manaſſes*, there is a region which at leaſt in latter times was called *Suitis*, or of ſome like name. For this is evident by the hiſtory of [b]*Gulielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a fort in this region of *Suita* or *Suitis* (as he calls it diverſly) of exceeding great ſtrength and uſe for the retaining of the whole country: which in the time of *Baldwin* the 2d king of *Jeruſalem*, was with great digging thro' rocks recovered by the Chriſtians; having not long before been loſt to the great diſadvantage of the country, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The ſituation of this fort is by *Tyrius* deſcribed to be 16 miles from the city *Tiberias*, on the eaſt of *Jordan*, by *Adrichomius* 4 miles northward from the place where *Jordan* enters the lake *Tiberias* at *Corazim*.

Other cities of this part of *Manaſſes* named in the ſcripture are theſe; *Golan*, *Beheſhthera*, *Mitſpah* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Iſraelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitſpah* of [c]*Gilehad*, we have ſpoken by occaſion among the cities of *Gad*: the two other were given to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the cities of refuge; from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis ſuperior & inferior*, oft in *Joſephus*. *Beheſhthera* is accounted the chief city of *Baſan* by ſome, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betſer* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a region in this tract, and hence *Jerome* hath *Arga*, a name of a city placed by ſome about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Joſhua*) which make the lake *Samachonitis*, as *Joſephus* calls it. This lake being as it were in the midſt between *Cæſaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half tribe on the weſt. When the ſnow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, ſaith *Brochard*; otherwiſe more contract, leaving the mariſh ground on both ſides, for lions and other wild beaſts, which harbour in the ſhrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adjoining to this lake in this country of *Manaſſes*, *Joſephus* names two places of ſtrength fortified by himſelf in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the north ſide of this half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, and in the north-eaſt, the ſcripture nameth divers bordering places towards *Damaſcus*, as *Tſedad Chauran*, and *Chatſar Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the weſt; of which three cities we read *Ezek.* xlvii. 16. with which alſo agrees the place *Numb.* xxxiv. 8. where for *Chauran*, between *Tſedad*, and *Chatſar-henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauran* is the name of *Auranitis regio*, in *Joſephus* and *Tyrius*, whoſe bounds (as alſo the bounds of *Geſſur* and *Mahachath* or *Macati*, which were likewiſe borderers to *Manaſſes* towards the north-eaſt) are unknown; only that *Geſſur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married [d]*Mahaca* the daughter of *Tholmay* king of *Geſſur*; by whom he had the moſt beautiful, but wicked, and unfortunate *Abſalon*.

CHAP. XI.

The hiſtory of the Syrians, *the chief borderers of the* Iſraelites, *that dwelt on the eaſt of* Jordan.

SECT. I.

Of the city of Damaſcus, *and the divers fortunes thereof.*

Damaſcus of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the moſt famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the city of joy or gladneſs, and the houſe of pleaſure; and is not only remembred in many places of ſcripture, but by the beſt hiſtorians and coſmographers. The *Hebrews*, ſaith [e]*Joſephus* i. 14. think it to have been built by *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*; of which opinion St. *Jerome* upon *Iſaiah* xvii. ſeemeth to be; tho' in his *Hebrew* queſtions he affirmeth that it was founded by *Damaſcus*, the ſon of *Eliezer* [f]*Abraham*'s ſteward, a thing very unlikely, ſeeing the city was formerly known by that name, as appears by *Abraham*'s calling this his ſteward *Eliezer* of *Damaſco*. *David* was the firſt that ſubjected it to the kingdom of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their king; but in *Solomon*'s time, *Rezon* recovered it again, tho' he had no title at all or right to that principality: but *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* king of *Sophena* (otherwiſe *Syria*, *Soba* or *Zobah*) *Razon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken army, invaded [g]*Damaſcena*, and poſſeſs'd *Damaſcus* it ſelf, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life.

The next king of *Damaſcus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from [h]*David*, and *Joab*, when they ſlew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the king of *Egypt*'s wife's ſiſter, of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was ſo called. This *Adad* returning again became an enemy to *Solomon*, all his life, and (as ſome writers affirm) invaded *Damaſcus*, and thruſt *Rezon* thence out. In the line of *Adad* that kingdom continued nine deſcents (as hereafter may be ſhewed in the catalogue of thoſe kings of *Syria*) to whom

[a] *See* Sixtus Senenſis. [b] De Bell. Sacr. l. 22. c. 15. & 21. [c] Joſh. 21. 27. Deut. 4. 43. [d] 1 Chron. 3. 2. [e] Joſeph. l. 14. [f] Gen. 15. 2. [g] 1 Kings 11. 40. [h] 1 Kings 11.

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the *Aſſyrians* and then the *Grecians* ſucceeded. This city was exceeding ſtrong, compaſſed with waters from the rivers of [a] *Abanah* and *Parphar*; whereof one of thoſe prophane writers call *Chryſorrhoas*, the golden river. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The country adjoining is very fruitful of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very ſtrong caſtle built, as it ſeems, by the [b] *Florentines* after it became Chriſtian: the lillies being found cut in many marbles in that citadel. Againſt this city the prophets [c] *Amos*, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Zacharias*, propheſied that it ſhould be taken, burnt, demoliſhed, and made a heap of ſtones. In the time of the laſt *Rezon*, and tenth king of the *Damaſcenes*, *Teglatphalaſſar* invited by *Achaz* king of [d] *Juda*, carried away the naturals of *Damaſcus* into the eaſt, leaving of his own nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, ſaid *Jerome* upon *Iſaiah* xvii. which thing was performed by *Salmanaſar* according to *Junius*, in his note upon that place, 5 years after the prophecy. In time it was reſtored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolemies*; but long after when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, it was taken by [e] *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the Chriſtians it had an archbiſhop: St. *Jerome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the metropolis of the *Saracens*, being taken by *Haomar* their king from the *Romans*, in the year of our redemption 636. And in the year [f] 1147, *Conrad* the third, emperor of *Rome*, *Lewis* king of *France*, *Baldwin* the third king of *Jeruſalem*, *Henry* duke of *Auſtria*, brother to *Conrad*, [g] *Frederick Barbaroſſa* afterwards emperor, *Theodorick* earl of *Flanders*, and other princes aſſembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the ſea coaſt, determined to recover *Damaſcus*; but being betray'd by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

In the year 1262, *Halon* the *Tartar* incompaſs'd it, and having formerly taken the king, brought him under the walls, and threatened extream torture unto him, except the citizens ſurrendred the place; but they refuſing it, the [h] king was torn aſunder before them, and in fine the city taken, *Agab* the ſon of *Halon* was by his father made king thereof.

In the year [i] 1400, *Tamberlain* emperor of the *Parthians*, invaded that region, and beſieged the city with an army of 1200000 (if the number be not miſtaken.) He entred it and put all to the ſword, filling the ditch with his priſoners, thoſe that retired into the caſtle, which ſeemed a place impregnable, he over-topped with another caſtle adjoining; he forbore the demoliſhing of the city in reſpect of the beauty of the church, garniſhed with 40 gates or ſumptuous porches. It had within it 9000 lanterns of gold and ſilver; but while he invaded *Egypt* they again ſurprized *Damaſcus*. Laſtly, in his return after three months ſiege he forc'd it; the *Mahometans*, proſtrating themſelves with their prieſts, deſired mercy: but *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000, and did ſo demoliſh it, as thoſe that came afterwards to ſee their houſes, knew them not by their foundations. And as a trophy of his victory, he raiſed three towers with great art, built with the heads of thoſe whom he had ſlaughtered. After this it was reſtored and repoſſeſſed by the ſoldan of *Egypt*, with a garriſon of *Mammalukes*. And in the year 1517, *Selimus* emperor of the *Turks* wreſted it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*; in whoſe poſſeſſion it now remaineth inhabited with *Mahometans* and *Chriſtians*, of all neighbouring nations.

SECT. II.

Of the firſt kings of Damaſcus, *and of the growing up of their power.*

NOW be it that *Damaſcus* were founded by *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*, or by *Damaſcus* the ſon of *Eliezer*, *Abraham*'s ſteward, we find no relation of their kings, or common-wealth till *David*'s time. For it ſtood without the bounds of *Canaan*; and therefore neglected by *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and *Judges*, as impertinent to that ſtory: but were it ſo that it had ſome *reguli*, or petty kings over it, as all the cities of thoſe parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till ſuch time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*; the ſame nation which [k] *Pliny* calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting between *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to underſtand the ſtory of thoſe *Syrian* princes, whom ſoon after the kings of *Damaſcus* made their vaſſals, the reader may inform himſelf, that on the north-eaſt parts of the holy land there were three chief principalities whereof the kings or commanders greatly vexed or diſturbed the ſtate or commonwealth of [l] *Iſrael*, namely *Damaſcus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba*, of which theſe were the princes in *David*'s and *Solomon*'s times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damaſcus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tohu* of *Chamath*. But it ſeemeth that *Damaſcus* was one of the cities ſubject to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, tho' when *Saul* made war againſt *Zoba*, *Damaſcus* was not named. And as *Joſephus* affirmeth, the leader of thoſe ſuccours, which were levied and ſent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damaſcus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battle ſlain with [m] 22000 *Aramites* of *Damaſcus*; whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon* the commander of his army, taking advantage, made himſelf king of *Damaſcus*: *Adadezer* and [n] *Adad* of *Damaſcus* being both ſlain. About the ſame time *Tohu* king of *Chamath* or *Iturea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrown, ſendeth for peace to *David*, and preſented him with rich gifts, but *in dolo*, ſaith St. *Jerome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the north of the holy land, and to the weſt of *Damaſcus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited; but they for the moſt part were in league and peace with the *Judeans* and *Iſraelites*. But to return to the kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the ſcriptures, containing *Damaſcena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath* or *Iturea*, to which I may add *Geſhur*, becauſe it is ſo accounted in 2 *Sam.* xv. as joining in the territory to *Damaſcus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Paleſtina* it ſelf is but a province, as I have noted in the beginning of this tract. It is not agreed among the hiſtorians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the firſt of thoſe *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damaſcus*.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumea*: of whom it is written in the 1ſt of *Kings*, that *David* having invaded that region, and left *Joab* therein to deſtroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the king's ſeed, fled into *Egypt*, and was there married to *Taphnes* the queen's ſiſter as before; who hearing of *David*'s death, and the death of his captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the border-

[a] 2 Kings 5. [b] Herold. 6. Bell. Sacr. [c] 1. 3. 8. 10. & 17. 49. & 9. [d] 2 Kings 16. [e] Joſeph. Ant. 4. [f] Onuphrius in Chron. [g] Vitr. c. 46. Will. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l. 17. c. 1. 23. 4. 5. [h] Herold. Bel. Sac. 4. c. 14. [i] Herold. l. 6. c. 4. [k] Plin. l. 6. c. 28. [l] 1 Sam. 14. 47. [m] 2 Sam. 8. [n] 1 Kings 11.

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ing nations feared) he turned again, and, as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expel *Rezon* out of *Damaſcus*, and was the firſt of the *Syrian* kings. To me it ſeemeth otherwiſe. For as I take it, [a] *Adadezer* the ſon of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that principality; and the firſt of *Adads*, who forſaking his father's name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the ſtyle of *Adad*, the great god of the *Aſſyrians*, ſaith *Macrobius*, which ſignifieth oneneſs or unity. I alſo find a city called *Adada* in the ſame part of *Syria*: of which whether theſe princes took the name or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eliadad* were the ſame in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adjoined. And that *Adadezer* was of greateſt power, it appeareth, firſt becauſe it is againſt him, that *David* undertook the war; ſecondly, becauſe he levied 22000 *Aramites* out of the territory of *Damaſcus*; as out of his proper dominions: for had the *Damaſcenes* had a king apart, it is probable that the ſcriptures would have given us his name; thirdly, becauſe *Syria Zoba*, of the moſt of which *Adadezer* was king, was an exceeding large territory, and contained of *Arabia* the deſart as far as to *Euphrates*, according to [b] *Pliny*, and the greateſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, according to *Niger*. Whoſoever was the firſt, whether *Adadezer* or *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezon* was the ſecond: [c] *Who was an enemy to Iſrael all the days of Solomon*. Beſides, the evil that *Adad* did ſeemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumea*, lately returned out of *Egypt*, to wit, 23 years after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damaſcus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* ſucceeded *Tabrimmon*, or *Tabremmon*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in 1 *Kings* xv. 18. For *Aſa* king of *Juda*, the ſon of *Abiam*, the ſon of *Roboam*, the ſon of *Solomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Baaſha*, the ſucceſſor of *Nadab*, the ſon of *Jeroboam*, ſent to *Benhadad*, the ſon of *Tabrimmon* the ſon of *Hezion* king of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damaſcus*, to invade *Iſrael* (while *Baaſha* ſought to fortify *Rama* againſt *Aſa*; thereby to block him up, that he ſhould not enter into any of the territories of *Iſrael*) who according to the deſire of *Aſa*, having received his preſents, willingly invaded the country of *Nephtalim*, and took divers cities, and ſpoils thence: [d] *Aſa* in the mean while carrying away all the materials, which *Baaſha* had brought to fortify *Rama* withal, and converted them to his own uſe.

This *Benhadad*'s father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Aſa*: and ſo was his father *Hezion*; for *Aſa* requireth the continuance of that friendſhip from *Benhadad*, his ſon; tho' it ſeemeth that the gold and ſilver ſent him out of the temple, was the moſt forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Iſrael*, before the enterpriſe of his ſon *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad*, when he was priſoner with *Achab*, ſpoke as followeth. [e] *The cities which my father took from thy father, I will reſtore; and thou ſhalt make ſtreets or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damaſcus; as my father did in Samaria*. And herein there ariſeth a great doubt (if the argument it ſelf were of much importance) becauſe *Tabremmon* was father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Baaſha*, at the requeſt of *Aſa*. But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon [f] *Acab*, and was the ſecond time taken priſoner, was rather the ſon of *Benhadad*, the firſt of that name, the confederate of *Aſa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the ſon of *Tabremmon*. For between the invaſion of *Benhadad* the firſt, in *Baaſha*'s time, and the ſiege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there paſs'd 49 years, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the kings of *Iſrael*. So that if we allow 30 years of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baaſha*, and after that 49 years, e're he was taken by *Achab*, which make 79 years, it is unlikely that *Benhadad*, at ſuch an age, ſhould make war. Beſides all this, the firſt *Benhadad* came with no ſuch pomp, but the ſecond *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32 kings; and therefore I reſolve that *Benhadad* the ſon of *Tabremmon* invaded *Baaſha* and *Omri*, and *Benhadad* the ſecond invaded *Achab*, at whoſe hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrows; the firſt at *Samaria*, by a ſally of 700 *Iſraelites*; the ſecond at *Aphec*, where with the like number in effect the *Iſraelites* ſlaughted 100000 of the [g] *Aramites*, beſides 27000, which were cruſh'd by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad* again ſetteth at liberty; to whom he rendreth thoſe towns, that his father had taken from the predeceſſor of *Achab*; but being returned, he refuſed to ſurrender *Ramoth-Gilead*, a frontier town, and of great importance. Now three years afters (for ſo long the league laſted) [h] *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invadeth *Gilead*, and beſiegeth the city, being aſſiſted by *Jehoſaphat*. The *Aramites* came to ſuccour and fight, in which *Achab* is wounded, and died that night. After this, *Benhadad* ſendeth the commander of his forces [i] *Naaman*, to *Joram* the ſon of *Achab*, to be healed of the leproſy; and tho' *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picketh quarrel againſt *Joram*: and when *Joram* by *Elizeus*'s intelligence, had eſcaped his plot, he ſent men and chariots to take the prophet, as is aforeſaid. After [k] *Benhadad* beſiegeth *Samaria* again; and being terrified thence from [l] heaven, he departeth home, and ſickneth, and ſendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his eſtate, if he might live. *Azael* returning, ſmothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad*, *Adar*, the ſon of *Adar*: [m] *Amos* and *Jeremiah* mention the towers of *Benhadad*. *Joſephus* writeth, that *Benhadad* and his ſucceſſor *Azael*, were worſhipped for gods, by the *Syrians* to his time, for the ſumptuous temples which they built in [n] *Damaſcus*. The *Syrians* alſo boaſted much of their antiquity, ignorant, ſaith he, that ſcarce yet 1100 years are compleat, ſince their wars with the *Iſraelites*.

Hazael or *Azael*, the firſt king of the race of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*, was anointed by *Eliſha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was ſent by *Benhadad* to the prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* ſhould recover his preſent fit of ſickneſs. He waged war with *Joram*, who received divers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*; from whence returning to be cured at *Jeſrael*, he and the king of *Juda*, *Ahaziah*, or *Ochozias*, are ſlain by *Jehu*, as before is ſaid. After the death of *Joram*, *Azael* continued the war againſt *Jehu*, and waſted *Gilead*, and all thoſe portions of [o] *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manaſſeh*, over *Jordan*. He then invadeth *Juda*, and took *Gath*; but by gifts from *Joas*, he was averted from attempting *Jeruſalem*: for he preſented him with all the [p] *hallowed things which Jehoſaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Juda had dedicated, and which he himſelf had dedicated*; *and all the gold which was found in the treaſuries of the Lord, and in the king's houſe*. This was the ſecond time that the temple was ſpoiled, to pleaſe the *Adads*

[a] 2 Sam. 8. 3, 12. 1 Sam. 14. 47. [b] Plin. l. 6. c. 18. [c] 1 Kings 11. [d] 1 Kings 15. 18. [e] 1 Kings 20. 34. [f] 1 Kings 15. [g] 1 Kings 20. [h] 1 Kings 22. [i] 2 Kings 5. 2 Kings 6. [k] 2 Kings 6. [l] 2 Kings 7. [m] Amos 1. Jer. 49. [n] Ant. l. 8. c. 8. [o] 2 Kings 12. 17. [p] 2 Kings 12.

of *Damaſcus*: for [a]*Aſa* did preſent *Benhadad* with thoſe treaſures, when he invited him to war upon *Baaſha*, king of *Iſrael*. And notwithſtanding this compoſition between *Joas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his army ſpoiled the other provinces of *Judea*, and ſlaughtered many principal perſons. Laſtly, [b]*Azael* vexed *Joahas* the ſon of *Jehu*, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty horſemen, ten chariots, and ten thouſand footmen of all his people.

SECT. III.

Of the later kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

AFter *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the ſecond, or rather the third of that name, the ſon of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damaſcus*, who fought againſt *Iſrael* with ill ſucceſs: for [c]*Joas*, king of *Iſrael*, the ſon of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as as he was foretold by [d]*Eliſha* the prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three ſeveral battles; and he loſt all thoſe cities to *Iſrael*, which his father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*.

Afterwards this *Benhadad*, the ſon of *Hazael*, there ſucceed 3 others of the ſame name, of whom the ſtories are loſt; only *Nicholaus Damaſcenus*, cited by [e]*Joſephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of theſe king's times it was, that *Jeroboam* the 2d, the ſon of [f]*Joas*, recovered *Damaſcus* it ſelf, to *Judah*, ſaith the *Geneva*; but better in *Junius*, *utque recuperabat Damaſcum, & Camatham Jehudæ, pro Iſraele*; that is, And how he recovered for *Iſrael*, *Damaſcus*, and *Camatha* of *Judea*: for theſe cities, ſometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the tribe of *Juda*.

And it is likely that this conqueſt upon the *Adads* was performed; the firſt of theſe three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no ſtory. For when as *Jehoas* the king of the ten tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad*, the ſon of *Hazael*, and had recovered the cities which *Hazael* had won from *Iſrael*; and ſo left his kingdom to his ſon *Jeroboam* the 2d: it ſeemeth, that this *Jeroboam*, without delay, and having nothing elſe left for him to enterpriſe, inſtantly followed his father's good fortune, and invaded *Damaſcus*.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Joſephus Raſes*, after *Zonaras Raaſon* the 10th, *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*, or *Phacas*, king of *Iſrael*, againſt *Achaz*, king of *Juda*: both carry away a great number of priſoners. After this they both beſiege *Achaz* in *Jeruſalem*; but in vain. Then [g]*Adad* alone invadeth *Elath*; and beating out the Jews, maketh it a colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought [h]*Teglatphalaſſar* againſt *Razin*, who took him, and beheaded him, and won *Damaſcus*; with whom ended the line of the *Adads*, and the kingdom of *Damaſcus*; the *Aſſyrians* becoming maſters both of that and *Iſrael*. Theſe *Adads*, as they reigned in order, are thus reckoned:

1. *Adadezer*, the ſon of *Rehob*.
2. *Rezin*, the ſon of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3. *Hezion*.
4. *Tabremmon*.
5. *Benhadad*, who invaded *Baaſha*.
6. *Benhadad* the ſecond, taken priſoner by *Achab*.
7. *Hazael*, whom *Eliſha* foretold with tears, of his advancement; the ſame who overthrew *Joram*, king of *Iſrael*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a ſecond *Hazael*, which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, becauſe that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, and compounded the war with *Joas*, made the expedition thirty years, and perhaps more, after the firſt *Hazael*, which ſtifled his maſter *Benhadad*, and had ſlain *Joram* the ſon of *Achab*, king of *Iſrael*. For *Joas* began to reign in the ſeventh year of *Jehu*, king of *Iſrael*; and after he had reigned twenty three years, the temple was not yet repaired; after which (and how long we know not) it is ſaid, that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Jeruſalem*. It is alſo ſome proof, that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, was not the ſame with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, becauſe he could not at that time but be of good years, being, as it ſeemeth, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, and commander of *Benhadad*'s men of war. To this *Hazael*, be he the firſt or ſecond, ſucceeded,

8. *Benhadad* the 3d, whom *Joaſh*, king of *Iſrael*, thrice overthrew.

9. *Reſin*, or *Rezin* the laſt, who joined with *Pekah*, king of *Iſrael*, againſt *Juda*, at which time *Achaz*, king of *Juda*, waged for his defence *Teglatphalaſſar*.

Now between *Benhadad* the 3d, and *Rezin* the laſt, *Nicholaus Damaſcenus* finds 3 other kings of the *Adads*, which make 12 in all.

For the reſt of the princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as thoſe of [i]*Emath*, and *Geſſur*, we find that *Tohu* was king of *Emath*, or *Chamath* in *David*'s time, to whom he ſent his ſon *Joram* with preſents, after *David*'s victory againſt *Adadezer*. Alſo [k]*Sennacherib* ſpeaketh of a king of *Emath*, but nameth him not.

SECT. IV.

Of other leſſer kingdoms of the Syrians, *which being brought under the* Aſſyrians, *never recovered themſelves again.*

OF *Geſſur* we find two kings named, to wit, *Talmai*, and his father *Ammihur*. To *Talmai*, whoſe daughter *David* married, it was that *Abſalom* fled, who was his maternal grandfather. Of the kings of *Sophena*, or *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Cœleſyria*, there are two named, *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, the father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himſelf; and it is plain, that after his death, the ſeat of the kings of *Soba*, was transferred to *Damaſcus*, a city better fitting their greatneſs. After, *Rezin* became lord of both principalities. And the race of theſe kings of *Syria* (which became ſo potent, and joined *Soba*, *Damaſcus*, *Emath*, and the deſart of *Arabia*, with other provinces, into one, under *Rezin* the ſecond of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, ſo it ended at once with the kingdom of *Iſrael*. For *Ahaz* king of *Juda*, waged the *Aſſyrian Teglatphalaſſar* againſt *Pekah*, king of *Iſrael*, and againſt *Rezin*, the laſt king of *Damaſcus*; which *Teglath* firſt invaded *Damaſcena*, and the region of *Soba*, and took *Damaſcus* it ſelf; and did put to death *Rezin* the laſt, carrying the inhabitants captive. This was the ſecond time that the *Aſſyrians* attempted *Iſrael*: for firſt, *Phul Belochus* entered the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Iſrael*) who ſtop'd the enterprize of *Phul*, with a thouſand talents of ſilver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whoſe pedigree we will examine hereafter, being ſcarce warm as yet in his ſeat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had wreſted from *Sardanapalus*; having beſides this king of *Syria* in his way, who ſeemed to be a great and ſtrong

[a] 1 Kings 15. [b] 2 Kings 13. 7. [c] 2 Kings 13. [d] Joſeph. Ant. c. 9. [e] Joſeph. Ant. l. 7. c. 6. [f] 2 Kings 14. 28.
[g] 2 Kings 16. 5. [h] Iſai. 7. Joſeph. Ant. l. 9. c. 12. [i] 2 Sam. 8. 9. [k] Iſai. 37.

prince,

prince, was content to take the compoſition of a thouſand talents of the king of *Iſrael*, for that preſent time. But his ſon *Teglath*, following the purpoſe of his father *Belochus*, and finding ſo excellent an occaſion, as the war begun between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being alſo wrapt in that war, and waſted in ſtrength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* king of *Judah*, his impreſt and entertainment. So, firſt attempting *Damaſcus*, which lay in his path towards *Iſrael*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great eaſe poſſeſs'd himſelf of the cities of *Nephthalim*, leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his ſon *Salmanaſſar*, whom *Ptolemy* calleth *Nabonaſſar*, after the revolt of *Hoſea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that kingdom aſunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* ſupplanted; the race and monarchy of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* ſlaughtered, the kingdom of *Iſrael* in *Hoſea*, whom *Salmanaſſar* overturned, happened near about a time; that of *Ninus*, in the days of *Belochus*, and the other two in the days of *Teglatphalaſſar*, and *Salmanaſſar* his ſon. For *Sardanapalus* periſhed, *Oſia* ruling *Judah*; and the other two kingdoms were diſſolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Laſtly, The kingdom of *Judah* itſelf being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the ſon of *Salmanaſſar*, in vain, and preſerved for the time by God, miraculouſly, was at length utterly overturned. *Jeruſalem* and the temple burnt, an hundred thirty-two years after the captivity of *Iſrael* and *Samaria*; the deſtruction of *Iſrael* being in the ninth year of *Hoſea*; that of *Judah* in the 11th of *Zedekiah*. Now the emperors of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, held alſo the kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanaſſar*, to the laſt of *Baltaſſar*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*; in all about two hundred years. After theſe, the *Perſians*, from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their laſt king, held *Syria* about two hundred years.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other provinces of the *Perſian* empire; and his ſucceſſors the *Seleucidæ* reigned therein, till it became ſubject to the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wreſted long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering upon the *Iſraelites*, with whom they had moſt to do, both in war and peace, being the only people, whoſe hiſtory in thoſe antient times carried an aſſured face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the tribe of Benjamin, *and of* Jeruſalem.

SECT. I.

Of divers memorable places in the tribe of Benjamin, *whereof* Jericho, Gilgal, Mitſpah, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, *and* Gibha.

OF the tribe of *Benjamin*, the twelfth and youngeſt ſon of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were muſtered at mount *Sinai*, 35000 able bodies; all which periſhing in the deſarts, there entered the *Holy Land* of their iſſues, 45600 fit to bear arms: and theſe had their territory on this ſide *Jordan*, between *Judah* and *Ephraim*. The cities within this tribe, neareſt *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*; of which *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed*, a *Benjamite*, 1 *Chron.* viii. 12. they were all three re-inhabited with *Benjamites*, after the return out of captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* xi. 35. and *Eſdras* ii. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes beſides *Hadid* in *Nehemiah*, a city called *Lodhadid*. This *Hadid*, or *Chadid*, was rebuilt by *Simon Maccabeus*, 1 *Mac.* xii. 38.

Samarim, or *Tſemaraim*, named of *Tſemary*, one of the ſons of *Canaan*, was another of their cities; and further into the land ſtandeth *Jericho*, one of the toparchies, and the laſt of *Judah*; ſeated in a moſt fruitful valley, adorned with many palm-trees, and therefore elſewhere called the city of *Palms*, 1 *Kings* xvii. 36. From the time of [a] *Joſhua*, who utterly deſtroyed it, it lay waſte until the time of *Achab*; in whoſe days *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it in the loſs of *Abiram* his eldeſt ſon, and built the gates of it in the loſs of his youngeſt ſon *Segub*, according to the curſe of *Joſhua*; in which, and other reſpects, *Hoſea* xii. 14. calleth *Joſhua* a prophet. In after-times it was deſtroyed by *Veſpaſian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the ſouth-eaſt of *Jericho*, ſtood [b] *Halmon* of the *Levites*, of which *Joſh.* xxi. 18. to the ſouth, *Bethabara*, of which *Joſh.* xv. and xviii. then that *Gilgal*, of which there is ſo much mention in the ſcripture, where *Joſhua* firſt eat of the fruits of the land; circumciſed all thoſe born in the deſarts, and celebrated the paſſover.

The reaſon of the name, or rather a memorable application of the etymology of this name (for it ſeems by the place, *Deut.* xi. 30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Joſh.* v. 9. *Ob devolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, becauſe their foreskins (the people being there circumciſed) were tumbled down the hill; which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was alſo called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Joſh.* xv. 7. and xviii. 17. For it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Joſh.* xxii. 13. and *Geliloth* ſignifieth borders. It ſtood (tho' in ſome diſtance) directly eaſtward, over-againſt the two hills *Garzim* and *Hebal*, *Deut.* xi. 29. upon the one of which, the bleſſings, and on the other the curſings were to be read to the people, both being the mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the ſituation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it and *Mitſpah* of *Benjamin* (of which alſo we read oft in the ſcripture) were ſeated about the midſt of the length of the land of *Canaan*; for which reaſon [c] *Samuel* choſe theſe two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgment to the *Iſraelites*; of which two *Gilgal* (as is ſaid) was near *Jordan* on the eaſt-ſide of this tribe, and *Mitſpa* near the weſt ſea, towards the land of the *Philiſtines*.

The third place which is named with theſe two, whither alſo *Samuel* uſed yearly to come, is [d] *Bethel*; which alſo was ſeated in this tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal* which was the firſt place, where the ark reſided, after they paſs'd over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kirjath-jeharim*, and at length to *Jeruſalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Joſhua* pitched up the twelve ſtones which were taken out of the

[a] Joſh. 6. 29. [b] 1 Chron. 6. 60. *This* Halmon *is called* Halemeth, *whence they make a new city* Almath, *as if this tribe had given five cities to the* Levites. [c] 1 Sam. 7. 15. [d] Junius *in this place for* Bethel, *reads* Domum Dei fortis, *and interprets it* Kirjath-jehaarim, *where the ark abode: For, ſaith he, by the law*, Exod. 23. 17. *the greateſt meetings in their annual feaſts, were to be where the ark was; but this place doth not ſpeak of feſtival, but of judicial meetings: and beſides, the prieſts did uſe to bring the ark to their great meetings, whereſoever they were, as appears* 1 Sam. 12. 11. *and* c. 14. 18. *neither is it eaſy to expound* Bethel, *otherwiſe than for the city* Bethel, *tho'* Junius *alſo takes it for the place where the ark was*, 1 Sam. 10. 3.

channel

channel of *Jordan* when it was dry, that the *Iſraelites* might paſs over it; by which ſtory, as it is ſet down *Joſh.* iv. it appears, that the ſame day that they paſſed over *Jordan* they lodged at *Gilgal.* At the ſame *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the king of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitſpah*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to give judgment, there alſo were often the greateſt meetings held, as that for the revenge of the *Levite*'s wife againſt *Gibha*, and the *Benjamites*, *Judg.* xxi. 1. and another againſt the *Philiſtines*, 1 *Sam.* vii. 12. Thither alſo *Judas Maccabeus* gathered the *Jews* (when *Jeruſalem* was poſſeſs'd by the heathen) as it is 1 *Mac.* iii. 47. in which place this reaſon of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitſpæ antea Iſraeli.* Touching this *Mitſpa*, to avoid confuſion, it is to be remembred, that the ſcriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitſpa* of *Judah*, of which *Joſh.* xv. 38. [a] *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which we have ſpoken already in the tribe of *Gad*: *Mitſpa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himſelf, commending his parents to the king of *Moab*, 1 *Sam.* xxii. 3. and laſtly, this chief *Mitſpa* of the *Benjamites.* And as in this place the chief meetings were held, both before *Jeruſalem* was recovered from the *Jebuſites*, and alſo in the time of the *Maccabees*, as we have ſaid, when *Jeruſalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, ſo alſo in the time of *Jeremy*, after the deſtruction of the temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah*, whom *Nabuchodonoſor* left in *Jewry*, as governour over thoſe that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place; until (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was ſlain by the treaſon of *Iſhmael*, one of the royal blood of *Judah*, as it is *Jeremiah* xli.

Near unto this *Mitſpa*, the ſcripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, 1 *Sam.* vii. 11. after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the ſtone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the pillar or ſtone, for a trophy againſt the *Philiſtines.*

Touching *Bethel*, which, as it ſeems, was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the miniſtring of juſtice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the iſſue of *Joſeph* (tho' it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehemiah* xi. 31. and *Joſhua* xviii. 22.) and how another city called *Luz*, *Joſh.* xvi. 2. near adjoining to it, was built by the man of the city, which ſhewed the entrance to the ſpies, as it is *Judges* i. and of the occaſion of the name from *Jacob*'s viſion; and how *Jeroboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which ſignifieth the houſe of God) made it [b] *Beth-aven*, that is, the houſe of vanity, *Hoſea* iv. 15. and x. 5. as alſo other memorable things of this place; they are ſo well known out of the hiſtories of the ſcripture, that we may well paſs them over.

The territory of *Bethel*, which at the firſt belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* againſt *Jeroboam* (of which 2 *Chron.* xiii.) was taken from them, and adjoined to the kingdom of *Judah*; and ſo it continued, as appears by the ſtory of *Joſiah*, which performed the prophecies againſt the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Kings* xxiii. whence thoſe coaſts, 1 *Mac.* xi. 34. are called *Aphærema*, which *Greek* word ſignifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories*, or *Prefectures* which *Demetrius*, in his epiſtle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan* country. A part of it, as appears 2 *Chron.* xiii. 19. was *Hephravin*, which *Joſh.* xviii. 23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this tribe of *Benjamin.*

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this tribe, we find three other cities often mentioned in the ſcriptures, *Rama*, *Gibha*, and *Gebah.* Of the name *Rama*, [c] it is noted already in the deſcription of *Ephraim*, that there were many towns ſo high called, becauſe of their high ſituation: but whereas they find out *Rama* in the tribe of *Judah* (as it ſeems, becauſe *Matthew* ii. it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and alſo out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*, make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; theſe three have no warrant in the ſcripture. Of *Rama*, in the tribe of *Aſher*, as it ſeems, we have teſtimony, *Joſh.* xix. 29. and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Joſh.* xix. 36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in mount *Ephraim*, 1 *Sam.* xxv. 1. which more often is called [d] *Ramatha*, and 1 *Sam.* i. 1. *Ramathaim Tſophim*; for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathaimſophim*, taking the article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, *Matth.* xxvii. 57. was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama*, we read 2 *Kings* viii. 29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead.* The firſt, which is moſt often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, ſeated, as we ſaid, near *Bethel*, the uttermoſt ſouth border of the kingdom of the ten tribes; for which cauſe *Baaſha*, in the time of *Aſa*, king of *Judah* fortified it, to hinder thoſe that did fly from him to *Aſa.* Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I ſhould rather think *Joſeph* was, that buried Chriſt, becauſe it was nearer to *Jeruſalem*, and after the captivity belonged to *Judah*, as it appears, *Eſd.* ii. 26. wherein that it is joined with *Gebah*, it is plain, that he ſpeaketh of that *Rama*, with whoſe ſtones (after *Baaſha* had ceaſed to build it) *Aſa* (as it is 1 *Kings* xxv. 22.) built *Gebah* adjoining to it, both being in *Benjamin.* And as *Rama* was the ſouth border of the ten tribes, ſo was *Gebah* the north border of the kingdom of *Judah*; whence 2 *Kings* xxiii. 8. we read, that *Joſiah*, thro' all his kingdom, even from *Gebah*, which was the north border to *Beerſheba*, which was the ſouth border, deſtroyed the places of idolatry.

The third city *Gibha*, which was the city of *Saul* (the wickedneſs of which city, in the time of the judges, had almoſt utterly rooted out this tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently diſtinguiſhed, *Iſaiah* x. 27.) of which word [e] *Gibha*, in another form *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibaath*, another city in this tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this city alſo to *Rama* of *Benjamin*, appears, *Judg.* xix. 13. where the *Levite* with his wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibha.* By that place of 1 *Sam.* xxii. 6. it ſeems, that there was in this *Gibha* ſome tower or citadel, called *Rama*, where *Junius* reads, *in excelſo*, for *in Rama*:

[a] *It was no other than this* Mitſpa *of* Gilead, *of which* Joſh. 11. 8. *as appears by that which is added,* verſus orientem: *for* Joſhua *notes the three quarters, north, weſt, and eaſt, to which he followed the* Canaanites; *tho'* Adrichomius, *and others, out of this place, imagine a* Mitipa, *or* Miſpha (*as they write it*) *in the tribe of* Aſher. [b] *Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the kingdoms of* Judah *and* Iſrael, *between* Hai *and* Bethel, Joſh. 7. 2. *and* 18. 12. [c] *See* c. 9. ſect. 1. [d] *Of this* Ramatha, *I underſtand the place* 1 Mac. 11. 34. *where it is named for one of the three prefectures, which* Demetrius *yields to the* Jews *out of the country of* Samaria; *this lying toward the eaſt to* Jericho, *and* Lydda *toward the weſt; and* Aphærema (*of which even now we ſpake*) *lying in the midſt, between the two other. A ſixth* Rama *it ſeems there was in the tribe of* Simeon, *toward the ſouth, and which* Joſh. 19. 7, 8. *called* Ramah *of the ſouth, and otherwiſe* Bahalath-beer. [e] Gibha *in conſtruction, that is, governing a genitive caſe, is* Gibhath, *whence the* Vulgar *out of the* Septuagint *read* Joſh. 24. 33. Gabaath Phinees; *for which* Junius *hath* Collis Phineaſi *(for this word is oft-times an appellative, ſignifying a hill) but* Adrichomius *taking notice of this, builds his city* Gabaath *upon this text, and placeth it in* Benjamin, *when as the words adjoined note that this hill was in the mountains of* Ephraim.

but

but it may be, that the name of the king's palace in this city was *Rama*, as it ſeems, that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the college of *prophets* abode, was *Naioth*. The great city of *Hai*, overthrown by *Joſhua*, which *Joſh.* vii. 2. is placed near *Beth-aven*, upon the eaſt of *Bethel*, was in this tribe, as is proved, *Nehemiah* vii. x. xxx. tho' it be not named by *Joſhua* xviii. for it was burned by him, and laid deſolate, as it is, *Joſh.* viii. 28. *In ſolitudinem in tumulum perpetuum.* Another city of chief note, reckoned *Joſh.* xviii. 25. in this tribe, was *Gibbon*, the chief city of the *Hivites*, whoſe cunning, to bind the *Iſraelites* by oath to ſave their lives, is ſet down, *Joſh.* ix. whence they were reckoned among the [a]*Nethinæi*, or proſelytes, and were bound to certain publick ſervices in the houſe of God; which oath of ſaving theſe *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God puniſhed by a famine, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1. This *Gibeon*, or *Gibbon*, which *Almon* and *Jebah* (of both which we have ſpoken) and with *Hanothoth*, the native place of *Jeremiah* the prophet, were ſaid, *Joſh.* xxi. 28. to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites*. Near to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears 1 *Kings* ii. 26. where *Abiathar* the prieſt, which was of *Nob*, before it was deſtroyed by *Saul*, is ſent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*. It is reckoned in the tribe of *Benjamin*, *Nehemiah* ix. 31. and tho' in the time of *Saul*, the reſiding place of the ark was in *Kirjath-jearim*, yet by the the lamentable tragedy of bloodſhed, which *Saul* raiſed in this place (as it is ſet down, 1 *Sam.* xxi. and xxii.) in the judgment of *Junius*, it is proved, that the tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas alſo in this tribe, *Nehemiah* ix. 31. was a place of fame, of which *Iſaiah* x. 28. where alſo he nameth *Gallim* and *Migrom* in this tribe. In *Micmas*, *Saul* had his camp, 1 *Sam.* xiii. 2. (when he left *Gibba* to *Jonathan*) and there alſo was *Jonathan Maccabeus*'s abode, 1 *Mac.* ix. 73. Of *Giſcala* in *Galilee*, *Joſephus* often maketh mention; but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the native place of St. *Paul*, whence, they ſay, when it was taken by the *Romans*, he ſailed with his parents to *Tharſis*: Of this I find no good warrant. Other places of leſs importance I omit, and come to the city of *Jeruſalem*, and the princes and governours of this city; a great part whereof was in the tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Joſh.* xviii. 28. it is named among the cities of *Benjamin*.

SECT. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Jeruſalem.

AT what time *Jeruſalem* was built (which afterwards became the princeſs of all cities) it doth not appear. Some there are, who imagine, that *Melchiſedec* was the founder thereof in *Abraham*'s time. But [b] according to others, that city out of which *Melchiſedec* encountred *Abraham* (in his return from the overthrow of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* kings or captains, when *Lot* was made priſoner) ſtandeth by the river of *Jordan*, in the half tribe of *Manaſſeh*, bordering *Zabulon*, which was alſo called *Salem*, and by the *Greeks*, *Solima*.

Jeruſalem (whenſoever, or by whom built) was a principal city in *Joſhua*'s time; yet not ſo renowned as *Hazor* the metropolis (in thoſe days and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek*, whom *Joſhua* ſlew, was then king of *Jeruſalem*. That it was belonging to the *Jebuſites* it is manifeſt: for how long ſoever they held it before *Moſes*'s time, they were maſters and lords thereof almoſt four hundred years after him, even till *David* won it; and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebuſæi* (the children of *Jebuſæus*, the ſon of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called [c] *Jebus*. And ſo much did that nation rely on the ſtrength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragg'd, that their lame, and blind, and impotent people ſhould defend it.

David, after he had, by God's aſſiſtance, poſſeſs'd it, and turned out the *Jebuſites*, gave it an exceeding great increaſe of circuit; ſtrengthned it with a citadel or caſtle, and beautified it with many palaces, and other buildings; changing the name from *Jebuſſalem*, the city of the *Jebuſites*, to *Jeruſalem*, which the *Greeks* call *Hieroſolyma*. After *David*'s time, [d] *Solomon* amplified, beautified, and ſtrengthened it exeeedingly: for, beſides the work of the temple, which was no leſs admirable than renowned among all nations; the palaces, gates and walls, could not any where in the world be exampled: and beſides that, it had an hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had ſixty foot of depth, cut out of the very rock, and two hundred fifty foot of breadth, whereof the like hath ſeldom been heard of either ſince or before.

After the death of *Solomon*, and that the kingdom of the *Jews* was cut aſunder, [e] *Shiſhac* king of *Egypt*, and his predeceſſor, having bred up for that purpoſe *Adad* the *Idumean*, and *Jeroboam*, *Solomon*'s ſervant; and both married to *Egyptians*; the ſtate by the one diſturbed, by the other broken, [f] *Shiſhac* firſt invaded the territory of *Judah*, entred *Jeruſalem* and ſack'd it; and became maſter, not only of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all thoſe ſpoils which *David* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Tohu*, the *Ammonites* and other nations. It was again ſack'd, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Joas* king of *Iſrael*, while [g] *Amaziah* the twelfth king thereof governed *Judah*.

Not long after, *Achaz*, the 15th king of *Juda*, impoveriſhed the temple, and preſented *Teglatphalaſſar* with the treaſures thereof. And [h] *Manaſſeh* the ſon of *Ezekiah*, the ſon of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah* to the ambaſſadors of *Merodach*, loſt the remain, and the very bottom of their treaſures. It was again ſpoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Joakim* then reigning. But this ungrateful, idolatrous, and rebellious nation, taking no warning by theſe God's gentle corrections and afflictions, but perſiſting in all kind of impiety, filling the city even to the mouth with innocent blood, God raiſed up that great [i] *Babylonian* king, *Nabuchodonoſor*, as his ſcourge and revenger, who making this glorious city and temple, with all the palaces therein, and the walls and towers which embraced them, even and level with the duſt, carried away the ſpoils with the princes and people, and cruſh'd them with the heavy yoke of bondage and ſervitude full ſeventy years; inſomuch, as *Zion* was not only become as a torn and plowed up field, *Jeruſalem* a heap of ſtone and rubble, the mountain of the temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars; but (as [k] *Jerome* ſpeaketh) even the birds of the air ſcorned to fly over it, or the beaſts to tread on that defiled ſoil.

[a] *The word* Nethinim *or* Nethinæi, *is as much as* dati (*as it were* à Deo dati) *or as* Junius *expounds it*, deditii, *is uſed*, 1 Chron. 9. 2. *and in* Eſdras *and* Nehemiah *often*. [b] *See in the hither half of* Manaſſeh. [c] 2 Sam. 5. 6. [d] Joſ. cont. App. l. 1, Strabo, Geog. l. 16. [e] 2 Chron. 12. [f] 2 Kings 14. [g] 2 Kings 16. [h] 1 Chron. 5. 16. 2 Kings 25. [i] 2 Kings 19. 2 Par. 18. [k] Mich. 3. Hier. 25. 26. 29.

Then ſeventy years being expired, according to the prophecy of [a] *Daniel*, and the *Jews*, by the grace of *Cyrus*, returned, the temple was again built, tho' with interruption and difficulty enough, and the city meanly inhabited, and without walls, or other defences, for ſome ſixty and odd years, till [b] *Nehemiah*, by the favour of *Artaxerxes*, rebuilt them. Then again was the temple and city ſpoiled by *Bagoſes*, or *Vagoſes*, lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*; after, by [c] *Ptolomeus* I; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; and again by *Apollonius* his lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not deſtroyed, nor robbed; tho' *Craſſus*, in his *Parthian* expedition, took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* ſpared.

But the damages which it ſuſtained by the violence of ſacrilegious tyrants, were commonly recompenſed by the induſtry or bounty of good princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of ſtrangers. Before the captivity, the people of the land, thro' the exhortation of godly kings, made many and large offerings to repair the temple of *Solomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the ſecond temple, was requited by the bounty of his ſon *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The miſchief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were ſent to *Jeruſalem* out of other nations. Finally, all the loſſes, which either the city or temple had endured, might well ſeem forgotten in the reign of [d] *Herod*, that uſurping and wicked, but magnificent king, who amplified the city, new built the temple, and with many ſumptuous works, did ſo adorn them, that he left them far more ſtately and glorious, than they had been in the days of *Solomon*.

SECT. III.

Of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, *by the* Romans.

IN this flouriſhing eſtate, it was, at the coming of our Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus*; and after his death and aſcenſion it ſo continued about forty years: but then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being ſtirred up by God to be the revenger of Chriſt's death, and to puniſh the *Jews* ſinful ingratitude, encompaſs it with the *Roman* army, and became lord thereof. He began the ſiege at ſuch time as the *Jews*, from all parts, were come up to the celebration of the paſſover; ſo as the city was then filled with many hundred thouſands of all ſorts, and no manner of proviſion or ſtore for any ſuch multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civil diſſenſion, oppreſs'd them within the walls; a forcible enemy aſſailed them without. The *Idumeans* alſo, who lay in wait for the deſtruction of the *Jews* kingdom, thruſt themſelves into the city, on purpoſe to betray it, who alſo burnt the temple, when *Nabuchodonoſor* took it. And to be ſhort, there periſhed of all ſorts, from the firſt beſieging, to the conſummation of the victory, [e] eleven hundred thouſand ſouls; and the city was ſo beaten down, and demoliſhed, as thoſe which came afterwards to ſee the deſolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any ſuch place or habitation: only the three *Herodian* towers (works moſt magnificent, and overtopping the reſt) were ſpared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* gariſons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by thoſe buildings of ſtrength and ſtate remaining, after-ages might judge what the reſt were; and their honour be the greater and more ſhining that there-over became victorious.

After this, ſuch *Jews* as were ſcattered here and there in *Judæa*, and other provinces, began again to inhabit ſome part of the city; and by degrees to rebuild it, and to ſtrengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* ſtate; but after ſixty-five years, when they again offered to revolt, and rebel, *Ælius Adrianus* the emperor, ſlaughtered many thouſands of them, and overturned thoſe three *Herodian* towers, with all the reſt, making it good which Chriſt himſelf had foretold; *That there ſhould not ſtand one ſtone upon another*, of that ungrateful city. Afterwards, when his fury was appeaſed, and the prophecy accompliſhed, he took one part without the wall, wherein ſtood *Mount Calvary*, and the ſepulchre of Chriſt, and excluding of the reſt the greateſt portion, he again made it a city of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he cauſed a ſow to be cut in marble, and ſet in the front thereof, which he did in deſpight of the *Jews* nation; making an edict, that they ſhould not from thenceforth ever enter into the city, neither ſhould they dare ſo much as to behold it from any other high place overtopping it.

But the Chriſtian religion flouriſhing in [f] *Paleſtina*, it was inhabited at length by all nations, and eſpecially by Chriſtians; and ſo it continued five hundred years.

It was afterwards in the 636th year after Chriſt, taken by the [g] *Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400 and odd years.

In the year 1099, it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, by aſſault, with an exceeding ſlaughter of the *Saracens*, which [h] *Godfrey*, when he was elected king thereof, refuſed to be crowned with a crown of gold, becauſe Chriſt, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the ſucceſſors of *Godfrey* eighty eight years: till in the year 1197, it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and laſtly, in the year 1517, in the time of *Selim*, the *Turks* caſt out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarec*, or the Holy city. Neither was it *Jeruſalem* alone, that hath ſo oftentimes been beaten down and made deſolate, but all the great ages of the world have with their inhabitants, in ſeveral times and ages, ſuffered the ſame ſhipwreck. And it hath been God's juſt will, to the end others might take warning, if they would; not only to puniſh the impiety of men, by famine, by the ſword, by fire, and by ſlavery; but he hath revenged himſelf of the very places they poſſeſs'd; of the walls and building; yea, of the ſoil, and the beaſts that fed thereon.

For, even that land, ſometime called holy, hath in effect loſt all her fertility, and fruitfulneſs; witneſs the many hundreds of thouſands, which it fed in the days of the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding ſtony and barren. It alſo pleaſed God, not only to conſume with fire from heaven, the cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very ſoil itſelf hath felt, and doth feel, the hand of God to this day. God would not ſpare the beaſts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any ſmall number of them, to be ſacrificed to himſelf; neither was it enough that *Achan* himſelf was ſtoned, but that his moveables were alſo conſumed and brought to aſhes.

[a] Hier. *to* 3. trad. Heb. [b] Nehem. 12. 34, &c. [c] *The firſt of the* Egyptian *kings after* Alexander Macedon, *who diſſembling his religion, came up to* Jeruſalem *to offer ſacrifice.* Joſeph. 12. Ant. 1. [d] *M. T. C. pro Scylla.* [e] Ed. 1. c. 4. 45. [f] Gul. Tyr. bell. ſac. l. 14. c. 12. [g] Onuph. Chron. [h] Gul. Tyr. l. 8. c. 5. 18, 19, &c.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of heathen writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the Jews, prophane writers have conceived diverſly and injuriouſly. *Quintilian* ſpeaks infamouſly of them, and of their leader; who (ſaith he) gathered together a pernicious nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm, that while *Iſis* governed *Egypt*, the people were ſo increaſed, as *Jeroſolymus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that nation, with whom they planted the neighbour regions; which might be meant by *Moſes* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moſes* was accidental, becauſe he was taken up and ſaved out of the waters. But [a] *Juſtin*, of all others moſt malicious, doth derive the Jews from the *Syrian* kings; of whom *Damaſcus*, ſaith he, was the firſt; and to him ſucceeded *Abraham*, *Moſes*, and *Iſrael*. He again ſuppoſeth (ſomewhat contrary to himſelf) that *Iſrael* had 10 ſons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; ſo called of *Judas* his eldeſt, who had the greateſt portion. The youngeſt of the ſons of *Iſrael* he calleth *Joſeph*; who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in magical arts, and in the interpretations of dreams, and ſigns prodigious, and this *Joſeph*, ſaith he, was father to *Moſes*: who with the reſt, by reaſon of their foul diſeaſes, and leſt they ſhould infect others, were baniſhed *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how theſe men thus baniſhed, when in the deſarts they ſuffered extream thirſt and famine, and therein found relief the 7th day, for this cauſe ever after obſerved the 7th day, and kept it holy; making it a law among themſelves, which afterwards became a branch of their religion. He addeth alſo, that they might not marry out of their own tribes, leſt diſcovering their uncleanneſs, they might alſo be expelled by other nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. Theſe and ſuch like fables hath *Juſtin*.

Cornelius Tacitus, doth as groſsly belie them in affirming, that in the inmoſt oratory of their temple, they had the golden head of an aſs, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himſelf, having in the 5th book of his own hiſtory truly confeſſed of the Jews, that they worſhipped one only God: and thought it moſt prophane to repreſent the Deity by any material figure, by the ſhape of a man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their temples, no image or repreſentation, no not ſo much as in any city by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, in *Stephanus*; who alſo makes *Judas* with *Idumea*, the firſt parents of the Jews.

[b] *Claudius Iolaus* draws them from *Judeus*, whoſe parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans* or *Lacedemonians*, challenged kindred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as deſcended of *Abraham*, ſaith *Joſephus*. Some of theſe reports ſeem to have been gathered out of divine letters; tho' wreſted and perverted according to the cuſtom of the heathen. For ſo they obſcured and altered the ſtory of the creation, of paradiſe, of the flood; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the firſt age; to *Noah* and his ſons, in the ſecond; and ſo to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moſes*, and the reſt of the fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrews*; all which feignings, as touching the Jews and their originals, *Joſephus* againſt *Appion*, and [c] *Tertullian* have ſufficiently anſwered. For that the *Hebrews* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and ſo *Chaldeans* originally taking name either of *Heber*, the ſon of *Sale*, or elſe, ſaith *Montanus*, of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the *Greek* grammarian, derive the *Hebrews* or Jews, from [d] *Arabon*; having miſtaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the ſon of *Heber*, in the 6th deſcent. Their ancient names were firſt changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*; for after *Jacob*, otherwiſe *Iſrael*, the chief part were called *Iſrael*, another part after *Eſau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being moſt of the tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the ſon of *Jacob*, and became *Judeans* or Jews; as alſo for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the ſon of *Joſeph*, the chief of the patriarchs of the ten tribes; the reſt of the ten tribes were comprehended, but were firſt rooted out when the kingdom of *Iſrael* fell. The *Judeans* continued their names, though they ſuffered the ſame ſervitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonoſor*.

The government which this nation underwent, was firſt paternal: which continued till they ſerved the *Egyptians*. They were ſecondly ruled by their captains and leaders, *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, by a policy divine. Thirdly, they ſubjected themſelves to judges. Fourthly, they deſired a king, and had *Saul* for the firſt: of whom and his ſucceſſors, before we intreat, we are firſt to ſpeak of their government under judges, after the death of *Joſhua*; with ſomewhat of the things of fame in other nations about theſe times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the world, from the death of Joſhua, *to the war of* Troy; *which was about the time of* Jephtha.

SECT. I.

Of the Inter-regnum *after* Joſhua's *death: and of* Othoniel.

WHEN *Joſhua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70 elders, and the high prieſt, held authority over the people, and ordered that common-wealth: it pleaſed God to direct the tribe of *Juda* (in whom the kingdom was afterwards eſtabliſhed) to undertake the war againſt the *Canaanites*, over whom (with God's favour, and the aſſiſtance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the firſt attempt which they made, they not only ſlew 10000, but made *Adonibezek* priſoner; the greateſt and cruelleſt commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*. This tyrant's cruelty, as elſewhere hath been ſignified, they returned in the ſame kind upon his own head: and ſo by the torments which he now felt in his own perſon (before no otherwiſe known unto him, but by his malicious imagination) made him confeſs and acknowledge God's juſt judgment againſt himſelf.

The tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did alſo maſter and poſſeſs, during this *Inter-regnum* (or, as ſome think, before the death of *Joſhua*) the cities of *Azotus*, *Askalon*, *Ekron*, and *Jeruſalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebuſites* afterwards re-edified. They took alſo the cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriath-ſepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And altho' it be not ſet down in expreſs words, that any

[a] Juſtin. l. 36. [b] *Cited by* Stephanus *in* Judea. [c] Tert. in Apol. [d] Caleb. f. 63.

one

one perſon commanded in chief over the people, as *Moſes* and *Joſhua* did; yet it ſeemeth that *Caleb* was of greateſt authority amongſt them, and that he with the advice of *Phinees* directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a chief, the good ſucceſs which followed their undertakings witneſſeth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Joſhua* governed, as appears *Joſh.* x. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the reſt of the captains; for the performance of which enterprize, he promiſed his daughter *Achaſah:* which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conqueſt: whoſe behaviour in that ſervice was ſuch, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greateſt reputation among them, and it may be eſteemed the ſecond cauſe of his preferment and election for their firſt *Judge* ſoon after. But while thoſe of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they only recovered the mountainous countries (for they could not drive out the inhabitants of the vallies, [a] *becauſe they had chariots of iron.*) The reſt of the tribes ſought alſo to enlarge and eſtabliſh their own territories; in which war they laboured with variable ſucceſs; for as the houſe of *Joſeph* recovered [b] *Bethel* or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, ſo did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain countries; and forc'd them to ſave themſelves in the mountains. And now the *Iſraelites* unmindful of God's benefits, and how often he had miraculouſly afore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the elders being alſo conſumed, who better adviſed them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only join themſelves in marriage with the heathen nations; but (that which was more deteſtable) they ſerved the idols of *Baal*, and *Aſteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the *Lord God* whom they had provoked with their idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Meſopotamia*; whom *Chuſhan Riſhathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the ſmart of God's diſpleaſure againſt them 8 years, it pleaſed him to have compaſſion on his people, and to raiſe up [c] *Othoniel* to be their judge and leader; who by God aſſiſted, delivered his brethren from oppreſſion, and inforc'd the *Aramites* to return into their own deſarts, and into *Meſopotamia* adjoining; after which the *Iſraelites* had peace 40 years, during all the time of *Othoniel*'s government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Toſtatus* to have been the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the book of *Judges* he is twice called *Othoniel* the ſon of *Cenaz*, *Caleb*'s younger brother. Others do rather interpret thoſe words (*Caleb*'s younger brother) as if they ſignified the meaneſt of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely, that *Caleb*'s daughter ſhould marry with her own uncle; yet it follows not therefore, that *Othoniel* ſhould have been the meaneſt of the kindred. Wherefore we may better think, that he was the nephew of *Caleb* (as ſome learned men expound it) and as the very words of ſcripture ſeem to inforce. For *Caleb* was the ſon of *Jephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the ſon of *Cenaz*, *Caleb*'s younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brother's ſon; to whom it was not only lawful, but commendable, to marry with his couſin german *Caleb*'s daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Joſhua*, to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found; but it ſeems to have been no ſhort time: for many wars were made in that ſpace againſt the people of the land. *Laiſh* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the beſt writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Joſhua* and *Othoniel*, that civil war broke out between the *Benjamites* and the reſt of *Iſrael*, for the forcing to death of the *Levite*'s wife. For it is written, that in thoſe days there was no king in *Iſrael*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes. And as [d] *Juda* led the people againſt the *Canaanites*, during the *Inter-regnum*, ſo was he commanded to do againſt *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whoſe direction they craved, as wanting a judge to appoint what ſhould be done, which ſheweth it to have been when *Joſhua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*; eſpecially, conſidering, that all other times wherein they wanted governours, were ſpent under ſuch oppreſſion of ſtrangers, as would have given them no leave to have attended ſuch a civil war; if their power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this action, wherein they ſo weakned the body of their eſtate, by effuſion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field ſuch numbers, as formerly they had muſtered againſt their bordering enemies.

SECT. II.

Of the memorable things of this age, of other nations; and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

THere lived in this age of *Othoniel*, *Pandion*, or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the 5th king of *Athens*; who began to rule in the 20th year of *Othoniel*, and governed 40 years. He was father to *Erictheus:* his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, ſo greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus alſo about this time obtained *Thebes*; of whoſe daughter *Semele* was born, *Dionyſius* or *Liber Pater*; under whom *Linus* the muſician lived. In his time alſo the cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharſus* were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flouriſhed in this age, who are ſaid to have found out the uſe of iron: but *Geneſis* hath taught us the contrary, and that [e] *Tubal-Cain* wrought cunningly both in iron and braſs. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* governed *Thebes*; whom divers chronologers find in *Ehud*'s time. But St. *Auguſtine* making a repetition of theſe fables, which were deviſed among the *Grecians*, and other nations, during the government of the judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whoſe parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives*, upon the 13th chapter of St. *Auguſtine de Civitate Dei*, and the 18th book, hath gathered all the opinions of this man's progeny, where he that deſires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Euſebius* make him native of *Attica*, and the ſon of *Eleuſius* king of *Eleuſina:* which *Eleuſius*, by careful induſtry, had fed the people of that territory, in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occaſion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by ſea in a kind of galley or long boat, which carried in her prow an engraven or carved ſerpent; who becauſe he made exceeding great ſpeed to return, and to relieve his people with corn, from ſome neighbour nation; it was feigned by the poets, that his coach was carried by ſerpents through the air.

Whether the times of theſe kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him with the reſt of the judges, and kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, be preciſely ſet down, I cannot avow; for the chronologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which,

[a] Judg. 1. 19. [b] Judg. 1. 25. Judg. 1. 32. [c] Judg. 3. 10. [d] Judg. 17, 18, *and* 19. [e] Gen. 4. 22. *Whence came the name of* Vulcan *by* Aphæreſis *of the two firſt letters.*

would

would require the whole time of a long life; and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I err with others of better judgment. For whether *Eusebius*, and all that follow him, or his opposites (who made themselves so conversant with these ancient kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off, and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the authors themselves, from whom the ancientest chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture: secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder days, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any man's understanding, save his own, but that he is greatly distracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the reigns of heathen kings and princes; but even in the computation of those times, which the indisputable authority of holy scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abraham*'s birth; and after in the times of the judges, and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression, to the building of *Solomon*'s temple, in the *Persian* empire, the 70 weeks; and in what not? Whereseever the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have sought by so many ways to uncover the sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condens'd than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in these computations; and therefore that such and such kings and kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwise, than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least a private opinion; which I submit to better judgments. *Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda*; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth, says *Diodore*.

SECT. III.

Of Ehud's *time, and of* Proserpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tityus, Admetus, *and others that lived about these times.*

AFter the death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell back to their former idolatry, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them; to perform which, he joined the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalek* unto his own, and so (as all kind of misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time withdrawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his displeasure) these heathen neighbouring nations, had an easy conquest over *Israel*; whom God himself exposed to those perils; within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen years, under *Eglon* king of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance; but raised up *Ehud* the son of *Gera* to deliver them; by which weak man, tho' maimed in his right-hand, yet confident in the justness of his quarrel, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers, to contend with the head of those valiant nations; he resolved to attempt upon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himself of the following victory; especially giving his nation no time to re-establish their government, or to choose a king to command, and direct them in the wars. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an ambassador to *Eglon*, loaden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private access upon the pretence of some secret to be revealed; he pierced his body with a poniard, made on purpose, with a double edge; and shutting the doors of his closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did repass *Jordan*, and invading the territory of *Moab*, overthrew their army consisting of 10000 able and strong men; whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his successor had miraculously slain 600 *Philistines* with an ox goad; the land and people of *Israel* lived in peace, unto the end of 80 years, from the death of *Othoniel*; which term expired in the world's year 2691.

In the days of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sons, travelled into *Moab*; and so the story of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the 80 years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* king of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as she walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*; or (according to *Pausanias in Att.*) by the river *Cephisus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he mean not two distinct rivers. This stealth being made known to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* joined themselves, they agreed together to recover her; but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had, as they say, a very huge dog, which fastned on *Pyrithous*, and tore him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him; and by strength took and mastered the dog *Cerberus*; whereof grew the fable of *Hercules*'s delivering of *Theseus* out of hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this story, somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrithous*, saith he, attempted to steal *Proserpina* daughter to *Aidonius*, king of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to wife, the mother of *Proserpina*. *Proserpina* being a general name also for all fair women. This purpose of theirs being known to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and because *Pyrithous* was the principal in this conspiracy, and *Theseus* drawn on by a kind of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius*'s great dog *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner; till *Hercules* by the instigation of *Eurisheus* delivered him by a strong hand. The *Molossi* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the mountains of *Pindus*; of which mountains, *Oeta* is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The river of *Acheron* (which the poets describe to be in hell) riseth out of the same hills. There is another nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessaly*; but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopæi*, saith *Plutarch* in his *Greek* questions.

The rape of *Orithya* the daughter of *Erictheus*, king of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The poets ascribe this rape to the north-wind, because *Thrace* is situate north from *Athens*. In his time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forc'd her in the passage, and withal cut out her tongue that she might not complain; persuading *Progne*'s wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way; all which her brother-in-law's mercileſs behaviour towards her, *Philomela* express'd by her needle upon

on cloth, and ſent it to *Progne*. In revenge whereof *Progne* cauſed her only ſon *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and ſet before *Tereus* her husband, ſo dreſs'd as it appear'd to be ſome other ordinary food; of which when he had eaten his fill, ſhe cauſed his head, hands, and feet, to be preſented unto him; and then fled away with ſuch ſpeed towards *Athens*, where her father *Pandion* yet lived, as the poets feigned, that ſhe was turned into a ſwallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*; and the tomb of *Tereus*, [a] *Pauſanias* hath built near the rocks *Mergi*, in the territory of *Athens*. By which, as alſo by the name *Daulis*, where theſe things are ſuppoſed to have been done (whence alſo *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digreſſion in his [b] *Peloponneſian* war, that this *Tereus* was not king in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryſæ* (as the poets call him *Odryſius*) but that *Phocis*, a country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a city whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandion*'s time inhabited by *Thracians*; of which this *Tereus* was king: whence *Pandion*, to have amity with his neighbours, made him his ſon-in-law; as it is good to believe, ſaith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* king of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour king from whom he might have ſuccour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that ſhould have held the kingdom of *Odryſæ*, which was greatly diſtant from thence. The occaſion that the poets choſe a ſwallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may ſeem to have been, partly becauſe, as *Pauſanias* ſays, *Daulide nec nidificant, dec habitant in tota circum regione hirundines*; As if a ſwallow remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her ſiſter, did for ever after hate that place.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is ſaid to have underſtood the voices of birds and beaſts) flouriſhed, being alſo eſteemed for an excellent phyſician. He reſtored to their former health the daughters of [c] *Prætus* king of the *Argives*, who (as the poets pleaſe) were made mad by *Juno*; and thinking themſelves to be kine, fled into the woods, fearing to be conſtrained to the plough; for in thoſe countries, where the ground was light, they did uſe often to plough with kine.

In the 47th year of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name; about which time *Phemone*, the chief prieſt of [d] *Apollo* in *Delphos*, deviſed the heroical verſe.

Of the ſame date was *Tantalus*, king of *Lydia*; whom *Euſebius* makes king of *Phrygia*; and alſo of that part of which the people were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was deviſed the fable, that ſome poets have applied to the paſſion of love, and ſome to the covetous that dare not enjoy his riches. [e] *Euſebius* calls this *Tantalus* the ſon of *Jupiter*, by the nymph *Pleta*; *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, give him another mother. He was ſaid to be the ſon of *Jupiter*, as ſome will have it; becauſe he had that planet in his aſcendent, betokening wiſdom and riches. It is ſaid that when he made a feaſt to the gods, having nothing more precious, he cauſed his own ſon to be ſlain and dreſs'd for the banquet; of whom *Ceres* eat part of one of the ſhoulders; whereby was ſignified, that thoſe men which ſeek after divine knowledge, prefer nothing on earth before it; no not the care of their own children, of all elſe the moſt deareſt. And where it was deviſed, that he had always water and fruit offered to his lips, and yet ſuffered the torment of hunger and thirſt, it was meant thereby, that tho' he abounded (by reaſon of his riches) in all delicacy of the world, yet his mind being otherwiſe, and to higher deſires tranſported, he enjoy'd no pleaſure at all by the reſt. Of whom *Ovid*:

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in water ſeeks
for water, and doth miſs,
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at,
his long tongue brought him this.

This puniſhment, they ſay, was inflicted upon him, for that he diſcovered the ſecrets of the gods: that is, becauſe he taught wiſdom and virtue to mortal men; which ſtory *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expreſs'd in verſe. Others expound this fable otherwiſe, and ſay, that *Tantalus*, tho' he excelled in riches, yet being thirſty of more abundance, was never ſatisfied. Of whom *Horace* againſt covetouſneſs:

Tantalus *a labiis ſitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina. Quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirſting *Tantalus* doth catch
at ſtreams that from him flee.
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd,
the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* of the gods to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that ſort puniſhed. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*.

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Coætaniis convivis
Nectar Ambroſiamque *dedit.*

Becauſe that ſtealing immortality,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* give
To gueſts of his own age to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the ſecrets of divinity, ought not to be imparted to the unpure *Vulgar*. For as the cleaneſt meats in a foul ſtomach, are therein corrupted; ſo the moſt high and reſerved myſteries are often perverted, by an unclean and defiled mind.

To you it is given (ſaith Chriſt in St. *Mark* iv. 11.) *to know the myſtery of the kingdom of God, but unto them that are without all things be done in parables.* So is it ſaid of him in *Mark* iv. 34. that *he expounded all things to his diſciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzen* infer upon a place of St. *Paul*; [f] *Quod ſi* Paulo *licuiſſet effari ea, quorum ipſi cognitionem cœlum tertium & uſque ad illud progreſſio ſuppeditavit, fortaſſe de Deo nobis aliquid amplius conſtaret*; If *Paul* might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heavens, and his going thither, did bring unto him, peradventure we might know ſomewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, ſaith *Reuclin*, thought it not the part of a wiſe man, *Aſino lyram exponere, aut myſteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut ſus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta ſcarabæus; quare ſilentium indixit diſcipulis, ne vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur*; To ſet an aſs to a harp, or to learn myſteries, which he would handle as a ſwine doth a trumpet, or a jay a vial, or ſcarabees and unclean flies ſoveraign ointment: wherefore he commanded ſilence to his diſciples, that they ſhould not diſcloſe divine

[a] Lib. 9. Pau. in Att. [b] Thuc. l. 2. [c] Pauſ. l. 1. Homer. Odyſſ. 11. [d] Pauſ. [e] Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. 2. Zezes hiſt. 10. Chil. 5. [f] Greg. in Orat. de recta ratione diſ. de Deo. 2 Cor. 12.

myſteries

myſteries to the common ſort, which are eaſier learnt by meditation, than by babling. And therefore did the *Egyptians* communicate their myſteries among their prieſts in certain hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their ſecrets might be hidden from the vulgar; and that they might beſtow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the cotemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is alſo ſaid, that *Tityus* lived whom *Apollo* ſlew, becauſe he ſought to force his mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the ſon of *Elara*, the daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno*'s revenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where ſhe was delivered of *Tityus*; whoſe mother dying, and himſelf therein nouriſhed, he was therefore called the ſon of the earth. *Pauſanias* ſpeaking of the grave of this giant, affirms that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his ſtature out of *Homer*.

[a] *Porrectuſque novem* Tityus *per jugera terræ,*
Aſſiduas atro viſcere paſcit aves.

Nine furlongs ſtretch'd lies *Tityus*,
who for his wicked deeds
The hungry birds with his
renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruel and wicked tyrant of *Panopea*, a city in *Phocis*, it was feigned by the poets to the terror of others, that he was ſtill eaten in hell by birds, and yet ſtill lived, and had his fleſh renewed.

Admetus king of *Theſſaly* lived alſo in this age, whom, it is ſaid, that *Apollo* firſt ſerved as a herdſman, and afterwards for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but having ſlain *Hyacinthus*, he croſs'd the *Helleſpont*, and fled into *Phrygia*; where, together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in brick, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leap into their places by playing on his harp; according to him in *Ovid* which ſaith:

Ilion *aſpicies*, *firmataque turribus altis*,
Mœnia Apollineæ *ſtructa Canore lyræ.*

Strong *Ilion* thou ſhalt ſee
with walls and towers high,
Built with the harp of wiſe
Apollo's harmony.

Thus the poets; but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he alſo laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megarians* witneſs, ſaith [b] *Pauſanias*.

In theſe days alſo of *Ehud*, or (as ſome find it) in the days of *Deborah*, lived *Perſeus* the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whoſe ſoldiers (as they ſailed out of *Peloponneſus* to ſeek their adventure on *Africa* ſide) *Meduſa* the daughter and ſucceſſor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as ſhe hunted near the lake [c] *Triton*, was ſurpriz'd and ſlain; whoſe beauty when *Perſeus* beheld, he cauſed her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was ſuch, and ſo much admired, and the beholders ſo aſtoniſhed which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Meduſa*'s head, were turned into ſtones.

Cecrops, the ſecond of that name, and 7th king of *Athens*, and *Acriſius* the 13th, or after [d] *Euſebius* the 14th king of the *Argives*, began alſo their reigns, as it is ſaid, in the time of this judge; of which the firſt ruled 40 years, and the ſecond 31 years. Alſo *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the ſon of *Glaucus*, the ſon of *Siſyphus*; who inticed by *Antea* or *Sthenobia* the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refuſing it, ſhe accuſed him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* ſent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about ſome affairs of weight, between him and his ſon-in-law *Jobates*; giving ſecret order to *Jobates* to diſpatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it diſhonourable to lay violent hands on him, employed him againſt *Chymæra*, a monſter, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pitying his innocency, ſent him the wing'd horſe *Pegaſus*, ſprung up of the blood of *Meduſa*, formerly ſlain by the ſoldiers of *Perſeus* in *Africa*, to tranſport; a horſe that none other could maſter or bridle but *Minerva*: upon which beaſt *Bellerophon* overcame *Chymæra*, and performed the other ſervices given him in charge; which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambuſh to have ſlain him; but being victorious alſo over all thoſe, he arrived to *Jobates* in ſafety; whom *Jobates* for his eminent virtues honoured, firſt, with one of his daughters, and afterward with his kingdom: after which he grew ſo inſolent, as he attempted to fly up to heaven upon his *Pegaſus*; whoſe pride *Jupiter* diſdaining, cauſed one of his ſtinging flies ſo to vex *Pegaſus*, as he caſt off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind, of which burthen *Pegaſus* being diſcharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven; and being fed in *Jupiter*'s own ſtable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the ſun. This tale is diverſly expounded, as firſt by ſome, That it pleaſeth God to relieve men in their innocent, and undeſerved adverſity, and to caſt down thoſe which are too high-minded: according to that which is ſaid of *Bellerophon*; that when he was expoſed to extream hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour; but waxing over-proud and preſumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of ſorrow and ever-during miſery. Secondly, By others, That under the name of [e] *Chimæra*, was meant a cruel pirate of the *Lycians*, whoſe ſhip had in her prow a lion, a goat in the mid-ſhip, and a dragon in the ſtern, of which three beaſts this monſter *Chymæra* was ſaid to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* purſued with a kind of galley of ſuch ſwiftneſs, that it was called the flying horſe; to whom the invention of ſails (the wings of a ſhip) are alſo attributed. Many other expoſitions are made of this tale by other authors; but it is not unlikely, that *Chymæra* was the name of a ſhip, for ſo [f] *Virgil* calleth one of the greateſt ſhips of *Æneas*.

Ion alſo, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquity of their parent *Javan*) derive their name from *Ions*, is ſaid to have been about *Ehud*'s time: [g] *Homer* calls them *Iaones*, which hath a near reſemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be ſo, that *Ion* himſelf took name from *Javan*; it being a cuſtom obſervable in the hiſtories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a forefather, in ſome of the prinipal of his iſſue.

The invaſion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by ſome reported as done in this age: But St. *Auguſtine* makes him far more ancient; placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Joſhua*.

About the end of the 80 years, aſcribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flouriſhed: who gave name to *Peloponneſus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

[a] Hom. Odyſ. 11. [b] Pauſ. in Att. [c] Triton *a lake of* Africa, *which* Pliny *calleth* Pallantias. Didym. in pereg. hiſt. [d] Euſeb. in Chron. [e] Plutarch. in claris mulier. [f] L. 5. Æneid. [g] Homer in hymno ad Apoll. Lib. 18. c. 12. de Civ. Dei l. 18. c. 15.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of Deborah, *and her cotemporaries.*

AFTER *Iſrael* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of theſe 80 years, they again began to forget the Giver of all goodneſs, and many of thoſe being worn out, which were witneſſes of the former miſery, and of God's deliverance by *Ehud*, and after him by *Samgar*, the reſt began to return to their former neglect of God's commandments. For as plenty and peace are the parents of idle ſecurity; ſo is ſecurity as fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both danger and ſubverſion; of which all eſtates in the world have taſted by interchange of times. Therefore, when their ſins were again ripe for puniſhment, *Jabin* king of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the territory of *Iſrael*, and having in his ſervice 900 iron chariots, beſides the reſt of his forces, he held them in ſubjection twenty years, till it pleaſed God to raiſe up *Deborah*, the propheteſs, who encouraged *Barac* to levy a force out of *Nephthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to encounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephthalim* were more forward than the reſt in this action, it may ſeem to have proceeded, partly from the authority that *Barac* had among them, being of the ſame tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievances, which in them was more ſenſible, than in others, becauſe *Hazor* and *Haroſeth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nephthalim*. So in the days of *Jephtha*, the *Gileadites* took the greateſt care, becauſe the *Ammonites*, with whom the war was, preſs'd moſt upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleaſed God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Iſrael* from the *Moabites*; and by the counſel and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Siſera* by *Jael* the *Kenite*'s wife: ſo was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakeſt means. For the mighty *Aſſyrian Nabuchodonoſor*, who was a king of kings, and reſiſtleſs, he overthrew by his own imaginations the cauſers of his brutiſh melancholy; and changed his matchleſs pride into the baſe humility of a beaſt. And to prove that he is the Lord of all power, he ſometimes puniſheth by inviſible ſtrength, as when he ſlaughtered the army of *Sennacherib* by his angel; or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moſes*'s time: ſometimes by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the ſea, and the *Canaanites* by hail-ſtones in the time of *Joſhua*: ſometimes by the miniſtry of men, as when he overthrew the four kings of the eaſt, *Chedorlaomer* and his companions, by the houſhold ſervants of *Abraham*. He cauſed the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to ſet upon their own confederates the army of the *Edomites*; and having ſlain them to kill one another in the ſight of [a] *Jehoſaphat*; and of the like to theſe a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the propheteſs ſpeak unto *Barac* in theſe words: [b] *But this journey that thou takeſt, ſhall not be for thine honour, for the Lord ſhall ſell* Siſera *into the hand of a woman.* In which victory all the ſtrength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the laſt man: in the end of which war, it ſeemeth that *Jabin* himſelf alſo periſhed, as appeareth by *Judges* iv. 24.

After all which *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfulneſs, and great mercies, ſhe ſheweth the weak eſtate whereunto *Iſrael* was brought for their idolatry by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering nations in theſe words: [c] *Was there a ſhield or ſpear ſeen among forty thouſand in Iſrael?* She alſo ſheweth how the *Iſraelites* were ſevered and amazed, ſome of them confined over *Jordan*, and durſt not join themſelves to the reſt; as thoſe of *Reuben* in *Gilead*; that the *Aſherites* kept the ſea-coaſt, and forſook their habitations towards the land; and the children of *Dan* who neighboured the ſea, crept into their ſhips for ſafety, ſhewing thereby that all were diſperſed, and all in effect loſt. She then curſeth the inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the battle (belike fearing the ſucceſs) came not out to aſſiſt *Iſrael*, and then bleſſeth *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Siſera* in her tent; ſhewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Iſraelites*. For tho' the family of *Heber* were enforc'd in that miſerable time of ſubjection, to hold correſpondence with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*; yet when occaſion offered them means, they witneſſed their love and faith to their ancient friends. Laſtly, She derideth the mother of *Siſera*, who promiſed her ſon the victory in her own hopes; and fancied to herſelf, and deſcribed the ſpoils both of garments and maidens by him gotten. For concluſion, ſhe directeth her praiſes and thanks to God only victorious.

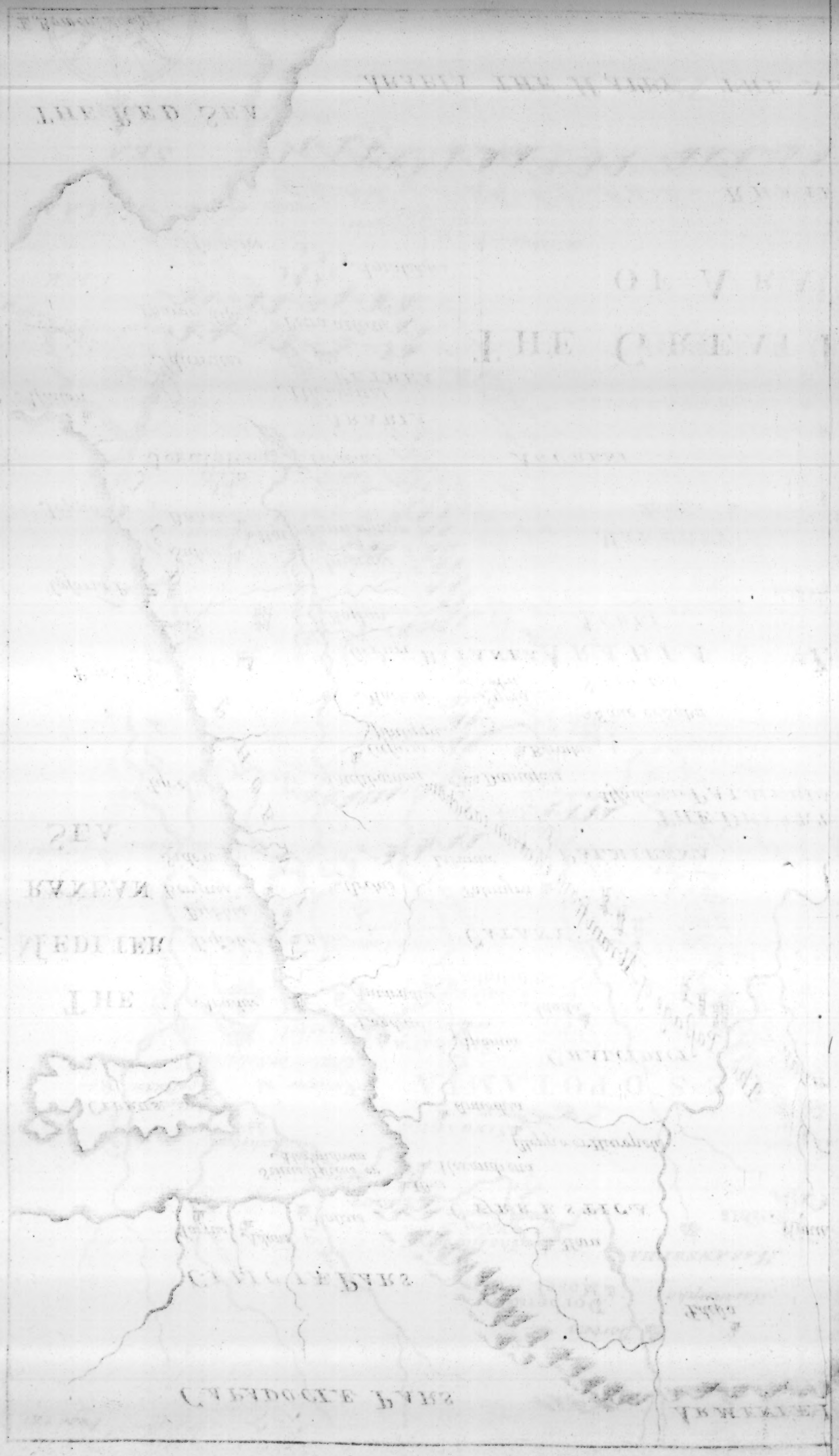
From the beginning of *Jabin*'s oppreſſion, to the end of that peace which *Deborah* and *Barak* purchaſed unto *Iſrael*, there paſſed 40 years. In which time the kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544 years was tranſlated to *Mycænæ*. The tranſlation of this kingdom, *Vives*, out of *Pauſanias*, writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* ſucceeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the ſon of *Lynceus* divided the kingdom; of which *Acriſius*, being eldeſt, held *Argos* itſelf: *Prætus* his brother poſſeſs'd *Ephyra* or *Corinth*, and *Tyrinthos*, and other cities, with all the territory towards the ſea, there being many monuments in *Tyrinthos* which witneſs *Prætus*'s poſſeſſion, ſaith [d] *Pauſanias*.

Now *Acriſius* was foretold by an oracle, that he ſhould be ſlain by the ſon of his daughter *Danae*; whereupon he cauſed her to be incloſed in a tower, to the end that no man might accompany her. But the lady being exceeding fair, it is feigned that *Jupiter* turned himſelf into a golden ſhower, which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that ſome king's ſon, or other worthy man, corrupted her keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perſeus* was born; who, when he grew to man's eſtate, either by chance (ſaith *Cteſias*) or in ſhewing his grandfather the invention of the *Diſcus*, or leaden ball, ſlew him unwillingly. After this, *Perſeus*, to avoid the infamy of parricide in *Argos*, changed kingdoms with his uncle *Prætus*; and built *Mycænæ*. This impriſonment of *Danae Sophocles* reporteth otherwiſe; and ſays, that ſhe was encloſed in a brazen vault, under the king's hall, with her nurſe and keepers. Upon this cloſe cuſtody *Horace* hath this witty obſervation.

Incluſam Danaen, *turris ahenea,*
Robuſtæque fores, & vigilum Canum
Triſtes excubiæ, munierant ſatis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:
Si non Acriſium *virginis abditæ*
Cuſtodem pavidum Jupiter & Venus
Riſiſſent, fore enim tutum iter & patem,
Converſo in pretium Deo.

[a] Chron. 20. [b] Judg. 4. 9. [c] Judg. 5. 18. [d] Pauſan. in Corinthiacis.

Aurum



CAPADOCIÆ PARS

ARMENIÆ PARS.

Edeſſa

CILICIÆ PARS

Tarſus

Adana

Mallus

Mara

CYRRESTICA

Maſius Mt

Niſib

Iſſus

Alexandretta

Sinus Iſicus or Alexandretta

Aleppo or Hieropolis

Charran

CYPRUS

Antiochia

CHALCIDICI

Apamia

Laodicia

Adada

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Aradus

Antaradus

Tripolis

Botris

CATANY

Bybtus

Berytus

Archis

Palmyra

Sidon

Libanus

PALMYRENA

THE DESART OF PALMERINA

Tyre

Antelibanum

Damaſcus

Alyadamas

Cæſaria philippi

Berathi

Saue or Saba

Machati

Syria Soba

SACCEA

P. to Acon

Geſuri

BATANEA

ARABIA

AGREL

Jordan R.

Baſan

Cæſaria P

Gabara

Sichem

Amorites

Hai

Ammonites

MARTENI

Joppa

Bethel

Aurana

Jeruſalem

Moabites

AGUBENI

ARABIA

Aſcalon

Midianites

PETREA

Idumites

THE GREAT DES

OF ARABI A

Pharan deſart

Petra deſerti

Amalekites

Iſmalites

RHAABENI

THE RED SEA

ARABIA THE HAPPY

THE NORTH

E. Bowen Sculp.t

RS.

Darbeta

Dorbeta or Mosel

Hasansepha

HASANSEPHA

Nisibis

The Isle of Eden or Gezerta

Tygris Fl.

Cyprus Fl.

Ninive

Gorgus Fl.

Rechoboth

Thelbe or Baldoc

SINGARUS M.

MESOPOTAMIA

Mancane

Chalne or Seleuia

Sipphara or Sephar

Hiddkel

Felaser or Thilutha

PARAD

Euphrates

Achad afterward Auchanites

Babylon

Ctesiphon

Apamia

Herculis Aræ

Pison

Gihon

Rhesipha once Retseph

Tygris

HAVILA

Erec or Aracca

The First plantation of Chus

Chuduca sometime Chusca

CHALDEA

The Lakes of Chaldea

Ur or Urchoa the habitation of Abraham

Jeredon now Balsara

The antient outlet of Gihon now desolate in the head of Chaldea

THE PERSIAN SEA

Calathua

The Arabians ORCHENI

Raama

Sheba

Themna

The Arabians ÆSITÆ

MASSANI

The Arabians called UCHABENI

DESERT.

DESERT

IA

NI

RTH PART.

THE DESERT OF ARABI

Saccæa

Agræi

Saue or Saba from whence the Sabeans spoyled Job

Alsadamus mons

Palmerina

time Za

Betath Saba of Adadezer

Berathy

Carath

Ematth or Ituria

of Tohu

Theebe of Elias & Tobit

Cedar

Earum Baal

Hermon

Bathanea

Caspher

Gallaad

Gaulon

Asteroth Carnaim

Asterath

Syria Da-

masci

Bostra

Themon

Raphaim

Gamala

Catzerthenan

Gessur

Phiale fons

Edrai

The overthrow of Oge by Mo

Gessuri regio

Hus the territories of Job

Iabes Galaa

Baldwyn the 2 overthroweth the Damascens

MANASSE

Enganan

Damascus

Machati

Damascus

Raconitis

Bethsaida desert

Magedon

Gerasa

Gadara

The toure of Libanus

Sueta

Hieron

Recoth

The Lake Meron

Iulius

Cæsaria

Philippi

Dan

Reblata

Hoba

Chalchis

Galilee superior

The Sea of Galilee

Abelbathmahacha

Daphnes

Magdalon

Capernaum

Magdulum

Tiberias

Tarichea

Abila

Augustus-temple

The overthrow of Iabin king of Asor by Josua

Sabarim

NEPTHALIM

Bethsaida

Libanus

Masaloth

Carthan

Rimmon

ZABU

Heliopolis

Beroth

Harofeth

Methara

Jatapata

Jasta

Chamath

Amothdor

Bethanat

Bethlem

Cartho

Sephet

Gabora

Asor

Dothaim

LEON

Osedon

Chabul

Bethsemes

Bethulia

Legia

The overthrow of the Damascens by Baldwyn

Naarer

Roobe

Nahlol

The overthrow of Jabin

Alaly

Zephthaeli

Noe

Chaly

Anhec

Addon

Balno

Canagal

Belfort

Gischala

Bethemee

Dmma Gabatha

Berytus

ASER

Georgia

Semoron

Tabor

Alcath

Achzan

Thorom

Bebabe

M Tabor

Saffa

Buria

Hethacer

Rama

Regnim

Nazaret

Sidon

Tyre Abtiq

Helbo

Mons orbit

Labnoth

Saren

Sepphoris

THE

Sarepta

Dezibe

Memnon

Gabra

Zabulon

Tyre

Candalium

Castrum Lamperi

The great pla

Esdre

PHOENICIAN

Ptolemais Acon

Cast of Pilgrims

Cæsaria

Cyprus

SYRIAN OR MEDITERRANEAN

SEA

Agubeni

ARABIA THE STONY

North South West

The country of the Amonites some Balaam Nabatha Mennich Zanzuminis now Philadelphia

Mountains of Arnon Mountains of Arabia the Stony

Moabites sometime Emims

Moab Desert

Datheman Gilead Mont Ramoth Galead Jazer Rogelim Aroe Bozcama Barasa Mathana Dibon Gad Berim Mephat Balmeon Medaba Medianites Hesmond Madian Petra deserti

GAD RUBEN

Diden Eselon Iasa Phasaa Abrim Callerhoe Jabrim

Phanuel Nobach Cerker Iagbehath The overthrow of Eleale Zeba & Salmuna by Gidion Bethphegor Boson Macherus Leborim Adama The Dead Sea or ye L. Asphaltidis

Ephron Nabe Succoth Sion overthrown by Moses Cethim Lunas Sodom Gomorra

Salem Thesbe Helon Iothua's passage over Iordan Abilas Aduram Samaraim Hadid Bezech Gaddi Daber Julias Ephra Ramath Midianites Segor The Valley of Siddim where the Moabites Amunites & Idumeans slew each other when they Come to Iehoshaphat Herodium Gadara Tanuium Nebo Arad Eder Rabba Delean Chind Maon Jager Dimona Ziph Seta

MANASSEH EPHRAIM JUDA

Janoe Galgala Jericho Plaines of Jericho Bethel Gilgalis Anathoth Ephron Phaselum Petra Roman Adonibezek Ithan Iezrael Holon Addada Enachim Cedes Hebron Cariatharbe Abrona Arad Abelmula Ephraim Thebes Thersa Enon Jebusi Baalasor Galilea Galiaath Theua Bethzehara Bethel Samaria Nataph Silo Bethira Sichem or Neapolis Bethlem Jerusalem The Oak of Mamre The Vally of Raphrim Aphid Avena Iethnan Bethpheses The Vineyard of Naboth The Burial of Joseph Galgala Bethoron inf. Bezer Etam Eglom Zeph Iezrael Gathemmon Pharaton Iefleti Irnaus Betsura The great battle between Zarah of Arabia & Asa: of Iuda Iaraneth Gaber Adrelon Magedda Anadremon Dora The Sepulcre of Iothua Nabata Neba Thamnata Odola Zeila Bemmon Iarphia Ierimoth Baloth Eston Adarsa Maspha Iecteael Helam Azecha Zanoe Nephtoa or Madin Salebim Carriath-sepher or Dabir Sama Aden Armona Gerar Gaser Aphaca Lebna Achalon Sarara Selun Siglak Diamna Sarum The burials of Machabe Lebnoth Bethphale Ellon Lachis Helon Caspin Gethremmon Iamma Geth Iudda or Diospolis Sarahen Bethlebeth Beribeg Galiathon Esthaol Bechsames The foundation of Ethiopia Acaron Azotus Ascalon Gaza Maioma Ioppe Antipatris Apollonia

DAN MEON SI

THE EGYPTIAN SEA

Aurum per medios ire ſatellites,
Et perrumpere amat ſaxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo. ——————

The brazen towers with doors cloſe bar'd,
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,
Kept ſafe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from ſecret love:
Till ſmiling *Venus*, and wiſe *Jove*
Beguil'd her father's dread.
For chang'd into a golden ſhower,
The God into her lap did pour
Himſelf, and took his pleaſure.
Thro' guards and ſtony walls to break,
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treaſure.

The firſt kings of the Argives *were theſe:*

Inachus the firſt king, who began to reign in the firſt year of *Jacob*, and the ſixty-firſt of *Iſaac*; from which time, to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Caſtor* miſ-reckoneth 400 years. This kingdom before the tranſlation, *Euſebius* accounteth to have ſtood 544 years, others but at 417. *Io* was the daughter of this *Inachus*, whom the *Egyptians* called *Iſis*.

PHORONEUS,
APIS,
ARGUS,
PIRASUS,
PHORBAS,
TRIOPAS,
CROTOPUS,
STHENELUS,
DANAUS,
LYNCEUS.
ABAS,
ACRISIUS,
PELOPS.

After the tranſlation to *Mycænæ*, *Mar. Scotus* finds theſe kings:

PERSEUS,
STHENELUS,
EURISTHEUS.

Atreus and *Thyeſtes*, } The ſons *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*; *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

AGAMEMNON,
ÆGYSTHUS,
ORESTES,
TISAMENUS,
PENTHILUS, and
COMETES.

Of theſe kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two firſt, and the laſt; beginning with *Euriſtheus*; and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tiſamenus*'s time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponneſus*, of which hereafter.

The cotemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas*, who reigned in *Phrygia*; and *Ilus*, who built *Ilium*; with others mentioned in our chronological table, as cotemporaries with *Debora*.

SECT. V.

Of Gideon, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that lived in this age.*

DEBORA and *Barac* being dead; the *Midianites* aſſiſted by the *Amalekites* infeſted *Iſrael*. For when under a judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had injoyed any quiet or proſperity; the judge was no ſooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring nations did ſo maſter them in a ſhort time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to ſave themſelves, they [a] crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardeſt acceſs: their enemies poſſeſſing all the plains and fruitful vallies; and in harveſt time by themſelves, and the multitude of their cattle, deſtroying all that grew up, covering the fields as thick as graſhoppers; which ſervitude laſted ſeven years.

Then the Lord by his angel ſtirred up [b] *Gideon* the ſon of *Joaſh*, afterwards called *Jerubaal*; whoſe fear and unwillingneſs, and how it pleaſed God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and preciſely ſet down in the holy ſcriptures: as alſo how it pleaſed God by a few ſelect perſons, [c] namely 300 out of 32000 men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of hoſts: each of theſe 300, by *Gideon*'s appointment, carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, inſtruments of more terror than force, with which he gave the great army of their enemies an alarm; who hearing ſo loud a noiſe, and ſeeing (at the crack of ſo many pitchers broken) ſo many lights about them, eſteeming the army of *Iſrael* to be infinite, and ſtricken with a ſudden fear, they all fled without a ſtroke ſtricken; and were ſlaughtered in great numbers, two of their princes being made priſoners and ſlain. In his return the *Ephraimites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, becauſe he made war without their aſſiſtance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten; who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt have held themſelves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeaſing them with a mild anſwer, followed after the enemy, in which purſuit being tired with travel, and weary even with the ſlaughtering of his enemies, he deſired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end that (his men being refreſhed) he might overtake the other two kings of the *Midianites*, which had ſaved themſelves by flight. For they were four princes of the nations which had invaded and waſted *Iſrael*; to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, ſought the like relief from the inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like ſort refuſed to ſuccour him. To both of theſe places he threatned therefore the revenge, which in his return from the proſecution of the other two princes he performed; to wit, that he would tear the fleſh of thoſe of *Succoth* with thorns and briars, and deſtroy the inhabitants and city of *Penuel*. Now why the people of theſe two cities ſhould refuſe relief to their brethren the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially after ſo great a victory, if I may preſume to make conjecture; it ſeems likely, firſt, that thoſe cities ſet over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invaſions to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Midianites* into *Iſrael*, had either made their own peace with thoſe nations, and were not ſpoiled by them: or elſe they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were eſcaped with a great part of their army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, It may be laid to the condition and diſpoſitions of theſe men, as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For their are multitudes of men, eſpecially of thoſe which follow the wars, that both envy and malign others, if they

[a] Judg. 6. [b] Judg. 6. 8. [c] Judg. 6. *and* 7.

perform any praiſe-worthy actions, for the honour and ſafety of their own country, tho' themſelves may be aſſured to bear a part of the ſmart of contrary ſucceſs. And ſuch malicious hearts can rather be contented that their prince and country ſhould ſuffer hazard and want, than that ſuch men as the miſlike, ſhould be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or whereſoever it were that he refreſhed himſelf, and his weary and hungry ſoldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and purſued his former victory to the utmoſt: and finding *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* in [b] *Karkor* (ſuſpecting no farther attempt upon them) he again ſurprized them, and ſlaughtered thoſe 15000 remaining; having put to the ſword in the former attempt 120000, and withal he took *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* priſoners; whom, becauſe themſelves had executed *Gideon*'s brethren before at *Tabor*, he cauſed to be ſlain: or (as it is written) at their own requeſt ſlew them with his own hands: his ſon, whom he firſt commanded to do it, refuſing it; and in his return from the conſummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the elders of *Succoth*, and of the citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed againſt him, either by ſtrangers or by his brethren the *Iſraelites*. But ſuch mercy as he ſhewed to others, his own children found ſoon after his death, according to that which hath hath been ſaid before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unſatisfied; for as he ſlew the ſeventy elders of *Succoth*, with great and unuſual torments, ſo were his own ſeventy ſons, all but one, murdered by his own baſtard *Abimelech*. The like analogy is obſerved by the *Rabines*, in the greateſt of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having cauſed the male children of the *Hebrews* to be ſlain, others of them to be caſt into the river and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like meaſure, deſtroying their own firſtborn by his angel, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his army in the *Red* ſea. And hereof a world of examples might be given, both out of the ſcriptures, and other hiſtories.

In the end ſo much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the preſent for this victory, and their own deliverance, as they offered him the ſoveraignty over them, and to eſtabliſh him in the government; which he refuſed, anſwering; *I will not reign over you, neither ſhall my child reign over you, but the Lord ſhall*, &c. But he deſired the people, that they would beſtow on him the golden ear-rings, which every man had gotten. For the *Iſhmaelites*, neighbours, and mix'd with the *Midianites*, uſed to wear them: the weight of all which was a thouſand and ſeven hundred ſheckles of gold, which makes of ours, 2380 pounds, if we follow the account of the ſheckle vulgar. And becauſe he converted that gold into an [c] ephod, a garment of gold, blew ſilk, purple, ſcarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the high prieſt only, and ſet up the ſame in his own city of *Ophra*, or *Ephra*, which drew *Iſrael* to idolatry, the ſame was the deſtruction of *Gideon* and his houſe.

There was another kind of ephod beſides this of the high prieſts which the *Levites* uſed, and ſo did *David* when he danced before the ark; and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linen only.

Now if any man demand, how it was poſſible for *Gidon* with 300 men to deſtroy 120000 of their enemies; and afterwarp 15000 which remained, we may remember, that altho' *Gideon* with 300 gave the firſt alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and diſorder: yet all the reſt of the army came into the ſlaughter, and purſuit; for it is written; [d] *That the men of Iſrael being gathered together out of Nephtali, and out of Aſher, and out of Manaſſeh, purſued after the Midianites*: for this army *Gideon* left in the tents behind him, when he went down to view the army of his enemies, who with the noiſe of his 300 trumpets came after him to the execution.

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ægeus* the ſon of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*; *Euriſtheus* king of *Mycenæ*, *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes* the ſons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponneſus*, and after the death of *Euriſtheus* the kingdom of *Mycænæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus* who holding his brother in jealouſy, as an attempter both of his wife and crown, ſlew the children of *Thyeſtes*, and cauſing their fleſh to be dreſs'd did therewith feaſt their father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his ſon *Agamemnon* were ſlain by a baſe ſon of *Thyeſtes*, yea the grand-children, and all the lineage of *Atreus* died by the ſame ſword.

In *Gideon*'s time alſo thoſe things were ſuppoſed to have been done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they ſay, having ſlain his nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos* king of *Crete* for ſuccour, where for his excellent workmanſhip he was greatly eſteemed, having made for *Minos* a labyrinth like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterwards he was ſaid to have framed an artificial cow for *Paſiphaë* the queen, that ſhe, being in love with a fair bull, might, by putting herſelf into the cow, ſatisfy her luſt, a thing no leſs unnatural than incredible, had not that ſhameleſs emperor *Domitian*, exhibited the like beaſtly ſpectacle openly before the people of *Rome* in his amphitheatre; on purpoſe as may ſeem to verify the old fable. For ſo it appears by thoſe verſes of *Martial*, wherein the flattering poet magnifieth the abominable ſhew as a goodly pageant in thoſe vicious times.

Junctam Paſiphaën Dicteo credite tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula priſca fidem.
Nec ſe miratur Cæſar, *longæva vetuſtas*
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Paſiphae*, *Servius* makes a leſs unhoneſt conſtruction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counſel, and her pandar for the enticing of a ſecretary of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which ſignifieth a bull, who begat her with child, and that ſhe being delivered of two ſons, the one reſembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was feigned that ſhe was delivered of the monſter *Minotaur* half a man, and half a bull. But this practice being diſcovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be ſlain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* king of *Sicily*; in which paſſage he made ſuch expedition, as it was feigned that he faſhioned wings for himſelf, and his ſon to tranſport them. For whereas *Minos* purſued him with boats, which had oars only, *Dædalus* framed ſails both for his own boat, and for his ſons, by which he out-went thoſe that had him in chaſe. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himſelf overbold, was over-borne and drowned.

It is alſo written of *Dædalus*, that he made images that could move themſelves, and go, becauſe he carved them with legs, arms, and hands; whereas thoſe that preceded him, could only preſent the body and head of thoſe men, whom they carved to

[a] *A place in* Baſan, *as it is thought*. Judg. 8. 10. [b] Judg. 8. 23. [c] Exod. 28. Judg. 8. 28. [d] Judg. 7. 23.

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counterfeit, and yet the workmanſhip was eſteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had ſeen ſome of thoſe that were called the images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With [a] *Gideon* alſo flouriſhed *Linus* the *Theban*, the ſon of *Apollo*, and *Terpſichore*, who inſtructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the creation, of the ſun and moon's courſe, and of the generation of living creatures, but in the end he was ſlain by *Hercules* his ſcholar with his own harp.

Again, in this age thoſe things ſpoken of [b] *Sphinx* and *Oedipus* are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by ſea and land, was by the *Corinthian* army, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles to thoſe whom ſhe maſtered, was meant by the rocky and inacceſſible mountain near *Thebes* which ſhe defended, and by *Oedipus* diſſolving her problem, his victory over her. She was painted with wings, becauſe exceeding ſwift, and with the body of a lion for her cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx* were more probable, did not the time diſprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*; who when by her help he had caſt *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the ſiſter of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in deſpightful part, with her own troop ſhe held the mountain by *Thebes*, from whence ſhe continued a ſharp war upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Minos* thruſt his brother out of *Crete*, and held ſharp war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, becauſe his ſon *Androgeus* was ſlain by them. He poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Megara* by the treaſon of *Scylla*, daughter of *Niſus* the king. He was long maſter of the ſea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every year ſeven of their ſons; which tribute *Theſeus* releaſed, as ſhall be ſhewed when I come to the time of the next judge *Thola*. In the end he was ſlain at [c] *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia* by *Cocalus* the king, while he purſued *Dædalus*; and was eſteemed by ſome to be the firſt law-giver to thoſe iſlands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the giant, who was ſaid to have 60 and odd cubits of length, which tho' *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was ſuch a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman* in *Libya*, where *Hercules* ſlew *Antæus*; yet for my ſelf I think it but a loud lye. That *Antæus* was of great ſtrength, and a cunning wreſtler, [d] *Euſebius* affirmeth; and becauſe he caſt ſo many men to the ground, he was feigned to be the ſon of the earth. *Pliny* ſaith, that he inhabited near the gardens *Heſperides* in *Mauritania*. [e] St. *Auguſtine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*; but of *Libya*; and the [f] *Hydra* alſo which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a ſubtil ſophiſter.

SECT. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonauts.

ABout the 11th year of *Gideon*, was that famous expedition of the *Argonauts*; of which many fabulous diſcourſes have been written, the ſum of which is this.

Pelias the ſon of *Neptune*, brother by the mother's ſide to *Æſon*, who was *Jaſon*'s father, reigning in *Iolcus*, a town of *Theſſaly*, was warned by the oracle of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one ſhoo. This *Pelias* afterwards ſacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jaſon* to him, who coming haſtily, loſt one ſhoo in paſſing over a brook: Whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what courſe he would take (ſuppoſing he was able) againſt one of whom an oracle ſhould adviſe him to take heed? To which queſtion when *Jaſon* had briefly anſwered, that he would ſend him to *Colchos*, to fetch the golden fleece: *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that ſervice. Therefore *Jaſon* prepared for the voyage, having a ſhip built by *Argus*, the ſon of *Phryxus*, by the counſel of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the braveſt men of *Greece* to ſail with him: as *Typhis* the maſter of the ſhip, *Orpheus* the famous poet, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the ſons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* ſons of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules Theſeus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two-winged ſons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great ſooth-ſayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that ſlew the great wild boar, *Aſcalaphus* and *Jalmenus* or *Almenus* the ſons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the laſt war of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Ulyſſes*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the ſons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſlew *Caſtor* and wounded *Pollux*, but were ſlain themſelves, *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

Theſe and many other went with *Jaſon* in the ſhip *Argo*; in whoſe prow was a table of the beech of *Dodona*, which could ſpeak. They arrived firſt at *Lemnos*; the women of which iſland, having ſlain all the males, purpoſing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheleſs contented to take their pleaſure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the country about *Cyzicus*, where dwelt a people called *Doliones*, over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it ſo fell out, that looſing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the ſame haven, nor being known by the *Doliones*, to be the ſame men; but rather taken for ſome of their bordering enemies, by which means they fell to blows, inſomuch that the *Argonauts* ſlew the moſt part of the *Doliones*, together with their king *Cyzicus*; which when by day-light they perceived, with many tears they ſolemnized his funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived ſhortly in *Myſia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the ſon of *Elates*, who went to ſeek *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was raviſhed by the nymphs.

Polyphemus built a town in *Myſia*, called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*: from *Myſia* the *Argonauts* ſailed into *Bithynia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryces* the ancient inhabitants of the country, over whom *Amycus* the ſon of *Neptune* was then king. He being a ſtrong man, compelled all ſtrangers to fight with him, at whorl-batts, in which kind of fight he had ſlain many, and was now himſelf ſlain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in revenge of his death flew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions reſcued him, with great ſlaughter of the people. They ſailed from hence to *Salmydeſſus*, a town in *Thrace* (ſomewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a ſooth-ſayer dwelt, who was blind and vexed with the harpyes. The harpyes were ſaid to be a kind of birds, which had the faces of women and foul long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furniſhed for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greateſt part of the victuals, did ſo defile the reſt, that they could not be endured.

[a] Herind. Plat. Pauſ. l. 9. [b] Strab. l. 6. [c] Ariſt. pol. 1. [d] Euſeb. in Chr. [e] Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 19. c. 12. Euſ. in Chr.

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When therefore the *Argonauts* craved his advice and direction for their voyage: you ſhall do well (quoth he) firſt of all to deliver me from the harpyes, and then afterwards to ask my counſel. Whereupon they cauſed the table to be covered, and meat ſet on; which was no ſooner ſet down, than that preſently in came the harpyes, and played their accuſtomed pranks; when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men ſaw this, they drew their ſwords, and purſued them thro' the air; ſome ſay, that both the harpyes and the young men died of wearineſs in the fight, and purſuit. But *Apollonius* ſaith, that the harpyes did covenant with the youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon diſmiſſed. For this good turn *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and advertiſed them withal of the dangerous rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did ſhut up the paſſage; wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them in the paſſage; and if that paſſed ſafe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazard themſelves in vain. They did ſo, and perceiving that the pigeon had only loſt a piece of her tail, they obſerved the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, paſſed thro' ſafe, only the end of the poop was bruiſed.

From thenceforward (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have ſtood ſtill; for the Gods, ſay they, had decreed that after the paſſage of a ſhip, they ſhould be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the king entertained them courteouſly. Here *Idmon* a ſooth-ſayer of their company was ſlain by a wild boar; alſo here *Typhis* died, and *Ancæus* undertook to ſtear the ſhip. So they paſſed by the river *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucaſus*, and came to the river *Phaſis*, which runs thro' the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the haven, *Jaſon* went to *Æetes* the king of *Colchos*, and told him the commandment of *Pelias*, and cauſe of his coming; deſiring him to deliver the golden fleece, which *Æetes*, as the fable goeth, promiſed to do, if he alone would yolk together two brazen-hoof'd bulls, and ploughing the ground with them, ſow dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of thoſe which *Cadmus* did ſow at *Thebes*. Theſe bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire; *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whilſt *Jaſon* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medæa*, the daughter of *Æetes*, fell into a moſt vehement love of him, ſo far forth, that being excellent in magic, ſhe came privily to him, promiſing her help, if he would aſſure her of his marriage. To this *Jaſon* agreed, and confirmed his promiſe by oath. Then gave ſhe to him a medicine, wherewith ſhe bad him to anoint both his body and his armour, which would preſerve him from their violence; further ſhe told him, that armed men would ariſe out of the ground, from the teeth which he ſhould ſow, and ſet upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, ſhe bid him throw ſtones amongſt them, as ſoon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in ſuch wiſe that he might eaſily ſlay them. *Jaſon* followed her counſel; whereto when the event had anſwered, he again demanded the fleece. But *Æetes* was ſo far from approving ſuch his deſire, that he deviſed how to deſtroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their ſhip; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jaſon*, and brought him by night to the fleece, which hung upon an oak in the grove of *Mars*, where they ſay it was kept by a dragon, that never ſlept. This dragon was by the magic of *Medæa* caſt into a ſleep: ſo taking away the golden fleece, ſhe went with *Jaſon* into the ſhip *Argo*: having with her, her brother *Abſyrtus*.

Æetes underſtanding the practices of *Medæa*, provided to purſue the ſhip; whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, ſhe ſlew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, ſhe ſcattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding ſome, was fain to ſeek out the reſt, and ſuffer his daughter to paſs: the parts of his ſon he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greek* word ſignifieth diviſion. Afterwards he ſent many of his ſubjects to ſeek the ſhip *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not back *Medæa*, they ſhould ſuffer in her ſtead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the ſeas, and were come to the river *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italy*.

Jupiter offended with the ſlaughter of *Abſyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempeſt, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the iſlands *Abſyrtides*, there the ſhip *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this fable) ſpake to them, and ſaid, that the anger of *Jupiter* ſhould not ceaſe, till they came to *Auſonia*, and were cleanſed by *Circe* from the murther of *Abſyrtus*. Now they thereupon ſailing between the coaſts of *Libya*, and *Gallia*, and paſſing thro' the ſea of *Sardinia*, and along the coaſt of *Hetruria*, came to the iſle of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleanſed them. Thence they ſailed by the coaſt of the *Syrens*, who ſung to allure them into danger; but *Orpheus* on the other ſide ſung ſo well that he ſtay'd them. Only *Butes* ſwam out unto them, whom *Venus* raviſhed, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having paſs'd the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the ſtragling rocks which ſeemed to caſt out great ſtore of flames and ſmoak. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, convey'd them ſafe thro' at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coaſted *Sicily* where the beeves of the ſun were, and touched at *Corcyra* the iſland of the *Phæaces*, where king *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the men of *Colchos*, that had been ſent by *Æetes* in queſt of the ſhip *Argo*, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger if they fulfilled not his will, betook themſelves to new habitations; ſome of them dwelt in the mountains of *Corcyra*, others in the iſlands *Abſyrtides*, and ſome coming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ſhip *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*, whereunto *Alcinous* made anſwer, that if ſhe were not *Jaſon*'s wife they ſhould have her, but if ſhe were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos* not daring to return home, ſtay'd with the *Phæaces*; ſo the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this iſland *Minos* reigned, who had a man of braſs given to him (as ſome of the fablers ſay) by *Vulcan*. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was cloſed up with a braſen nail, his name was *Talus*, his cuſtom was to run thrice a day about the iſland for the defence of it. When he ſaw the ſhip *Argo* paſs by, he threw ſtones at it; but *Medæa* with her magic deſtroy'd him. Some ſay, that ſhe ſlew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promiſing to make him immortal, ſhe drew out the nail that ſtop'd his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died; others there are that ſay, he was ſlain by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel. From hence the *Argonauts* ſailed to *Ægina*, where they were fain to fight for freſh water. And laſtly from *Ægina* they ſailed by *Eubæa* and *Lecris*

cris home to *Iolcos*, where they arrived, having ſpent four whole months in the expedition.

Some there are, that by this journey of *Jaſon*, underſtand the myſtery of the philoſopher's ſtone, called the golden fleece; to which alſo other ſuperfine chymiſts draw the 12 labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks, that by the golden fleece, was meant a golden book of parchment, which is of ſheep's-skin, and therefore called golden, becauſe it was taught therein how other metals might be tranſmuted. Others would ſignify by *Jaſon*, wiſdom, and moderation, which overcometh all perils; but that which is moſt probable is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the ſtory of ſuch a paſſage was true, and that *Jaſon* with the reſt went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from *Caucaſus* there are certain ſteep falling torrents, which waſh down many grains of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting uſe to ſet many fleeces of wool in thoſe deſcents of waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water paſſeth thro'; which *Strabo* witneſſeth to be true. The many rocks, ſtraits, ſands, and currents, in the paſſage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are poetically converted into thoſe fiery bulls, the armed men riſing out of the ground, the dragon caſt aſleep, and the like. The man of braſs, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterranean* ſea, diſguiſed, as the reſt, by *Orpheus*, under poetical morals; all which *Homer* afterwards uſed (the man of braſs excepted) in the deſcription of *Ulyſſes*'s travels on the ſame inland ſeas.

SECT. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholan, *and* Jair, *and the* Lapythæ, *and of* Theſeus, Hippolytus, *&c.*

AFter the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech*'s baſe ſon, begotten on a concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had been made to his father by the people, who deſired to make him and his their perpetual princes; and, as it ſeemeth, ſuppoſing (notwithſtanding his father's religious modeſty) that ſome of his brethren might take on them the ſoveraignty, practiſed with the inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himſelf, who being eaſily moved with the glory, to have a king of their own, readily condeſcended; and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed [a] 70 pieces of ſilver of their idol *Baalberith*, with which treaſure he hired a company of looſe and deſperate vagabonds, to aſſiſt his firſt deteſtable enterpriſe, to wit, the ſlaughter of his 70 brethren the ſons of *Gideon*, begotten on his wives, of which he had many, of all which none eſcaped but [b] *Jotham* the youngeſt, who hid himſelf from his preſent fury; all which he executed on one ſtone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such is human ambition, a monſter that neither feareth God (tho' all-powerful, and whoſe revenges are without date and for everlaſting) neither hath it reſpect to nature, which laboureth the preſervation of every being; but it rageth alſo againſt her, tho' garniſhed with beauty which never dieth, and with love that hath no end. All other paſſions and affections, by which the ſouls of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes reſiſted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it ſelf the child and darling of *Satan*, looketh only towards the ends by it ſelf ſet down, forgetting nothing (how fearful and inhuman ſoever) which may ſerve it; remembring nothing, whatſoever juſtice, piety, right or religion, can offer and alledge on the contrary. It aſcribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weakneſs of the undertakers, and rather praiſeth the adventure than feareth the like ſucceſs. It was the firſt ſin that the world had, and began in angels, for which they were caſt into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The puniſhment alſo preceded his creation, yet hath the devil, which felt the ſmart thereof, taught him to forget the one, as out of date, and to practiſe the other, as befitting every age and condition.

Jotham, the youngeſt of *Gideon*'s ſons, having eſcaped the preſent peril, ſought by his beſt perſuaſions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the aſſiſting of this mercileſs tyrant, letting them know, that thoſe which were virtuous, and whom reaſon and religion had taught the ſafe and happy eſtate of moderate ſubjection, had refuſed to receive as unlawful, what others had not power to give, without direction from the King of kings; who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the olive, which contented it ſelf with its fatneſs, the fig-tree with ſweetneſs, and the vine with the good juice it had; the bramble only, who was moſt baſe, cut down all the reſt, and accepted the ſoveraignty. He alſo foretold them by a prophetical ſpirit, what ſhould befal them in the end, and how a fire ſhould come out of the bramble, and conſume the cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an eaſy matter to call thoſe men back, whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the ſon of *Ebed* withdrew the citizens of *Sechem*, from the ſervice of *Abimelech*; who therefore after ſome aſſaults entred the place, and maſtered it; and in concluſion fired the town, wherein their idol *Baalberith* was worſhipped, and put all the people of all ſorts to the ſlaughter. Laſtly, in the aſſault of the caſtle or tower of *Tebez*, himſelf was wounded in the head with a ſtone thrown over the wall by a woman, and finding himſelf mortally bruiſed, he commanded his own page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the diſhonour of being ſlain by ſo feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* uſurped the government, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* made war againſt the *Thebans*. Theſe nations were deſcended of *Apollo*, and were the firſt in thoſe parts that deviſed to manage horſes, to bridle and to ſit them: inſomuch as when they firſt came down from the mountains of *Pindus*, into the plains, thoſe which had never ſeen horſemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horſes; ſo did the [c] *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* firſt invaded that empire.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Thola* of *Iſſachar* governed *Iſrael* 23 years, and after him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22 years, who ſeemeth to be deſcended of *Jair*, the ſon of *Manaſſeh*, who in *Moſes*'s time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the ſame after his own name, [d] *Haboth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained [e] thirty of thoſe cities, which his anceſtor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of theſe judges, becauſe there is nothing elſe written, it is an argument, that during all their

[a] Judg. 9. 4. [b] Judg. 9. 5. [c] Palæphatus, l. 1. de incredib. [d] Deut. 3. 14. Numb 12. 41. [e] Judg. 10.

their times, *Iſrael* lived without diſturbance and in peace.

When *Jair* judged *Iſrael*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at ſuch time as *Hercules* ſack'd *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his ſiſter *Heſione* into *Greece*, and being afterwards redeemed for ranſom, he rebuilt and greatly ſtrengthened, and adorned *Troy*; and ſo far inlarged his dominions, as he became the ſupream lord in effect of all *Aſia* the leſs. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Ciſſeus* king of *Thrace*, and had in all (ſaith [a] *Cicero*) fifty ſons, whereof ſeventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his aunt *Heſione*, took *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus*, the cauſe of the war which followed.

Theſeus, the 10th king of *Athens*, began likewiſe to reign in the beginning of *Jair:* ſome writers call him the ſon of *Neptune* and *Æthra*; but *Plutarch*, in the ſtory of his life, finds him begotten of *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* ſea between it and *Aſia* the leſs took name. For when *Minos* had maſtered the *Athenians*, ſo far as he forced them to pay him ſeven of their ſons every year for tribute, whom he incloſed within a labyrinth, to be devoured by the monſter *Minotaur*; becauſe belike the ſons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Paſiphae* the queen, had the charge of them: among theſe ſeven *Theſeus* thruſt himſelf, not doubting by his valour to deliver the reſt, and to free his country of that ſlavery, occaſioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos*'s ſon.

And having poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Ariadne*'s affection, who was *Minos*'s daughter, he received from her a bottom of thread, by which he conducted himſelf through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the labyrinth, made in all like that of the city of crocodiles in *Egypt*; by means whereof having ſlain the *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back with victory and in ſafety, he ſhould uſe a white ſail in ſign thereof, and not that mournful black ſail, under which they left the port of *Athens*. This inſtruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* deſcrying the ſhip of *Theſeus* with a black ſail, caſt himſelf over the rocks down into the ſea, afterwards called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the firſt famous acts of *Theſeus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a paſſage between *Megara* and the *Peloponneſian Iſthmus*, and threw all whom he maſtered into the ſea, from the high rocks. Afterwards he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wreſtling, who uſed by that art to kill others. He alſo rid the country of *Procruſtos*, who uſed to bend down the ſtrong limbs of two trees, and faſtened by cords ſuch as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by their ſpringing up tore them aſunder. So did he root out *Periphetes*, and other miſchievous thieves and murderers. He overthrew the army of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vaſtations, entred the territory of *Athens*. *Theſeus* having taken their queen *Hippolyta* priſoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterwards his mother-in-law *Phædra* falling in love, and he refuſing to abuſe his father's bed, *Phædra* perſuaded *Theſeus* that his ſon offered to force her; after which it is feigned, that *Theſeus* beſought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his ſon's, by ſome violent death. *Neptune*, taking a time of advantage, ſent out his ſea-calves, as *Hippolytus* paſſed by the ſea-ſhore, and ſo affrighted his horſes, as caſting the coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces; which miſerable and undeſerved deſtiny, when *Phædra* had heard of, ſhe ſtrangled her ſelf. After which it is feigned, that *Diana* entreated *Æſculapius* to ſet *Hippolytus*'s pieces together, and to reſtore him to life; which done, becauſe he was chaſt, ſhe led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting and field ſports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his father ſought his life, thinking to eſcape by ſea, was affronted thereat, and received many wounds in forcing his paſſage and eſcape, which wounds *Æſculapius*, to wit, ſome skilful phyſician or chirurgeon, healed again; after which he paſs'd into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which he moſt delighted. But of thoſe ancient profane ſtories, *Plutarch* ſaith well, that as coſmographers in their deſcriptions of the world, where they find many vaſt places, whereof they knew nothing, fill the ſame with ſtrange beaſts, birds, and fiſhes, and with mathematical lines; ſo do the *Grecian* hiſtorians and poets imbroider and intermix the tales of ancient times with a world of fictions and fabulous diſcourſes. True it is, that *Theſeus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made his pattern, and was the firſt that gathered the *Athenians* from being diſperſed in thin and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for deviſing them laws to live under, and in order, he was, by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end baniſhed. Some ſay *per oſtraciſmum*, by the law of lots, or names written on ſhells, which was a device of his own.

He ſtole *Helen* (as they ſay) when ſhe was 15 years old, from *Aphidna*, which city *Caſtor* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theſeus*, to recover their ſiſter. [b] *Eraſiſtratus* and *Pauſanias* write, that *Theſeus* begat her with child at *Argos*, where ſhe erected a temple to *Lucina*; but her age makes the tale unlikely to be true, and ſo doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum, &c.* The rape [c] *Euſebius* finds in the firſt of [d] *Jair*, who governed *Iſrael* 22 years, to whom ſucceeded *Jephta* or *Jepte* 6 years, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled 7 years, and then *Habdon* 8 years; in whoſe time was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Theſeus* had a child by her in the 1ſt of *Jair* (at which time we muſt count her no leſs than 15 years old; for the women did not commonly begin ſo young as they do now) ſhe was then at leaſt 52 years old, at the deſtruction of *Troy*; and when ſhe was ſtolen by *Paris* 38; but herein the chronologers do not agree. Yet [e] *Euſebius* and *Bunting*, with *Halicarnaſſeus* do in effect conſent, that the city was entred, and burnt in the firſt year of *Demophoon* king of *Athens*, the ſucceſſor of *Mneſtheus*, the ſucceſſor of *Theſeus*, 17 days before the ſummer tropick; and that about the 11th of *September* following, the *Trojans* croſs'd the *Helleſpont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there; and in the next ſpring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the ſecond year, the next ſummer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But [f] St. *Auguſtine* hath it otherwiſe, that when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*, *Mneſtheus Athens*, *Tautanes Aſſyria*, *Habdon Iſrael*, then *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, tranſporting with him in 20 ſhips the remainder of the *Trojans*; but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the ſtory of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyona Phæſtus* the two and twentieth king, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His ſucceſſors, *Adraſtus*, who reigned four years, and *Polyphides*, who

[a] In Tuſc. [b] Strab. l. 9. Pauſ. in Con. [c] In Epiſt. Helen. [d] Judg. 10. 3. [e] Bunt. Chron. Euſeb. Chron. Hal. l. 1. [f] Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 18. c. 19.

reigned

reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; ſo is alſo *Mneſtheus* king of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Peloponneſus*. In *Aſſyria*, during the government of theſe two peaceable judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tautanes*, reigned. In *Egypt Amenophis*, the ſon of *Ramſes*, and afterwards *Annemenes*.

SECT. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes *which was in this age.*

IN this age was the war of *Thebes*, the moſt ancient that ever *Greek* poet or hiſtorian wrote of. Wherefore the *Roman* poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly againſt the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection.

——— *Si nulla fuit genitalis origo*
Rerumque & mundi, ſemperque æterna fuere;
Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum, *& funera* Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetæ.

If all this world had no original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the ſiege of *Thebes* or *Troy*'s laſt fall,
Why did no poet ſing ſome elder war.

It is true, that in theſe times *Greece* was very ſavage, the inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the captains of greater tribes; and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt, his own, longer than he could hold it by ſtrong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourſe they uſed little, neither did they plant many trees, or ſow more corn than was neceſſary for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who meaſures the value of gold and braſs by the worth in cattle; ſaying, that the golden armour of *Glaucus*, was worth 100 beeves, and the copper armour of *Dicmedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and ſea were common and without ſhame, and to ſteal horſes or kine was the uſual exerciſe of their great men. Their towns were not many, whereof thoſe that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the principal city in *Peloponneſus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought, that the reſt were proportionable; briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and tho' in ſome ſmall towns of that half iſle of *Peloponneſus*, the inhabitants might have enjoyed quietneſs within their narrow bounds; as likewiſe did the *Athenians*, becauſe their country was ſo barren, that none did care to take it from them; yet that the land in general was very rude, it will eaſily appear to ſuch as conſider what *Thucydides* the greateſt of their hiſtorians hath written to this effect, in the preface to his hiſtory. Wherefore, as in theſe latter times, idle chroniclers uſe, when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great froſts, or dry ſummers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to read; ſo did they, who ſpake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*; or elſe rehearſe fables of men changed into birds, of ſtrange monſters, of adultery committed by their Gods, and the mighty men which they begat; without writing ought that ſavoured of humanity, before the time of the war of *Thebes*; the brief whereof is this.

Oedipus the ſon of *Laius* king of *Thebes*, having been caſt forth when he was an infant, becauſe an oracle foretold what evil ſhould come to paſs by him, did afterwards in a narrow paſſage contending for the way, ſlay his own father, not knowing either then, nor long after, who he was. Afterwards he became king of *Thebes*, by marriage of the queen *Jocaſta*, called by *Homer*, *Od.* 11. *Epicaſte*; on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two ſons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceſs of time, finding out by good circumſtances, who were his parents, he underſtood the grievous murder and inceſt he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the city. His wife and mother did hang herſelf. Some ſay, that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curſing his ſons, becauſe they ſuffered their father to be caſt out of the town, and aided him not. Howſoever it were, his two ſons made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould reign one year, and the other another year, and ſo by courſe reign interchangeably; but this appointment was ill obſerved. For when *Polynices* had, after a year's government, reſigned the kingdom to his brother; or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the firſt year, he refuſed to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the ſon of *Talaas* then reigned, unto whoſe palace coming by night, he was driven to ſeek lodging in an out-houſe on the back-ſide.

There he met with *Tydeus* the ſon of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*; with whom ſtriving about their lodging, he fell to blows. *Adraſtus* hearing the noiſe, came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a boar, in that of *Polynices* a lion, he remembred an old oracle, by which he was adviſed to give his two daughters in marriage to a lion and a boar; and accordingly he did beſtow his daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their countries. To this purpoſe levying an army, and aſſembling as many valiant captains as he could draw to follow him, he was deſirous, among others, to carry *Amphiaraus*, the ſon of *Oicleus*, a great ſoothſayer and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is ſaid to have foreſeen all things, knowing well that none of the captains ſhould eſcape, ſave only *Adraſtus*, did both utterly refuſe to be one in that expedition, and perſuaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering unto her a very fair bracelet, upon condition that ſhe ſhould cauſe her husband to aſſiſt him. The ſoothſayer knowing what ſhould work his deſtiny, forbad his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eyes ſo precious a jewel, that ſhe could not refuſe it. Therefore, whereas a great controverſy, between *Amphiaraus* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of compromiſe put unto the deciſion of *Eryphile*, either of them being bound by ſolemn oath to ſtand to her appointment: ſhe ordered the matter ſo, as a woman ſhould, that loved a bracelet better than her husband. He now finding that it was more eaſy to foreſee than avoid deſtiny, ſought for ſuch comfort as revenge might afford; giving in charge to his ſons; that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their mother, and make ſtrong war upon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his forces, of which the ſeven chief leaders were, himſelf, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (inſtead of whom ſome name *Meciſteus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopæus* the *Arcadian*, ſon of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the army came to the *Nemæan* wood, they met a woman, whom they deſired to help them to ſome water, ſhe having a child in her arms, laid

laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a ſpring; but ere ſhe returned, a ſerpent had ſlain the child. This woman was *Hypſipyle* the daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom ſhe would have ſaved when the women of the iſle ſlew all the males by conſpiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For ſuch her piety, the *Lemnian* wives did ſell her to pirates, and the pirates to *Lycurgus* lord of the country about *Nemæa*, whoſe young ſon *Opheltes*, or *Archemorus*, ſhe did nurſe, and loſt, as is ſhewed before. When upon the child's death ſhe hid herſelf for fear of her maſter, *Amphiaraus* told her ſons where they ſhould find her; and the *Argives* did both kill the ſerpent which had ſlain the child, and in memory of the chance, did inſtitute ſolemn funeral games called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adraſtus* won the prize with his ſwift horſe *Arion*, *Tydeus* with whorlbats, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Parthenopæus* at ſhooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the firſt inſtitution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are who think, that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus*, a *Lacedemonian*. Some ſay by *Hercules*, when he had ſlain the *Nemæan* lion: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here ſet down.

From *Nemæa*, the *Argives* marching onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent ambaſſador to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of covenants between him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly reſolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebans*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambuſh, to intercept him at his return to the army, of which fifty he ſlew all but one, whom he ſent back to the city, as a reporter and witneſs of his valour. When the *Argives* underſtood how reſolved *Eteocles* was, they preſented themſelves before the city, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is ſaid to have had at that time ſeven gates, which belike ſtood not far aſunder, ſeeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far ſtronger could ſcarce muſter up more thouſands than *Thebes* had gates) did compaſs the town. *Adraſtus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygean*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proetis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electra*, and *Polynices* at *Hypſiſta*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed commanders unto them, took advice of *Tireſias* the ſoothſayer, who promiſed victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menœcius* the ſon of *Creon*, a principal man of the city, would vow himſelf to be ſlain in honour of *Mars* the God of war. So full of malice and pride is the devil, and ſo envious at his Creator's glory, that he not only challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and ſacrifices, with all divine worſhip, but commandeth us to offer our ſelves, and our children unto him, when he hath ſufficiently clouded mens underſtandings, and bewitched their wills with ignorance and blind devotion. And ſuch abominable ſacrifice of men, maids, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all nations, when thro' ignorance or fear they were moſt filled with ſuperſtition. But as they grew more wiſe, ſo did he wax leſs impudent in cunning, tho' not leſs malicious in deſiring the continuance of ſuch barbarous inhumanity. For king *Diphilus* in *Cyprus*, without advice of any oracle, made the idol of that country reſt contented with an ox inſtead of a man. *Tiberius* forbad human ſacrifices in *Africk*; and crucified the prieſts in the groves where they had practiſed them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay inſtead of the living, yet among the ſavages in the *Weſt-Indies*, theſe cruel offerings have been practiſed of late ages; which as it is a ſufficient argument, that *Satan*'s malice is only covered and hidden by this ſubtilty among civil people: ſo may it ſerve as a probable conjecture of the barbariſms then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menœcius*, as ſoon as he underſtood that his death might purchaſe victory to his people, beſtowed himſelf (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himſelf before the gates of the city. Then was a battle fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed ſo far at the firſt, that *Capaneus* advancing ladders to the walls, got up upon the rampart; whence, when he fell, or was caſt down, or (as writers have it) was ſtricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were ſlain in this battle, which cauſed both ſides to deſire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in ſingle fight; where the two brethren accordingly ſlew each other.

Another battle was fought after their deaths, wherein the ſons of *Aſtæcus* behaved themſelves very valiantly: *Iſmarus*, one of the ſons, ſlew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the ſeven princes; *Parthenopæus* being another of the ſeven (who was ſaid to have been ſo fair, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was ſlain by *Amphidicus*, or, as ſome ſay, by *Periclymenus* the ſon of *Neptune*; and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*; yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphiaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and ſwallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is ſaid, that *Pallas* who had brought from *Jupiter* ſuch remedy for his wounds, as ſhould have made him immortal, refuſed to beſtow it upon him; whereby, perhaps, was meant, that his honour, which might have continued immortal, did periſh through the beaſtly rage that he ſhewed at his death.

The hoſt of the *Argives* being wholly diſcomfited, *Adraſtus* and *Amphiaraus* fled; of whom *Amphiaraus* is ſaid to have been ſwallowed quick into the earth, near to the river *Iſmenus*, together with his chariot, and ſo loſt out of mens ſight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carcaſes or drowned in the river; and his body never found, nor greatly ſought for. *Adraſtus* eſcaped on his good horſe *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where ſitting at an altar, called the altar of mercy, he made ſupplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the government of *Thebes*, after the death of *Eteocles*, would not ſuffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried; but cauſed *Antigone*, the only daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, becauſe ſhe had ſought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creon*'s edict. The *Athenians* condeſcending to the requeſt of *Adraſtus*, did ſend forth an army under the conduct of *Theſeus*, which took *Thebes*, and reſtored the bodies of the *Argives* to ſepulchre; at which time *Evadne* the wife of *Capaneus*, threw herſelf into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the ſons of thoſe captains which were ſlain at *Thebes*, that any leſs revenge ſhould be taken of their fathers death, than the ruin of the city; wherefore ten years after having levied forces, *Ægialeus* the ſon of *Adraſtus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*,

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Promachus of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Therſander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Meciſteus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmæon* the ſon of *Amphiaraus*; with whom alſo went his brother *Amphilochus*. *Apollo* promiſed victory if *Alcmæon* were their captain, whom afterwards by another oracle he commanded to kill his own mother.

When they came to the city, they were incountred by *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles*, then king of the *Thebans* (for *Creon* was only tutor to *Laodamas*) who tho' he did valiantly in the battel, and ſlew *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worſt, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) ſlain by *Alcmæon*. After this diſaſter the citizens began to deſire compoſition; but in the mean time they convey'd themſelves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and ſo began to wander up and down, till at length they built the town called *Eſtiæa*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the town, entring into it, ſacked it, threw down the walls, and laid it waſte; howbeit it is reported by ſome, that the town was ſaved by *Therſander*, the ſon of *Polynices*, who cauſing the citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he ſaved the city from utter deſtruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the war of *Troy*, which very ſhortly after enſued.

SECT. IX.

Of Jephta, *and how the three hundred years which he ſpeaketh of*, Judg. xi. 28. *are to be reconciled with the places*, Acts xiii. 20. 1 Kings vi. 1. *together with ſome other things touching chronology about theſe times.*

AFter the death of *Jair* (near about whoſe times theſe things happened in *Greece*, and during whoſe government, and that of *Thola*, *Iſrael* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the law and ſervice of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worſhipped [a] *Baal* and *Aſteroth*, they now became followers of all the heathen nations adjoining, and imbraced the idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*; with thoſe of the *Philiſtines*. And as it before pleaſed God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*; ſo now he ſcourged them by the [b] *Ammonites*, and afterwards by the *Philiſtines*.

Now among the *Iſraelites*, thoſe of *Gilead* being moſt oppreſs'd, becauſe they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforc'd to ſeek *Jeptha*, whom they had formerly deſpiſed and caſt from them, becauſe he was baſe born; but he (notwithſtanding thoſe former injuries) participating more of godly compaſſion, than of deviliſh hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the war, upon condition that they ſhould eſtabliſh him their governour after victory. And when he had diſputed with *Ammon* for the land, diſproved *Ammon*'s right, and fortified the title of *Iſrael* by many arguments, the ſame prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being ſtrengthened by God, overthrew them; and did not only beat them out of the plains, but forc'd them over the mountains of *Arabia*, even to [c] *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, cities expreſs'd heretofore in the deſcription of the holy land. After which victory it is ſaid, that he performed the vain vow, which he made, to ſacrifice the firſt living creature he incountred, coming out of his houſe to meet him; which happened to be his own daughter, and only child, who with all patience ſubmitted herſelf, and only deſired two months time to bewail her virginity on the mountains of *Gilead*; becauſe in her the iſſues of her father ended; but the other opinion that ſhe was not offered, is more probable; which [d] *Borræus* and others prove ſufficiently.

After theſe things the children of *Iſrael*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephta*'s victory, otherwiſe making way to their future calamity, and to the moſt grievous ſlavery that ever *Iſrael* ſuffered, quarrelled with *Jephta*, that they were not called to the war, as before-time they had conteſted with *Gideon*. *Jephta* hereupon inforc'd to defend himſelf againſt their fury, in the incounter ſlew of them [e] 42000, which ſo weaken'd the body of the land, as the *Philiſtines* had an eaſy conqueſt of them all not long after: *Jephta*, after he had judged *Iſrael* 6 years died; to whom ſucceeded *Ibzan*, who ruled 7 years: after him *Elon* was their judge 10 years: in all which time *Iſrael* had peace. *Euſebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the reſt, it ſhall be neceſſary upon the occaſion of *Jephta*'s account of the times *Judg.* xi. 28. (where he ſays that *Iſrael* had then poſſeſs'd the eaſt ſide of *Jordan* 300 years) to ſpeak ſomewhat of the times of the judges, and of the differing opinions among the divines and chronologers: there being found three places of ſcripture, touching this point, ſeeming repugnant, or diſagreeing: the firſt is in this diſpute between *Jephta* and *Ammon*, for the right and poſſeſſion of *Gilead:* the ſecond is that of St. *Paul*, *Acts* xiii. the third is that which is in the 1ſt of *Kings*. *Jephta* here challengeth the poſſeſſion of *Gilead* for 300 years: St. *Paul* giveth to the judges, as it ſeems, from the end of *Joſhua*, to the laſt of *Heli*, 450 years. In the 1ſt of kings it is taught, that from the departing of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomon*'s temple, there were conſumed 480 years. To the firſt, *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephta*'s 300 years to be but 266 years, to wit, 18 of *Joſhua*, 40 of *Othoniel*, 80 of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40 of *Deborah*, 40 of *Gideon*, 3 of *Abimelech*, 23 of *Thola*, and 22 of *Jair:* but *Jephta* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) [f] putteth or propoſeth a certain number, for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecenteſimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Iſraeli*; So he ſpeaketh (ſaith he) as meaning, that then it was about or well nigh the three hundredth year, ſince *Iſrael* poſſeſſed thoſe countries, no man making queſtion of their right. *Codoman* on the contrary finds more years than *Jephta* named by 65, to wit, 365, whereof 71 were ſpent in *Iſrael*'s captivity, at ſeveral times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephta* forbare to repeat the whole ſum, or any great part, leſt the *Ammonite* ſhould have juſtly objected, that 71 of thoſe years, the *Iſraelites* were in captivity and vaſſals to their neighbour princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300 years, it was enough for preſcription, he omitted the reſt.

To juſtify this account of 365 years, beſides the 71 years of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus*'s 266, he addeth alſo 28 years more, and ſo maketh up the ſum of 365. Theſe 28 years he findeth out thus; 20 years he gives to the ſeniors between *Joſhua* and *Othoniel*; and where

[a] Judg. 10. [b] *The perſecution of the* Ammonites *laſted* 18 *years, and ended in the year of the world* 2820, *in which year* Jephta *began.* Judg. 11. [c] Judg. 11. 33. [d] Bor. in Judg. [e] Judg. 12. [f] Id facit numero certo pro incerto propoſito.

Beroaldus alloweth but 18 years to *Joſhua*'s government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule laſted 26 according to *Joſephus*; whereas St. *Auguſtine* and *Euſebius* give him 27, *Melanchthon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28 years is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But tho' we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of ſome part of the years of affliction (to wit, 34 years of the 71) if we add them to the 266 years of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of theſe, we have the juſt number of 300 years. Neither is it ſtrange, that *Jephta* ſhould leave out more than half of theſe years of affliction: ſeeing, as it is already ſaid, the *Ammonites* might except againſt theſe 71 years, and ſay, that during theſe years, or at leaſt a good part of them, the *Iſraelites* had no quiet poſſeſſion of the countries in queſtion. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making thoſe 300 years remembred by *Jephta*, to be 306, which odd years, faith he, *Jephta* omitteth. But becauſe the years of every judge as they reigned, cannot make up this number of 306, but do only compound 266, therefore doth *Luther* add to this number, the whole time which *Moſes* ſpent in the deſerts of *Arabia Petræa*; which 40 years of *Moſes*, added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266, make indeed 306.

But I ſee nothing in the text to warrant *Luther*'s judgment herein; for in the diſpute between *Jephta* and *Ammon* for the land of *Gilead*, it is written in the perſon of *Ammon* in theſe words: [a] *Becauſe Iſrael took my land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc*, &c. *now therefore reſtore thoſe lands quietly or in peace.* So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moſes*'s departure out of *Egypt*; but from the time that the land was poſſeſs'd. For it is ſaid, *Quia cepit Iſrael terram meam*; Becauſe *Iſrael* took my land; and therefore the beginning of this account, is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephta*'s anſwer alſo confirmeth in theſe words; [a] *When* Iſrael *dwelt in* Heſhbon *and in her towns, and in* Aroer *and in her towns, and in all the cities that are by the coaſt of* Arnon, 300 *years: why did ye not then recover them in that ſpace?* So as this place ſpeaks it directly, that *Iſrael* had inhabited and dwelt in the cities of *Gilead* 300 years; and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Iſrael* had to poſſeſs it, it ſeemeth ſomewhat ſtrained to me; for we do not uſe to reckon the time of our conqueſts in *France*, from our princes intents or purpoſes, but from their victories and poſſeſſions.

Junius nevertheleſs likes the opinion of *Luther*, and ſays, that this time of 300 years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the firſt of *Jephta*'s narration; when he makes a brief repetition of *Moſes*'s whole journey; to wit, at the 16th verſe of the xith chapter of *Judges* in our tranſlation in theſe words; [b] *But when Iſrael came up from Egypt*, &c. And therefore *Moſes*'s 40 years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305 years; and not only the time in which *Iſrael* poſſeſs'd *Gilead*, according to the text, and *Jephta*'s own words; of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom alſo I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480 years, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the temple, even from the firſt departure out of *Egypt*, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of St. *Paul*'s and *Jephta*'s account with this reckoning, than any of thoſe that as yet have been ſignified. For firſt, touching *Jephta*'s 300 years of poſſeſſion of the eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had diſpoſſeſſed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof; ſo that when the *Iſraelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of poſſeſſion, which they had, paſſed to *Iſrael*; and ſo *Jephta* might ſay, that they had poſſeſſed thoſe countries 300 years, reckoning 266 years of their own poſſeſſion, and the reſt of the poſſeſſion of the two kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whoſe right the *Iſraelites* had by the law of conqueſt.

The ſecond place diſputed is this of St. *Paul*, *Acts* xiii. that from the end of [c] *Joſhua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there paſs'd 450 years. And this place *Luther* underſtandeth alſo beſides the letter, as I find his opinion cited by *Functius Krentſemius*, and *Beza*, for I have not read his commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moſes*, to the laſt year of *Heli*, but 357 years; and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egreſſion out of *Egypt* to the building of the temple, which in 1 *Kings* vi. is ſaid to be 480 years.

Now for as much as St. *Paul* (as it ſeems) finds 450 years from the death of *Joſhua*, to the laſt of *Heli*, and leaves but 30 years for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40, for *David* who ruled 40, and for *Solomon* who wore the crown three whole years ere the foundation of the temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was an error in the ſcribe, who wrote out this piece of ſcripture of St. *Paul*, to wit, [d] *Then afterwards he gave unto them judges about* 450 *years, unto the time of Samuel the prophet*; the words *then afterward*, being clearly referred to the death or after the death of *Joſhua*, as ſhall be hereafter proved. But where St. *Luke*, rehearſing the words of St. *Paul*, wrote 350 years (ſaith *Luther*) the ſcribe in the tranſcription being deceived, by the affinity of thoſe two *Greek* words, whereof the one ſignifieth 300, and the other 400, wrote *Tetracoſiois* for *Triacoſiois* 400 years for 300 years, and 450 for 350. This he ſeeketh to ſtrengthen by many arguments; to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath *Codoman*; where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moſes*'s death, he takes his account from the death of *Joſhua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430 years, to wit, of the judges (not reckoning *Sampſon*'s years) 319, and of years of ſervitude and affliction under ſtrangers 111. The reaſon why he doth not reckon *Sampſon*'s 20 years, is, becauſe he thinks that they were part of the 40 years, in which the *Philiſtines* are ſaid to have oppreſſed *Iſrael*. For it is plain, that during all [e] *Sampſon*'s time, they were lords over *Iſrael*. So then of the judges, beſides the 111 years of ſervitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have ſaid) 319 years, which two ſums put together make 430 years, and whereas St. *Paul* nameth 450 years, he finds 20 years to make up St. *Paul*'s number, to have been ſpent after the death of *Joſhua* by the ſeniors, before the captivity of *Chuſhan*, or the election of *Othoniel*; which 20 years added to 430, make 450, according to St. *Paul*. To approve this time of elders, he citeth two places of ſcripture, namely, the xxivth of *Joſhua*, and the 2d of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Iſrael ſerved the Lord all the days of Joſhua, and all the days of*

[a] Judg. 11. 28. [b] Junius *in the* 11*th of* Jud. note. [c] *Read the* 24*th of* Joſhua, *and* 2 Judg. 7. Funct. Chron. fol. 4. Beza *in his annotations upon the* 13*th of the* Acts, *ver.* 20. [d] Acts 13. 20. [e] Judg. 13. Judg. 15. 11.

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the elders that over-lived Joſhua, ſo as to theſe times of the elders, *Codoman* giveth 20 years, which make as before 450, according to St. *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this opinion, if here alſo the 20 years of the ſeniors, between *Joſhua* and *Othoniel*, ſhould be deny'd. For they which deny theſe years, and make *Othoniel*'s 40 to begin preſently upon the death of *Joſhua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they have 20 years leſs than *Codoman*, ſo towards the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction, apart from the years of the judges) in the number of *Sampſon*'s years, and of the 40 years of the *Philiſtines* oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*, they have 20 years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon theſe 40 years of oppreſſion, all of them apart from *Sampſon*'s 20, but *Codoman* as is ſaid makes *Sampſon*'s 20 to be the one half of the 40 of the *Philiſtines* oppreſſions; ſo that if the 20 years of the ſeniors be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the text ſeems to inforce) that the *Philiſtines* in an *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampſon* judged *Iſrael*, vexed the *Iſraelites* 40 years, beſides the 20 while *Sampſon* was their judge, and ſo the reckoning will come to 450 years between the end of *Joſhua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, tho' we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the ſeniors, between *Joſhua* and *Othoniel*: for if the times of their affliction be ſum'd, they make 111 years, to which if we add the years of the judges, which are 339, we have the juſt ſum of 450. And this computation, either one way or other, may ſeem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the text, altho' we ſhould admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350 for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350 years, is to begin immediately, or ſoon after the death of *Moſes*; certainly the place of St. *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, tho' it be received for true, that there was *vitium ſcriptoris* in the reſt. For theſe be St. *Paul*'s words; *And about the time of* 40 *years, God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſs; and he deſtroyed ſeven nations in the land of Canaan, and divided their land to them by lot. Then afterwards he gave unto them judges about* 450 *years, unto the time of Samuel the prophet.* So as firſt in the 18th verſe he ſpeaketh of *Moſes*, and of his years ſpent in the wilderneſs, then in the 19th verſe he cometh to the acts of *Joſhua*; which were that he deſtroy'd 7 nations in the land of [a] *Canaan*, and divided their land to them by lot. In the 20th verſe it followeth; *Then afterwards he gave them judges about* 450 *years*, &c. And therefore to reckon from the death of *Moſes*, is wide of St. *Paul*'s meaning, ſo far as my weak underſtanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any weight in the opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is that it ſeems irreconcileable with the account 1 *Kings* vi. 11. For if indeed there were ſpent 450 years between the end of *Joſhua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there muſt needs be much more than 480 years between the beginning of the *Iſraelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the temple by *Solomon*. To this difficulty *Codoman* anſwereth, that theſe 480 years 1 *Kings* vi. 1. muſt begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25 years after the beginning of *Othoniel*'s government; from whence if we caſt the years of the judges, with the years of ſervitude (which ſums according to his account, of which we have already ſpoken, make 397 years) and ſo to theſe years add the 40 of *Samuel* and *Saul*, and the 40 of *David*, and the 3 of *Solomon*, we ſhall have the juſt ſum of 480 years. Neither is it hard, ſaith he, that the *Annus egreſſionis*, 1 *Reg.* vi. 1. ſhould be underſtood *Egreſſionis non incipientis ſed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Egypt* (for ſo it is in the original) or the year after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be underſtood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For ſo we find that things, which were done 40 years after they had ſet foot out of *Egypt*, are ſaid to have been done in their going out of *Egypt*, as *Pſalm* cxiv. *When Iſrael came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back.* And *Deut.* iv. 45. *Theſe are the teſtimonies which Moſes ſpake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus far it ſeems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the words *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiviſſent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Junius*, *Deut.* iv. 45. do well read *quum exiviſſent*, for *in exitu*, as it ſeems that herein he doth well, why may not we alſo, to avoid contradiction in the ſcripture, expound *ab exitu* to be *poſtquam exiviſſent*?

The next point to be cleared is, how their journeying ſhould be ſaid, not to have had end until the 25th year after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* anſwereth, that then it had no end till when all the tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time; at which time the *Danites* at length ſeated themſelves, as it is declared, *Judg.* xviii. For doubtleſs to this time the expedition may moſt conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephtha*, *Judg.* xviii. 1. and St. *Paul*, with that in 1 *Kings* vi. Now whereas it is ſaid, that the expedition of the *Danites* was, when there was no king in *Iſrael*: To this *Codoman* anſwereth, that it is not neceſſary that we ſhould ſuppoſe that *Othoniel* lived all thoſe 40 years of reſt, of which *Judg.* iii. 11. So that by the 25 years after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at leaſt, as *Gideon* did, he might have refuſed all ſoveraignty; and ſo either way it might truly be ſaid, that at this time (to wit, the 25th year after *Othoniel*'s victory) there was no king in *Iſrael*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as conſonant to other chronologers grounding their opinions on the plain text, where it is indiſputable, as it is in it ſelf round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good; eſpecially conſidering that the ſpeeches of St. *Paul* have not otherwiſe found any interpretation, maintaining them as abſolutely true, in ſuch manner as they ſound and are ſet down. But ſeeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may juſtly ſuſpect the ſuppoſition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being ſuch as the conſent of many authors would hardly ſuffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conqueſt of *Laiſh*, by the tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Othoniel*? Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to ſhew that *Othoniel* did ſo renounce the office of a judge after five and twenty years, that it might then he truly ſaid there was no king in *Iſrael*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes.

Now concerning the rehearſal of the law by *Moſes*, and the ſtopping of *Jordan*, they might

[a] Joſh. 14. 1.

indeed

indeed be properly ſaid to have been, when *Iſrael* came out of *Egypt*; like as we ſay, that king *Edward* I. was crowned when he came out of the *Holy Land*; for ſo all journies with their accidents commonly take name from the place, either whence or whither they tend. But I think he can find no ſuch phraſe of ſpeech in ſcripture, as limiteth a journey by an accident, or ſaith, by converting the propoſition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Iſrael* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed moſt improper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finiſhed long before; namely to ſay, that king *Edward*, at his arrival out of *Palæſtina*, did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carliſle*. How may we then believe, that enterprize performed ſo many years after the diviſion of the land (which followed the conqueſt at the journey's end) ſhould be ſaid to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not think it moſt ſtrange, that the moſt notable account of time, ſerving as the only guide for certain ages in ſacred chronology, ſhould not take name and beginning, from that illuſtrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearſed often by God himſelf among the principal of his benefits to *Iſrael*, whereof the very day and month are recorded in ſcripture (as likewiſe are the year and month wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occaſion changed; but ſhould have reference to the ſurprizing of a town by 600 men, that robb'd a chappel by the way, and ſtole from thence idols to be their guides, as not going to work in God's name? For this accident, whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he ſuppoſeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in ſuch a year, becauſe it beſt ſtood with his interpretation ſo to have it, than for any certainty or likelihoood of the thing itſelf.

Wherefore we may beſt agree with ſuch as affirm, that the apoſtle St. *Paul* did not herein labour to ſet down the courſe of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpoſe) but only to ſhew that God, who had choſen *Iſrael* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by judges and prophets, unto the time of *Saul*; did raiſe up our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* out of the ſeed of *David* the king, in whoſe ſucceſſion the crown was eſtabliſhed, and promiſe made of a kingdom that ſhould have no end. Now in rehearſing briefly thus much, which tended as a preface to the declaration following (wherein he ſheweth Chriſt to have been the true *Meſſias*) the apoſtle was ſo far from labouring to make an exact calculation of time (the hiſtory being ſo well known, and believed of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he ſpake as it were at large of the 40 years conſumed in the wilderneſs, whereof no man doubted; ſaying, that God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſs about 40 years. In like manner he proceeded, ſaying, that from the diviſion of the land unto the days of *Samuel* the prophet, in whoſe time they required to have a king, there paſſed about 450 years. Neither did he ſtand to tell them, that 111 years of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339 years of the *Judges*; for this had been an impertinent digreſſion from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is a work not ſo needful as laborious, to ſearch out of this place, that which the apoſtle did not here intend to teach, when the ſum of 480 years is ſo expreſly and purpoſely ſet down.

Now that the words of St. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy thro' error of ſome ſcribe) are not ſo curiouſly to be examined in matter of chronology, but muſt be taken as having reference to the memory and apprehenſion of the vulgar, it is evident by his aſcribing in the ſame place 40 years to the reign of *Saul*; whereas it is manifeſt, that thoſe years were divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that far the greater part of them were ſpent under the government of the prophet, howſoever they are here included in the reign of the king. As for thoſe, that with ſo much cunning forſake the general opinion, when it favoureth not ſuch expoſition, as they bring out of a good mind, to help where the need is not over great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of St. *Paul* were ſufficiently juſtified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the ſcribes in thoſe days, that the 111 years of ſervitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339 years aſcribed to the judges; which account the apoſtle would not in this place ſtand to contradict, but rather choſe to ſpeak as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *Quaſi*, where he ſaith, *Quaſi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; As it were four hundred and fifty years. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs have it to be ſo indeed; and therefore disjoins the members to make the account even. In ſo doing he daſheth himſelf againſt a notable text; whereupon all authors have builded (as well they might and ought) that purpoſely and preciſely doth caſt up the years from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomon*'s temple, not omitting the very month itſelf.

Now (as commonly the firſt apprehenſions are ſtrongeſt) having already given faith to his own interpretation of St. *Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find ſome new expoſition for that, which is of itſelf moſt plain, than to examine his own conjecture, upon a place that is full of controverſy. Thus by expounding, after a ſtrange method, that which is manifeſt by that which is obſcure, he loſeth himſelf in thoſe ways, wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one ſhould urge him to give reaſon of theſe new opinions, he muſt needs anſwer, that *Othoniel* could not govern above 25 years, becauſe then was the taking of *Laiſh*, *at which time there was no king in Iſrael*: that the *Danites* muſt needs have taken *Laiſh* at that time, becauſe elſe we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the temple, to any action that might be termed the coming of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, without excluding the years of ſervitude; and that the years of ſervitude muſt needs be included, for that otherwiſe he himſelf ſhould have ſpent his time vainly, in ſeeking to pleaſure St. *Paul* with an expoſition. Whether this ground be ſtrong enough to uphold a paradox, I leave it to the deciſion of the judicious reader.

And now to proceed in our ſtory. To the time of *Jephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the proviſions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* king of *Mycenæ*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibzan*; from which time, if the war of *Troy* (as they ſuppoſe) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had ſix years to prepare themſelves; the rule holding not true in this war, *Longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; That a long preparation begets a ſpeedy victory; for the *Greeks* conſumed 10 years in the

the attempt; and *Troy* as it ſeems was entred, ſack'd and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* was taken, which was in the ſixth year of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule died, after he had been the father of 40 ſons and 30 grand-children. And whereas it is ſuppoſed, that the 40 years of *Iſrael*'s oppreſſion by the *Philiſtines* (of which *Judg.* xiii. 1.) took beginning from the ninth year of *Jair*, and ended with the laſt of *Habdon*; I ſee no great reaſon for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cauſe of quarrel againſt *Jephta*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philiſtines* had held them in ſervitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000 armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppreſs'd; and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought againſt the *Philiſtines*, with ſo powerful an army, for their own deliverance, than againſt their own brethren the *Iſraelites*? But *Ammon* being overthrown, it ſeemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore theſe 40 years muſt either be ſupplied elſewhere, as in the time of *Sampſon*, and afterwards; or elſe they muſt be referred to the *Inter-regnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Iſrael* by *Sampſon*, ſuch as it was.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the war of Troy.

SECT. I.

Of the genealogy of the kings of Troy, *with a note touching the ancient poets how they have obſerved hiſtorical truth.*

THE war at *Troy*, with other ſtories hereupon depending (becauſe the ruin of this city, by moſt chronologers is found in the time of *Habdon*, judge of *Iſrael*, whom in the laſt place I have mentioned) I rather chooſe here to intreat of in one intire narration, beginning with the lineal deſcent of their princes, than to break the ſtory into pieces, by rehearſing a-part in divers years the diverſity of occurrents.

The hiſtory of the ancient kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that kingdom. This is the opinion of *Virgil*; which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Beroſus*, it is the more probable; if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it reſts upon the authority of *Virgil*, who ſaith thus:

[a] *Creta* Jovis *magni medio jacet inſula ponto:*
Mons Idæus *ubi, & gentis cunabula noſtræ.*
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximus unde pater (*ſi rite audita recordor*)
Teucrus *Rhœteas primum eſt advectus ad oras:*
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium *& arces*
Pergameæ ſteterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, *Corybantiaque æra,*
Idæumque nemus.

In the main ſea the iſle of *Crete* doth lie:
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.
There is mount *Ida*; there in fruitful land
An hundred great and goodly cities ſtand.
Thence (if I follow not miſtaken fame)
Teucer the eldeſt of our grand-ſires came
To the *Rhœtean* ſhores; and reigned there
Ere yet fair *Ilion* was built, and ere
The towers of *Troy*; their dwelling-place they fought
In loweſt vales. Hence *Cybel*'s rights were brought:
Hence *Corybantian* cymbales did remove:
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it ſeems by *Virgil*, who followed ſurely good authority, that *Teucer* firſt gave name to that country, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*; of which *Dardanus* in the ſame book he ſpeaks thus:

Eſt locus Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ.
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ ſedes, hinc Dardanus *ortus:*
Jaſiuſque pater, genus a quo principe noſtrum.

Heſperia the *Grecians* call the place;
An ancient fruitful land, a warlike race.
Oenotrians held it, now the latter progeny
Gives it their captain's name, and calls it *Italy*.
This ſeat belongs to us, hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the author of our ſtock, *Jaſius*.

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[b] *Atque equidem memini* (*fama eſt obſcurior annis*)
Auruncos ita ferre ſenes, his ortus ut agris
Dardanus *Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,*
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhenâ ab ſede profectum
Aurea nunc ſolio ſtellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well
(Though time have made the fame obſcure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*;
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leaving *Tuſcaine* (where he earſt had place)
With *Corytus* did ſail to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he ſits on high,
In golden palace of the ſtarry skie.

But contrary to this, and to ſo many authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that theſe names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, and *Thraces*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the ſon of *Japhet*; and that the *Dardanians*, *Myſians*, and *Aſcanians*, mix'd with the *Trojans*, were *German* nations, deſcended from *Aſhkenaz*, the ſon of *Gomer*: of whom the country, lake, and river of *Aſcanius* in *Aſia* took name. That *Aſhkenaz* gave name to thoſe places and people, it is not unlikely; neither is it unlikely that the *Aſcanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times paſs into *Europe*; that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tiras*, the conjecture is ſomewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnaſſeus* makes him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the ſame opinion. *Virgil* (as is before ſhewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*,

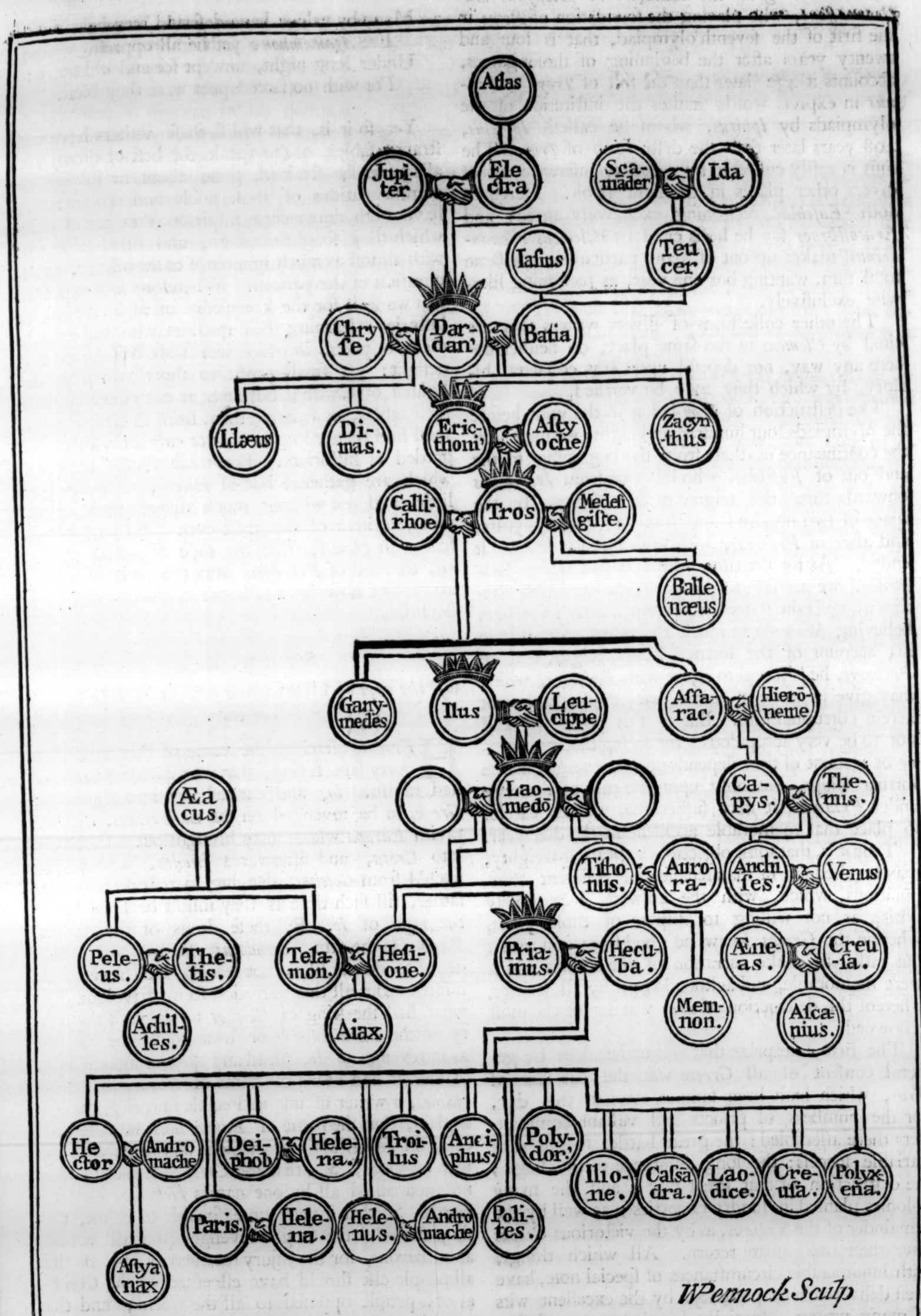
[a] Æneid. 3.

[b] Æneid. l. 7.

whoſe authority is the more to be regarded, becauſe he had good means to find the truth, which it is probable that he carefully ſought, and in this did follow; ſeeing it no way concerned *Auguſtus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus* and others, that think him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the ſon of *Scamander* and *Ida*, lord of the country, not founder of the city; and his daughter or niece *Batia*, was the ſecond wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further thinks, that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*; and that theſe were parents to *Chryſe*, firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwiſe, and the common tradition of poets makes *Dardanus* the ſon of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* king of *Hetruria*, to whom ſhe bare *Jaſius*. *Annius* out of his *Beroſus* finds the name of *Camboblaſcon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Coritus*, as a title of dignity, making him father of *Dardanus* and *Jaſius*; and further telling us very particularly of the faction between theſe brethren, which grew to ſuch heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obſcurity of the hiſtory gives leave to *Annius* of ſaying what he liſt. I that love not to uſe ſuch liberty, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the ſon of *Jupiter*, it muſt have been of ſome elder *Jupiter*, than the father of thoſe that lived about the war of *Troy*. So it is likewiſe probable, that *Atlas* the father of *Electra*, was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which alſo is the opinion of [a] *Boccace*. For (as hath often been ſaid) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almoſt every name of the gods; but it was the cuſtom to aſcribe to ſome one the acts of the reſt, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my ſelf, with making any narrow ſearch into theſe fabulous antiquities, but ſet down the pedigree according to the general fame; allowing to *Teucer* ſuch parents as *Diodorus* gives, becauſe others give him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

[a] Boccace. de gen. Deor. l. 4. c. 31.

Atlas



Concerning the beginning and continuance of the *Trojan* kingdom, with the length of every king's reign, I have chosen good authors to be my guides, that in a history, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the *Greeks*, I might not follow uncertainties, ill cohering with the consent of writers, and general passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that city whilst it stood, it is reckoned by [a] *Diodorus* to be 780 years more ancient than the beginning of the 94th olympiad. Whereas therefore 372 did pass between the beginning of the olympiads, the first year of the 94th, it is is manifest, that the remainder of 780, that is 408 years went between the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authority of [b] *Diodorus* be good proof, who elsewhere tells us, that the return of the *Heraclidæ*, which was eighty years after the fall of *Troy*, was 328 years before the first olympiad.

[a] Diod. l. 14. [b] Diod. in præf.

Here-

Hereunto agrees the authority of [a]*Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the firſt of the ſeventh olympiad, that is four and twenty years after the beginning of thoſe games, accounts it 432 later than the full of *Troy*. [b]*Solinus* in expreſs words makes the inſtitution of the olympiads by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 408 years later than the deſtruction of *Troy*. The ſum is eaſily collected by neceſſary inference out of divers other places in the ſame book. Hereunto doth [c]*Euſebius*, reckoning excluſively agree: and *Eratoſthenes* (as he he is cited by [d]*Clemens Alexandrinus*(makes up out of many particulars, the ſame total ſum, wanting but one year, as reckoning likewiſe excluſively.

The other collections of divers writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the ſame place, do neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collateral hiſtory, by which they may be verified.

The deſtruction of *Troy* being in the year before the olympiads four hundred and eight, we muſt ſeek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of *Euſebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* onwards thro' the reigns of four kings, by the ſpace of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom alſo at length it ended. As for the time which paſſed under *Laomedon*, we are fain to do as others have done before us, and take it upon truſt from *Annius*'s authors; believing *Manetho* ſo much the rather, for that in his account of the former kings reigns, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Euſebius*, which may give us leave to think that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very ſcrupulous: for ſeeing that no hiſtory or account of time depends upon the reigns of the former kings, but only upon the ruin of the city under *Priamus*, it may ſuffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is, that ſome objections appearing weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which, with the anſwers, I purpoſely omit, as not willing to diſpute of thoſe years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all writers, whereof this deſtruction of *Troy* was one of the moſt renowned.

The firſt enterprize that was undertaken by general conſent of all *Greece* was the laſt war of *Troy*, which hath been famous even to this day, for the numbers of princes and valiant commanders there aſſembled: the great battles fought with variable ſucceſs: the long indurance of the ſiege; the deſtruction of that great city; and the many colonies planted in ſundry countries; as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things, with innumerable circumſtances of ſpecial note, have been delivered unto poſterity, by the excellent wits of many writers, eſpecially by the poems of that great *Homer*, whoſe verſes have given immortality to the action, which might elſe perhaps have been buried in oblivion, among other worthy deeds done both before and ſince that time. For it is true which *Horace* ſaith:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, ſed omnes illachrimabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte: carent quia vate ſacro.

Many by valour have deſerv'd renown
Ere *Agamemnon:* yet lie all oppreſt
Under long night, unwept for and unknown:
For with no ſacred poet were they bleſt.

Yet ſo it is, that whilſt theſe writers have with ſtrange fables, or (to ſpeak the beſt of them) with allegories far ſtrained, gone about to inlarge the commendations of thoſe noble undertakers: they have both drawn into ſuſpicion that great virtue which they ſought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almoſt as much ignorance of the hiſtory, as admiration of the perſons. Wherefore it is expedient that we ſeek for the knowledge of ſuch actions, in hiſtories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of poets, in whoſe works are both profit and delight: yet ſmall profit to thoſe which are delighted otherwiſe; but ſuch as can either interpret their fables, or ſeparate them from the naked truth, ſhall find matter in poems, not unworthy to be regarded of hiſtorians. For thoſe things excepted, which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much diſagreement of authors, written of this great war. All writers conſent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, the ſon of *Priamus*, was the cauſe of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtful.

SECT. II.

Of the rape of Helen: *and ſtrength of both ſides for the war.*

Herodotus fetcheth the cauſe of this rape from very far: ſaying, that whereas the *Phenicians* had raviſhed *Io*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greeks* to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did firſt raviſh *Europa* whom they brought out of *Phenicia* into *Creta*, and afterwards *Medea*, whom they fetch'd from *Colchos*, denying to reſtore her to her father, till ſuch time as they might be ſatisfy'd for the rape of *Io*. By theſe deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the ſame *Herodotus* affirms) was imboldened to do the like; not fearing ſuch revenge as inſued. But all this narration ſeems frivolous. For what had the king of *Colchos* to do with the injury of the *Phenicians?* or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel againſt him, that never had heard the name of *Phenicians? Thucydides*, a writer of unqueſtionable ſincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not uſed at all in *Homer*'s time, which was long after the war of *Troy*; and that the *Greeks* themſelves were not then called all by one names *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreaſonable to think, that they ſhould have ſought revenge upon all nations as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people elſe ſhould have eſteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people oppoſed to all the world; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themſelves. Others with more probability ſay, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the re-delivery of *Heſione*, king *Priamus*'s ſiſter, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true. For *Telamon* (as it ſeems) was a cruel man, ſeeing his own ſon *Teucer* durſt not come in his ſight, after the war of *Troy*, but fled into *Cypris*, only becauſe his brother (*Ajax* which *Teucer* could not remedy) had ſlain himſelf. Yet, were it ſo that *Heſione* was ill intreated

[a] Dionyſ. Halic. Antiq. l. 2. [b] Solin. Polihiſt. c. 2. [c] Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. [d] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.

intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would ſeek to take her from her husband, with whom ſhe had lived about thirty years, and to whom ſhe had born children, which were to ſucceed in his dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Heſione*: but was meerly incited by *Venus*, that is, by his luſt, to do that which in thoſe days was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* diſcourſeth, but all people were accuſtomed to ſteal women and cattel, if they could by ſtrong hand or power get them; and having ſtollen them, either to ſell them away in ſome far country, or keep them to their own uſe. So did *Theſeus* and *Pirithous* attempt *Proſerpina*; and ſo did *Theſeus* (long before *Paris*) raviſh *Helen*. And theſe practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were ſo common, that none durſt inhabit near unto the ſea, for fear of piracy, which was accounted a trade of life no leſs lawful than merchandiſe: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, conſidering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theſeus* had made, cauſed all her wooers, who were moſt of the principal men in *Greece*, to bind themſelves by ſolemn oath, that if ſhe were taken from her husband, they ſhould with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who choſe *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*: So the cauſe which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy*, in revenge of *Helen*'s rape, was partly the oath which ſo many princes had made unto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, beſides his great dominions in *Peloponneſus*, was lord of many iſlands: he was alſo rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he imbarked for *Troy* in his own ſhips, which were more than any other of the *Greek* princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by the reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or deſirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterpriſe; take arms againſt the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* fleet was (by *Homer*'s account) 1200 ſail, or thereabouts: but the veſſels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ſhips with decks; only they uſed (as *Thucydides* ſaith) ſmall ſhips, meet for robbing on the ſea; the leaſt of which carried fifty men, the greateſt 120, every man (except the captains) being both a mariner and a ſoldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* army conſiſted of 100000 men, or thereabouts. This was the greateſt army that ever was raiſed out of *Greece*: and the greatneſs of this army, doth well declare the ſtrength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did ſtand out againſt ſuch forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the city not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* ſaid in the 2d of *Homer*'s *Iliads*; but their followers and aids were very many and ſtrong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Myſia*, and the greateſt part of *Aſia* the leſs, took part with the *Trojans*, the *Amazons* alſo brought them ſuccour. And *Rheſus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Aſſyria* (tho' ſome think out of *Ethiopia*) came to their defence.

SECT. III.

Of the Grecians *journey, and embaſſage to* Troy; *and of* Helena's *being detained in* Egypt; *and of the ſacrificing of* Iphigenia.

WHerefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to trial of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty, ſent *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* embaſſadors to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen* and the goods that were taken with her out of *Menelaus*'s houſe. What anſwer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* prieſts makes it very probable that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The ſum of his diſcourſe is this:

Paris, in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather upon the coaſt of *Egypt*, was accuſed for the rape of *Helen* by ſome bondmen of his, that had taken ſanctuary. *Proteus*, then king of *Egypt*, finding the accuſation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband ſhould require them: diſmiſſing *Paris* without further puniſhment, becauſe he was a ſtranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen* had anſwer, that ſhe was in *Egypt*: they thought themſelves deluded, and thereupon made the war, which ended in the ruin of *Troy*. But when after the city taken, they perceived indeed ſhe had not been there, they returned home, ſending *Menelaus* to ask his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer*, and the whole nation of poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this hiſtory, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more graceful to their poems, for their retaining of a fair lady, than that they endured all by force, becauſe it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odyſſes*, *Homer* ſpeaks of *Menelaus*'s being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not eaſily believed, that he made for pleaſure: and if he were driven thither by contrary winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul weather. For *Paris*, immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking ſuch winds as he could get, and rather enduring any ſtorm, than to commit himſelf to any haven in the *Greek* ſeas; whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until ſuch time as the wind had come about, and ſerved for his navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the ſaying of the *Egytian* prieſts, which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madneſs for *Priamus* to ſee ſo many miſeries befal him during the war, and ſo many of his ſons ſlain for the pleaſure of one, who neither was heir to the kingdom (for *Hector* was elder) nor equal in virtue to many of the reſt. Beſides, it may ſeem that *Lucian* ſpake not more pleaſantly than truly, when he ſaid that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almoſt as old as queen *Hecuba*, conſidering that ſhe had been raviſhed by *Theſeus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and conſidering further, that ſhe was ſiſter to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (ſhe and *Pollux* being ſaid by ſome to have been twins) who ſailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company before the time that *Heſione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principal commander in the *Trojan* war. But whether it were ſo, that the *Trojans* could not, or would not, reſtore *Helen*, ſo it was that the embaſſadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not ſome that adviſed to have them ſlain. The *Greeks* hereupon

hereupon incenſed, made all haſte towards *Troy:* at which time *Calchas* (whom ſome ſay to have been a runagate *Trojan*, tho' no ſuch thing be found in *Homer*) filled the captains and all the hoſt with many troubleſome anſwers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnon*'s daughter ſacrificed to appeaſe *Diana*, whoſe anger he ſaid withſtood their paſſage. Whether the young lady was ſacrificed, or whether (as ſome write) the goddeſs was contented with a hind, it is not needful here to be diſputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the devil which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate than where mens ignorance is moſt. *Calchas* alſo told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* was impoſſible till ſome fatal impediments were removed: and that till ten years were paſs'd, the town ſhould hold out againſt them. All which notwithſtanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterpriſe, under the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*, *Achilles* the moſt valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his tutor *Phœnix*; *Ajax* and *Teucer* the ſons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Neſtor*, and his ſons *Antilochus*, and *Thraſymedes*; *Ulyſſes*; *Mneſtheus*, the ſon of *Petreus*, captain of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the ſon of *Tydeus*, a man of ſingular courage; the wiſe and learned *Palamedes*; *Aſcalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the ſons of *Mars*, who had ſailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* alſo, the ſon of *Pæan*, who had the arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* ſaid that the city could not be taken; *Ajax* the ſon of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tiſandrus*, *Eurypilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus*, the ſon of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machaon*, the ſons of *Eſculapius: Epeus*, who is ſaid to have made the wooden horſe, by which the town was taken; and *Proteſilaus*, who firſt leap'd on ſhore, neglecting the oracle that threatned death to him that landed firſt.

SECT. IV.

Of the acts of the Grecians *at the ſiege.*

THESE and many other of leſs note, arriving at *Troy*, found ſuch ſharp entertainment, as might eaſily perſuade them to think that the war would be more than one year's work. For in the firſt encounter they loſt *Proteſilaus*, whom *Hector* ſlew, and many others, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*; ſave only that by their numbers of men, they won ground enough to incamp themſelves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reaſon of their multitude, and the ſmallneſs of their veſſels, wherein they could not carry neceſſaries for ſuch an army. Hereupon they were compelled to ſend ſome part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cheroneſſe:* others to rob upon the ſea for the relief of the camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any ſkirmiſhes were, yet could the town receive little loſs by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field againſt ſuch *Greeks* as continued the ſiege, and a more ſafe retreat, if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* ſaith, that from the firſt year till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commends as very credible the report of *Herodotus:* That the *Greeks* did not lie before *Troy* the firſt nine years; but only did beat up and down the ſeas, exerciſing their men, and inriching themſelves, and ſo by waſting the enemy's country, did block up the town, unto which they returned not until the fatal time drew near, when t ſhould be ſubverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them, and therefore ſitting upon an high tower (as *Homer*, *Iliad.* 3. tells) he learned their names of *Helen:* which tho' it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been ſuppoſed that he ſhould be ignorant of them, if they had ſhewed themſelves before the town ſo many years together. Between theſe relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much, the one ſaying that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the camp before *Troy*, whilſt the reſt made purveyance by land and ſea: the other, that the whole army did ſpend the time in waſting the ſea-coaſts. Neither do the poets greatly diſagree from theſe authors: for they make report of many towns and iſlands waſted, and the people carried into captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have ſpared, if any ſervice of importance had been to be performed before the city. Howſoever it was, this is agreed by general conſent, that in the beginning of that ſummer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the camp, and a great peſtilence aroſe among the *Greeks:* which *Homer* ſaith, that *Apollo* ſent in revenge of his prieſt's daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refuſed to let go for any ranſom: but *Heraclides*, interpreting the place, ſaith, that by *Apollo* was meant the the ſun: who raiſed peſtilent fogs, by which the army was infected, being lodged in a mooriſh piece of ground. And it might well be that the camp was over-peſtered with thoſe who had been abroad, and now were lodged all cloſe together: having alſo grounded their ſhips within the fortifications.

About the ſame time much contention aroſe between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as general, having firſt choſen for his part, a captive woman, and *Achilles*, in the ſecond place, choſen for himſelf another, then *Ajax*, *Ulyſſes*, and ſo the reſt of the chief captains in order. When the ſoothſayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnon*'s woman ſhould be reſtored to her father, *Apollo*'s prieſt, that ſo the peſtilence might ceaſe, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and ſay, that he alone would not loſe his part of the ſpoil, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulyſſes*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to ſuffer all patiently, as not able to hold his concubine by ſtrong hand, nor to revenge her loſs, otherwiſe than by refuſing to fight, or to ſend forth his companies. But the *Greeks*, incouraged by their captains, preſented themſelves before the city without him and his troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great ſuccours, all the neighbour countries having ſent them aid: partly drawn to that war by their commanders, who aſſiſted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the war began (as appears by his words in *Homer*) or for love of himſelf and his ſons, or hope of marriage with ſome of his many and fair daughters; partly alſo (as we may well gueſs) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks*, when they waſted the countries adjoining unto *Troy*: ſo that when *Hector* iſſued out of the town, he was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or quality of their leaders. The principal captains in the *Trojan* army, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other ſons of *Priamus:*

Priamus: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his ſons *Polydamus*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Aſius*, and the ſons of *Panthus*, beſides *Rheſus*, who was ſlain the firſt night of his arrival, *Memnon*, queen *Pentheſilea*, and others who came towards the end of the war. Between theſe and the *Greeks* were many battles fought: the greateſt of which were, that at the tomb of king *Ilus* upon the plain; and another at the very trenches of the camp, wherein *Hector* brake thro' the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their ſhips; at which time *Ajax*, the ſon of *Telamon*, with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the only men of note, that remaining unwounded, made head againſt *Hector* when the ſtate of the *Greeks* was almoſt deſperate.

Another battle (for ſo antiquity calls it) or rather the ſame renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles*'s troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a freſh ſupply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Ulyſſes*, and the reſt of the princes, tho' ſore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was loſt, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the camp; the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of thoſe wars, having ſlain a man, to ſtrip him and hale away his body, not reſtoring it without ranſom, if he were one of mark. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, ſlightly armed, and commonly followed the ſucceſs of their captains; who rode not upon horſes, but in chariots, drawn by two or three horſes, which were guided by ſome truſty followers of theirs, which drave up and down the field, as they were directed by the captains, who by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes preſenting themſelves where need required, threw firſt their javelins, and then alighting fought on foot, with ſwords and battle-axes, retiring into the ranks of the footmen, or elſe returning to their chariots when they found cauſe, and ſo began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were loſt or broken. Their arms defenſive were helmets, breaſt-plates, boots of braſs or other metal, and ſhields commonly of leather, plated over. The offenſive were ſwords and battle-axes at hand; and ſtones, arrows or darts when they fought at any diſtance. The uſe of their chariots (beſides the ſwiftneſs) was to keep them from wearineſs, whereto the leaders were much ſubject, becauſe of their armour, which the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt wore heavieſt: alſo that from them they might throw their javelins downwards with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewiſe of armours they had little change or none; every man (ſpeaking of the chief) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were loſt or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like if he had any fitting, taken from ſome captain whom he had ſlain and ſtripped: or elſe to borrow of them that had by ſuch means gotten ſome to ſpare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had loſt his armour which *Hector* (as is ſaid before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very deſirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himſelf unto *Achilles*, not only reſtoring his concubine *Briſeis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excuſing former matters as well as he might. In the next battle *Achilles* did ſo behave himſelf, that he did not only put the *Trojans* to the worſt, but alſo ſlew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chaced three times about the walls of *Troy*. But great queſtion may be made of *Homer*'s truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would ſtay alone without the city (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he muſt have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans* perceiving *Hector* in ſuch an extremity, would have forborn to open ſome of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means ſoever) ſlain the noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the cuſtom then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thruſting leathern thongs into them, tied him to his chariot, and dragg'd him ſhamefully about the field, ſelling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranſom. But his cruelty and covetouſneſs were not long unrevenged; for he was ſhortly after ſlain with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* ſays, in the *Scæan* gate, or as others in the temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too far in love, having ſlain ſo many of her brethren, and his body was ranſomed (as *Lycophron* ſaith) at the ſelf-ſame rate that *Hector*'s was by him ſold for. Not long after this, *Pentheſilea* queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*; who, after ſome proof given of her valour, was ſlain by *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*.

SECT. V.

Of the taking of Troy, *the wooden horſe, the book of* Dares *and* Dictys, *the colonies of the relicks of* Troy.

FInally, after the death of many worthy perſons, on each ſide, the city was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treaſon of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden horſe as the poets, and common fame (which followed the poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write, that upon one of the gates of *Troy* called *Scæa*, was the image of a horſe, and that the *Greeks* entring by that gate, gave occaſion to the report, that the city was taken by an artificial horſe. It may well be, that with ſome wooden engine which they called an horſe, they either did batter the walls, as the *Romans* in after-times uſed to do with the ram: or ſcaled the walls upon the ſudden, and ſo took the city. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden horſe, it had been a deſperate adventure, and ſerving to no purpoſe. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and ſlain all thoſe princes of *Greece*, that were incloſed in it (which alſo by ſuch as maintain this report they are ſaid to have thought upon) or they might have left it a few days without (for it was unlikely that they ſhould the very firſt day both conclude upon the bringing it into the town, and break down their walls upon the ſudden to do it) by which means they who were ſhut into it, muſt have periſhed for hunger, if they had not by iſſuing forth unſeaſonably diſcovered the invention. Whereas further it is ſaid, that this horſe was ſo high and great, that it could not be brought into the town thro' any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their wall, to make way for it, thro' which breach the *Greek* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifeſt, that the incloſing of ſo many principal men was altogether

together needleſs, conſidering that without their help there was way ſufficient for the army, ſo that the ſurprizing of any gate by them was now to no purpoſe.

John Baptiſta Gramay, in his hiſtory of *Aſia*, diſcourſing of this war, ſaith, that the *Greeks* did both batter the wall with a wooden engine, and were alſo let into the city by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the townſmen ſleeping and drinking without fear or care, becauſe the fleet of the *Grecians* had hoiſted ſail, and was gone the day before to the iſle of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into ſecurity. That the city was betrayed, the books of *Dares* and *Dictys* muſt prove, which whether we now have the ſame that were by them written, it may be ſuſpected; for ſurely they, who have made mention of theſe writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in moſt points to theſe two authors, without once taking notice of the oppoſition, which they, having ſerved in that war, made againſt the common report: had it not been that either thoſe books were even in thoſe times thought frivolous; or elſe contained no ſuch repugnancy to the other authors as now is found in them.

Alſo concerning the number of men ſlain in this war which *Dares* and *Dictys* ſay to have been above 600000 on the *Trojan* ſide, and more than 800000 of the *Greeks*, it is a report merely fabulous; foraſmuch as the whole fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their army and deeds as much as he could, to be ſomewhat leſs than 1200 ſail, and the army therein tranſported over the *Greek* ſeas, not much above 100000 men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common faſhion of men to extol the deeds of their ancients: for which cauſe both *Homer* magnified the captains of the *Greeks*, that ſerved in the war; and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their city, from which the *Romans* deſcended. Yea, the *Athenians* long after, in the war which *Xerxes* the *Perſian* king made againſt all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mneſteus* the ſon of *Peteus* had ſhewed, in marſhalling the *Grecian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much conſequence, they were ſo proud, that they refuſed to yield unto *Gelon*, king of almoſt all *Sicily*, the admiralty of their ſeas, notwithſtanding that he promiſed to bring 200 good fighting ſhips, and 30000 men for their defence.

The like vanity poſſeſſed many other cities of *Greece*, and many nations in theſe parts of the world, which have ſtriven to bring their deſcent from ſome of the princes, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in ſuch their pedigree notwithſtanding. But thoſe nations which indeed, or in moſt probability came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that country by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* firſt ſeated in *Padua*, and the country adjoining by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the ſon of king *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth that the poſterity of *Hector* did reſemble ſuch of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

SECT. VI.

Of the diſtreſſes and diſperſions of the Greeks *returning from* Troy.

CONcerning the *Greeks*, they taſted as much miſery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reaſon of their long abode the the ſiege, they found many alterations when they returned: ſo that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient ſeats: many were expelled their countries by faction: ſome were ſlain anon after their arrival: others were debarred from the ſoveraignty among their people, by ſuch as had ſtaid at home. The cauſe of all which may ſeem to have been the diſperſion of the army which weakned much by the calamities of that long war, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into ſo many pieces under ſeveral commanders, not very well agreeing. For (beſides other quarrels ariſing upon the diviſion of the booty, and the like occaſions) at the time when they ſhould have ſet ſail, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being deſirous to depart immediately, the other to ſtay and perform ſome ſacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the reſt of them ſailing to the iſle of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themſelves, but ſome returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were diſperſed, each holding his own courſe. But the whole fleet was ſore vexed with tempeſts: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* ſaith) would not be perſuaded in haſte.

They who returned ſafe were *Neſtor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Oreſtes* afterwards ſlew: alſo *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheleſs, as *Virgil* tells, were driven ſoon after to ſeek new ſeats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewiſe returned home, but was forthwith ſlain by his wife, and by the adulterer *Ægyſthus*, who for a while after uſurped his kingdom. *Menelaus* wandring long upon the ſeas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather ſeem) to fetch her. *Ulyſſes*, after ten years, having loſt all his company, got home in poor eſtate, with much ado recovering the maſterſhip of his own houſe. All the reſt either periſhed by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to ſeek out new habitations.

Ajax, the ſon of *Oileus*, was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to king *Daunus*, who was lord of the *Iapyges* in *Apulia*; ſome of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africk*, others into *Italy*, all the eaſt part whereof was called *Magna Grecia*, by reaſon of ſo many towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that coaſt. Finally it appears in *Homer*, that the *Grecian* ladies, whoſe husbands had been at the war of *Troy*, were wont to call it, the place where the *Greeks* ſuffered miſery, and the unlucky city not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and thoſe that warred there: the overthrow of which city, as hath been ſaid, happened in the time of *Habdon* judge of *Iſrael*, whom *Samſon* after a vacancy or *Inter-regnum* for certain years ſucceeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Samſon, Eli *and* Samuel.

SECT. I.

Of SAMSON.

THE birth and acts of *Samſon* are written at large in the 13, 14, 15, and 16th of *Judges*; and therefore I ſhall not need to make a repetition thereof. But theſe things I gather out of that ſtory. Firſt, That the angel of God forbad the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samſon*, to drink wine or ſtrong drink, or to eat any unclean meat, after ſhe was conceived with child, becauſe

becauſe thoſe ſtrong liquors hinder the ſtrength, and as it were wither and ſhrink the child in the mother's womb. Tho' this were even the counſel of God himſelf, and delivered by his angel, yet it ſeemeth that many women of this age have not read, or at leaſt will not believe this precept; the moſt part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how ſtrong or unclean ſoever, filling themſelves with all ſorts of wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reaſon whereof, ſo many wretched feeble bodies are born into the world, and the races of the able and ſtrong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, It is to be noted, that the angel of God refuſed the ſacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to preſent it unto the Lord: and therefore thoſe that profeſs divination by the help of angels, to whom alſo they ſacrifice, may aſſuredly know that they are devils who accept thereof, and not good angels, who receive no worſhip that is proper to God.

Thirdly, This *Samſon* was twice betrayed by his wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful tears: by the firſt he loſt but a part of his goods: by the ſecond his life. *Quem nulla vis ſuperare potuit, voluptas evertit*; Whom no force could overmaſter, voluptuouſneſs overturned.

Fourthly, We may note, that he did not in all deliver *Iſrael* from the oppreſſion of the *Philiſtines*; tho' in ſome ſort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithſtanding that he had ſlain 30 of them in his firſt attempt, burnt their corn in harveſt time, and given them a great overthrow inſtantly upon it: yet ſo much did *Iſrael* fear the *Philiſtines*, as they aſſembled 3000 men out of *Judah* to beſiege *Samſon* in the rock or mountain of *Etam*, uſing theſe words: *Knoweſt thou not that the Philiſtines are rulers over us?* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philiſtines*, for fear of their revenge; tho' he was no ſooner looſened, but he gave them another overthrow, and ſlew 1000 with the jaw-bone of an aſs.

Laſtly, Being made blind, and a priſoner by the treaſon of his wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the houſe at the feaſt whereto they ſent for *Samſon*, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly ſaid of *Seneca*; *Patientia ſæpe læſa vertitur in furorem*; Patience often wounded is converted into fury: neither is it at any time ſo much wounded by pain and loſs, as by deriſion and contumely.

SECT. II.

Of Eli, *and of the ark taken, and of* Dagon's *fall, and the ſending back of the ark.*

THE ſtory of *Eli* the prieſt, who ſucceeded *Samſon*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the deſtruction of his houſe, for the wickedneſs of his ſons, which he ſuppreſſed not, neither did he puniſh them according to their deſerts: [a] whoſe ſins were horrible, both in abuſing the ſacrifice, and profaning and polluting the holy places: tho' *Levi Ben Gerſon*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the ſons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleaſed God to caſt the *Iſrelites* under the ſwords of the *Philiſtines*; of whom there periſhed in the firſt encounter 4000, and in the ſecond battle 30000 footmen; among whom the ſons of *Eli* being ſlain, their father (hearing the lamentable ſucceſs) by falling from his chair, brake his neck. He was the firſt that obtained the high-prieſthood of the ſtock of *Ithamar* the ſon of *Aaron*, before whoſe time it continued ſucceſſively in the race of *Eleazer* the eldeſt brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the firſt, *Eleazer* the ſecond, *Phinees* the ſon of *Eleazar* the third, *Abiſue* the ſon of *Phinees* the fourth, his ſon *Bocci* the fifth, *Ozi* the ſon of *Bocci* the ſixth, and then *Eli*, as *Joſephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers *Hebrew* authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the prieſthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Solomon* who caſt out [b] *Abiathar*, and eſtabliſhed *Zadok* and *Ahimaaz* and their ſucceſſors. The ark of God which *Iſrael* brought into the field, was in this battle taken by the *Philiſtines*. For as *David* witneſſeth, *Pſal.* lxxviii. *God greatly abhored Iſrael, ſo that he forſook the habitation of Shilo; even the tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity*, &c.

Now as it pleaſed God at this time, that the ark whereby himſelf was repreſented, ſhould fall into the hands of the heathen, for the offences of the prieſts and people: ſo did he permit the *Chaldeans* to deſtroy the temple built by *Solomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the ſecond temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the *Chriſtian* churches in *Aſia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Iſraelites* put more confidence in the ſacrament, or repreſentation, which was the ark, than in God himſelf, they would have obſerved his laws, and ſerved him only: which whenſoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no ark at all, nor in the times of the *Maccabees*; and yet for their piety it pleaſed God to make that family as victorious, as any that guarded themſelves by the ſign inſtead of the ſubſtance. And that the ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enſign, *David* witneſſed when he fled from *Abſalom*. For when the prieſts would have carried the ark with him; he forbad it, and cauſed it to be returned into the city, uſing theſe words. [d] *If I ſhall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as ſeemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Trojans* believed, that while their *Palladium*, or the image of *Minerva*, was kept in *Troy*, the city ſhould never be overturned: ſo did the *Chriſtians* in the laſt fatal battle againſt *Saladine*, carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very croſs whereon Chriſt died, and yet they loſt the battle, their bodies and the wood. But *Chryſoſtom* upon St. *Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, ſpeaking of thoſe that wore a part of St. *John*'s goſpel about their necks, for an amulet or preſervative. *Si tibi ea non proſunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo?* If thoſe words do not profit men in their ears (to wit, the hearing of the goſpel preached) how ſhould it profit them by hanging it about their necks? For it was neither the wood of the ark, nor the wood of the croſs, but the reverence of the father, that gave the one for a memory of his covenant: and the faith in his ſon, which ſhed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philiſtines* returning with the greateſt victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the ark of God with them to *Azotus*, and ſet it up in the houſe of *Dagon* their idol: but that night the idol fell out of his place, from above

[a] 1 Sam. 2. 22. [b] 1 Kings 2. 27. *and* 1 Chron. 6. [c] 1 Sam. 5. 6. [d] 2 Sam. 15. 25, 26.

to the ground, and lay under the ark. The morning following they took it up, and ſet it again in his place, and it fell the ſecond time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, ſhewing that it had nor power nor underſtanding in the preſence of God; for the head fell off, which is the ſeat of reaſon and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute ſtrength) were ſundred from the arms. For God and the devil inhabit not in one houſe, nor in one heart. And if this idol could not endure the repreſentation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed him to cover his only begotten with fleſh, and ſent him into the world, that all the oracles wherein the devil derided and betrayed mortal men, loſt power, ſpeech, and operation at the inſtant. For when that true light, which had never beginning of brightneſs, brake thro' the clouds of a virgin's body, ſhining upon the earth, which had been long obſcured by idolatry, all thoſe foul and ſtinking vapours vaniſhed. *Plutarch* rehearſeth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he ſtileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cauſe) he ſearcheth his brains for many reaſons of ſo great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old devil did then die as he ſuppoſed, but all the reſt, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became ſpeechleſs.

Now while the *Philiſtines* triumphed after this victory, God ſtruck them with the grievous diſeaſe of the *Hemorrhoides* of which they periſhed in great numbers: for it is written the Lord deſtroyed them. It was therefore by general conſent ordered, that the ark ſhould be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great cities of the *Philiſtines*; to prove, as it ſeemeth, whether this diſeaſe were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath*, and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. [a] *For the hand of the Lord was againſt the city with a very great deſtruction, and he ſmote the men of the city both ſmall and great*, &c. And being not yet ſatisfied, they of *Gath* ſent the ark to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third city of the *Philiſtines*: but they alſo felt the ſame ſmart, and cried out that themſelves and their people ſhould be ſlain thereby; *For there was a deſtruction and death throughout all the city*. In the end, by the advice of their prieſts, the princes of the *Philiſtines* did not only reſolve to return the ark, but to offer gifts unto the God of *Iſrael*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his ſervice by ſtrong hand. Wherefore confeſſing the power of the God of *Iſrael* to be almighty, and that their own idols were ſubject thereunto, they agreed to offer a ſin-offering, uſing theſe words; *So ye ſhall give glory to the God of Iſrael, that he may take hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land*, 1 *Sam.* vi. 5. And what can be a more excellent witneſſing, than where an enemy doth approve our cauſe? according to *Ariſtotle*; *Pulchrum eſt teſtimonium, quo noſtra probantur ab hoſtibus.* So did *Pharaoh* confeſs the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchodonoſor*, and *Darius*, when they had ſeen his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counſel therefore of the prieſts being imbraced, and the golden *Hemorrhoides*, and the golden mice prepared, they cauſed two milch kine to be choſen, ſuch as had not been yoked, and a new cart or carriage to be framed: but they durſt not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make trial whether it were indeed the hand of God that had ſtricken them. For if the ark of God were carried towards *Bethſhemeſh*, and into the territory of *Iſrael*: then they ſhould reſolve that from God only came their late deſtruction. For the *Philiſtines* knew that the milch kine which drew the ark could not be forced from their calves, but that they would have followed them whereſoever; much leſs when they were left to themſelves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkeſt night in the world, if calves be removed from their dams, the kine will follow them thro' woods and deſarts by the foot, till they find them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethſhemeſh*; and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Joſhua* of the ſame city, they ſtood ſtill there; which when the princes of the *Philiſtines* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*: after which, God ſpared not his own people the *Bethſhemites*, in that they preſumed to look into the ark. And becauſe they knew God and his commandments, and had been taught accordingly, he ſtruck them more grievouſly than he did the heathen, for there periſhed of them fifty thouſand and ſeventy. From hence the ark was carried to *Kirjath-jearim*, and placed in the houſe of *Abinadab*; where it is written, that it remained twenty years in the charge of *Eleazar* his ſon, until *David* brought it to *Jeruſalem*.

Now whereas it is ſaid, that in the mean while the [b] ark was in *Nob*, *Miſpah*, and *Galgala*, it was the tabernacle, which was at this time ſevered from the ark: or at leaſt, it was for the [c] preſent occaſion brought to theſe places, and anon returned to *Kirjath-jearim*.

SECT. III.

Of Samuel, *and of his government.*

THESE tragedies overpaſt and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now judge and governour of *Iſrael*. He was deſcended of the family of [d] *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three ſons; *Gerſon*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Izaar*: of *Amram* came *Moſes* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*: and of the family of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a *Levite*, was called an *Ephratean*, not that the *Levites* had any proper inheritance, but becauſe he was of mount [e] *Ephraim*, like as *Jeſſe*, *David*'s father was called an *Ephratean*, becauſe born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethlehem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitleſs, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding ſhame to the *Jewiſh* women to be called barren, in reſpect of the bleſſing of God both to *Abraham*, that his ſeed ſhould multiply as the ſtars of heaven, and the ſands of the ſea, as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increaſe and multiply*, &c. and in *Deuteronomy* vii. *There ſhall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

Samuel was no ſooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his ſervice, to which ſhe delivered him even from the dug. For as the firſt-born of

[a] 1 Sam. 5. 9. [b] 2 Sam. 6. *and* 1 Chron. 12. [c] *See in this book, ch.* 12. *ſect.* 1. *in the margin.* [d] 1 Chron. 6. 22. [e] *Which region was called* Ephrata, *as appeareth* Judges 12. 5. *whence for diſtinction we read* Ruth 1. 2. Ephratæi e Bethlehemo Jehudæ; *The town* Ephratah, *which is* Bethlehem *in* Judah, Gen. 35. 19. *from the region of* Ephrata, *which is in mount* Ephraim, *whence*, Pſal. 132. 6. Ephrata *is put for* Silo, *which was in the tribe of* Ephraim.

all

all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were 5 years old for 5 ſheckles, between 5 years and 20 for 20 ſheckles: ſo was it not required by the law that any of the race of the *Levites* ſhould be called to ſerve about the tabernacle, till they were 25 years old.

St. *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the prophets from *Samuel*, who was the firſt of the writers of holy ſcriptures, to whom uſually this name of a prophet was given, and yet did *Moſes* account himſelf ſuch a one, as in *Deuteronomy* xviii. 15. *The Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee a prophet like unto me*, &c. But he is diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that preceded him, who were called ſeers; as 1 *Sam.* ix. *Before time in Iſrael, when a man went to ſeek an anſwer of God, thus he ſpake; come and let us go to the ſeer:* for he that is now called a prophet, was in old time called a ſeer. And altho' it pleaſed God to appear by his angels to *Moſes*, as before to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*: yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifeſt viſion; not that God had altogether withdrawn his grace from *Iſrael*: but as the *Chaldean* paraphraſt hath it, thoſe revelations before *Samuel*'s time, were more clouded and obſcure. The places wherein [a] *Samuel* judged were *Maſpha* or *Mitſpa*, ſeated on a hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda*: alſo *Gilgal*, and *Bethel*, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere.

The *Philiſtines* taking knowledge of the aſſembly and preparation for war at *Miſpa* in the beginning of *Samuel*'s government, gathered their army and marched towards the city: at whoſe approach the *Iſraelites* ſtrucken with fear, and with the memory of their former ſlaughters and ſervitude, beſought *Samuel* to pray to God for them: who was [b] then performing his ſacrifice when the *Philiſtines* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuel*'s prayers (as he was by thoſe of *Moſes*, when *Iſrael* fought againſt the *Amalekites* at their firſt entrance into *Arabia*) it pleaſed him with thunder and tempeſt to diſperſe and beat down the army of the *Philiſtines*, according to the prophecy of *Hanna*, *Samuel*'s mother. [c] *The Lord's adverſaries ſhall be deſtröyed, and out of heaven ſhall he thunder upon them*, &c. *Joſephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philiſtines* were ſwallowed with an earth-quake: and that *Samuel* himſelf led the *Iſraelites* in the proſecution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a monument in memory of this happy ſucceſs obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Joſephus* called *lapidem fortem: Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the ſtone of aſſiſtance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the *Iſraelites* recovered divers cities of their own formerly loſt, and held long in poſſeſſion of the *Philiſtines*, who for a long time after did not offer any invaſion or revenge. And the better to attend their purpoſes, and to withſtand any of their attempts, the *Iſraelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the north of them, that they might not be aſſaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philiſtines* towards the weſt and ſea-coaſt, the *Canaanite* towards the north and eaſt, and the *Idumite* on the ſouth. The eſtate being thus ſettled, *Samuel* for the eaſe of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elſewhere ſaid.

CHAP. XVI.

Of SAUL.

SECT. I.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a kingdom.

BUT when age now began to overtake *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of ſo careful a government, he put off from himſelf the weight of the affairs on his ſons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beerſheba*, a city, the very utmoſt towards the ſouth of *Judea*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, ſo were themſelves no leſs removed from the juſtice and virtue of their father. For the thirſt of covetouſneſs the more it ſwalloweth, the more it drieth, and deſireth, finding taſte in nothing but gain; to recover which they ſet the law at a price, and ſold juſtice and judgment to the beſt chapmen. Which when the elders of *Iſrael* obſerved, and ſaw that *Samuel* as a natural man (tho' a prophet) could not ſo well diſcern the errors of his own, they pray'd him to conſent to their change of government, and to make them a king, by whom they might be judged as other nations were; who might alſo lead them to the war, and defend them againſt their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable ſucceſs which followed the rule of *Eli* his ſons, when thoſe of *Samuel* by their firſt bloſſoms promiſed to yield fruit no leſs bitter, they ſaw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they ſo much reverenced, but by the choice of a king.

In a cauſe of ſo great conſequence and alteration, *Samuel* fought counſel from God: which ſurely he did not for the eſtabliſhing of his own ſons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the text, this ſpeech or motion diſpleaſing him, he uſed his beſt arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from God's revelation, the inconveniencies and miſeries which ſhould befal them. And yet all which he foreſhew'd was not intolerable, but ſuch as hath been borne, and is ſo ſtill by free conſent of the ſubjects towards their princes. For firſt he makes them know that the king will uſe their ſons in his own ſervice to make them his horſe-men, charioteers, and footmen; which is not only not grievous, but by the vaſſals of all kings according to their birth and condition deſired: it being very agreeable to ſubjects of the beſt quality to command for the king in his wars; and to till the ground no leſs proper and appertaining to thoſe that are thereto bred and brought up: ſo are likewiſe the offices of women-ſervants to dreſs meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned: *He will take up your fields, and your vineyards, and your beſt olive trees, and give them to his ſervants*, with other oppreſſions; this hath given, and gives daily occaſion to ſuch as would be ruled by their own diſcretion, to affirm that *Samuel* deſcribeth here unto them the power of a king, governed by his own affections, and not a king that feareth God. But others upon further examination conſtrue this text far otherwiſe, as teaching us what ſubjects ought with patience to bear at their ſoveraign's

[a] 1 Sam 13. *See in this book, chap.* 12. *ſect.* 1. [b] Plutarch *reports of* Numa *the 2d king of* Rome, *that when as he was ſacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing diſmay'd, anſwered,* Ego autem ſacrifico. [c] 1 Sam. 2. 10.

hand.

hand. The former opinion is grounded firſt upon that place of *Deuteronomy* xvii. where God foreſheweth this change of government from judges to kings, and after he had forbidden many things unto the kings, as many wives, covetouſneſs, and the like, he commandeth that the kings, which were to reign over *Iſrael*, ſhould write the law of *Deuteronomy*, or cauſe it to be written: and to ſhew how greatly the king ſhould honour the law, he addeth, *It ſhall be with him, and he ſhall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law and theſe ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his ſons.* But to take away any other man's field, ſay they, is contrary to the laws of God, in the ſame book written. For it is ſaid, *Deut.* vi. *That which is juſt and right ſhalt thou follow, that thou mayſt live.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away [a] grapes more than thou canſt eat out of another man's vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much leſs lawful to take the vineyard it ſelf from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the text [b] (ſay they) ſuch as do warrant the kings of *Iſrael*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vaſſals. For it is not ſaid that it ſhall be lawful for the king, or the king may do this or that: but it is written, that the king will take your ſons: and again, this ſhall be the manner of the king that ſhall reign over you. God thereby foreſhewing what power, ſevered from piety (becauſe it is accountable to God only) will do in the future. And hereof we find the firſt example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his vineyard and his life, contrary to the truſt which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *Deut.* xvi. *That his people ſhall be judged with righteous judgment.* Wherefore tho' the king had offer'd unto *Naboth* compoſition, as a vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refuſed: yet becauſe he was falſly accuſed and unjuſtly condemned (tho' by colour of law) how grievouſly *Achab* was puniſhed by God, the ſcriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea ſufficient for *Achab* againſt the all-righteous God, to ſay that it was done without his conſent, and by the elders of *Iſrael*. For God had not then left his people to the elders, but to the king, who is called a living law, even as *David* teſtifieth of himſelf. *Poſuiſti me in caput gentium:* for this of St. *Auguſtine* is very true; *Simulata innocentia non eſt innocentia: ſimulata æquitas non eſt æquitas: ſed duplicatur peccatum in quo eſt iniquitas & ſimulatio*; Feigned innocence, and feigned equity are neither the one or the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquity and diſſimulation. Such in effect is their diſputation who think this place to contain the deſcription of a tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary ſide, as they are many and forcible, ſo are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that princely diſcourſe of *The true law of free monarchies*, which treatiſe I may not preſume to abridge, much leſs here to inſert. Only thus much I will ſay, that if practice do ſhew the greatneſs of authority, even the beſt kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were not ſo tied by any laws, but that they did whatſoever they pleaſed in the greateſt things; and commanded ſome of their own princes, and of their own brethren to be ſlain without any trial of law, being ſometimes by prophets reprehended, ſometimes not. For tho' *David* confeſs'd his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Solomon* killing his elder brother, and others, the ſame was not imputed unto him as any offence.

That the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſhould receive this change of government, it was not only foretold by *Moſes* in *Deuteronomy*, but propheſy'd of by *Jacob* in this ſcripture: [c] *The ſceptre ſhall not depart from Juda*, &c. It was alſo promiſed by God to *Abraham* for a bleſſing. For it was not only aſſured that his iſſues ſhould in number equal the ſtars in heaven, but that [d] kings ſhould proceed of him. Which ſtate ſeeing it is framed from the pattern of his ſole rule, who is Lord of the univerſal: and the excellency thereof in reſpect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I ſhall not need to over-paint that which is garniſhed with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the judges every man hath obſerved what civil war *Iſrael* had: what outragious ſlaughters they committed upon each other: in what miſerable ſervitude they lived for many years: and when it fared beſt with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover ſome parts thereof formerly loſt. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the beſt vallies of the country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*: the *Philiſtines* the ſea-coaſts: and the *Jebuſites Jeruſalem* it ſelf, till *David*'s time: all which that king did not only conquer and eſtabliſh, but he maſtered and ſubjected all the neighbour nations, and kings, and made them his tributaries and vaſſals. But whether it were for that the *Iſraelites* were moved by thoſe reaſons, which allure the moſt of all nations to live under a monarch, or whether by this means they ſought to be cleared from the ſons of [e] *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the perſuaſions and threats which *Samuel* uſed, inſiſting upon this point, that they would have a king, both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to conſent, he ſent every man to his own city and abiding.

SECT. II.

Of the election of Saul.

AFTER that *Samuel* had diſmiſſed the aſſembly at *Mizpah*, he forbare the election of a king, till ſuch time as he was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would preſent unto him a man of the land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feaſt for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of God's promiſes) and *Saul* alſo having wandred divers days to ſeek his father's aſſes, at length by the advice of his ſervant travelled towards *Ramath*, to find out a ſeer or a prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beaſts. In which journey it pleaſed God (who doth many times order the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt paſſages and perſons) to elect *Saul*, who ſought an aſs, and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleaſed him to call *Moſes*, while he fed the ſheep of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of [f] *David* the youngeſt of eight ſons, and by the ſcriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beaſts, and changed his ſheep-hook into a ſceptre, making him of all other the moſt victorious king of *Juda* and *Iſrael*. So *John* and *Jacob* were taken from caſting their nets, to become fiſhers of men, and honoured with the titles of apoſtles, a dignity that died not in the

[a] Deut. 23. 24. [b] Loyſe. [c] Gen. 49. Gen. 15. [d] Gen. 17. [e] 1 Sam. 8. [f] 1 Sam. 16.

grave,

grave; as all worldly honours do: but permanent and everlasting in God's endless kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the king, whom he expected, and staid his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, tho' a prophet and judge of *Israel*, much less knowing the honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the city the seer dwelt; *Samuel* answered, that himself was the man he sought, and pray'd *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of God's graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him king of *Israel*.

After this, he told him all that should happen to him in the way homeward; that two men should encounter him, by *Rahel*'s sepulchre, who should tell him that his asses were found; and that his father's cares were changed from the fear of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a company of prophets; and that he should be partaker of God's spirit and prophesy with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar into that which became a king elected and favoured by God.

But the prophets here spoken of, men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahias*, *Elias*, *Elisæas*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and the rest; for these prophets, saith [a] St. *Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia & futura:* but they were of those of whom St. *Paul* speaketh, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 15. who, inriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the scriptures and the law.

At *Mispeth Samuel* assembled the people that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own uncle therewith, when he asked him what had pass'd between him and *Samuel:* for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the tribes were assembled at *Mispeth*, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimhi* thinks by the answer of [b] *Urim* and *Thummim:* that is, by the answer of the priest, wearing that mystery upon his breast when he asked counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the Jews, but by many others, if not by all nations. The land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christ's suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the Jews also cast lots. [c] *Cicero*, *Plautus*, [d] *Pausanias*, and others, have remembred divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and other nations: as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called diversory; the third divinatory; and unto one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds howsoever they may seem chanceful, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*; *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the kingdom of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by God's ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Josephus* construe it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least tribe. But *Samuel*, enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen king of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him king, and pray'd for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him [e] presents as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to avoid sedition, took no notice.

SECT. III.

Of the establishing Saul *by his first victories.*

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nahas* king of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead:* which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephta*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul*'s rule. And altho' the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those territories which first the *Amorite*, and then *Israel* dispossess'd them of, which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephta*'s time; yet they never persuaded themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new king: secondly, they were remembred that the *Philistines* had not long before slain 34000 of their men of war: and besides had used great care and policy that they should have no smiths to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before that of the *Bethshemesites* and places adjoining, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000, and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to inlarge their dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the neareſt. Besides, it may further be conjectured that the *Ammonites* were imboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakness, since the [f] *Israelites* destroy'd a great part of them, for not joining with them against the *Benjamites:* at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjamites:* and therefore they were not likely to have been increas'd to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himself with the opinion, that *Israel* having for long time been disarmed by the *Philistines*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroy'd. But contrariwise when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be utterly disabled for the war, as elsewhere hath been spoken: *Saul*, both to value himself in his first year's reign, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400 maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to assemble the forces

[a] Chrys. in Psal. 43. [b] *The* Urim *and* Thummim *in the ornaments of the high priest were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was* duplicatum, *they were placed in the pectoral over against the heart of the high priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones nor any thing made by the artificers. See* Exod. 38. [c] Cic. de divin. [d] Paus. in Mes. [e] 1 Sam. 10. [f] Judg. 21.

of *Iſrael:* hewing a yoke of oxen into pieces, and ſending them by meſſengers over all the coaſts, proteſting thus, *That whoſoever came not forth after Saul and after Samuel, ſo ſhould his oxen be ſerved:* threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the firſt. Seven days had *Saul* to aſſemble an army, by reaſon that the *Gileadites* had obtained the reſpite of theſe 7 days to give *Nahas* the *Ammonite* an anſwer: who, could they have obtained any reaſonable condition, were contented to have ſevered themſelves from *Iſrael*, and to become vaſſals and tributaries to the heathen. In the mean while *Saul* aſſembled the forces, which repaired unto him at *Bezec*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily paſs the river; which done, he might in one day with a ſpeedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the hills of *Gilead*.

The army by [a] *Saul* led, conſiſting of 330000: he returned an anſwer to thoſe of *Jabes*, that they ſhould aſſure themſelves of ſuccour by the next day at noon. For as it ſeemeth *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning-watch he ſurpriſed the army of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might ſet on them on all ſides, he divided his forces into 3 parts, putting them to the ſword, until the heat of the day, and the wearineſs of *Saul*'s troops, inforc'd them to give over the purſuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careleſs and ſecure, in that thoſe of *Jabes* promiſed the next morning to render themſelves and their city to their mercy. After this happy ſucceſs, the people were ſo far in love with their new king, that they would have ſlain all thoſe *Iſraelites* that murmured againſt his election, had not himſelf forbidden and reſiſted their reſolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the proſperous, and baſe vaſſals of the time that flouriſheth: and as deſpightful and cruel without cauſe againſt thoſe, whom any miſadventure, or other worldly accident, hath thrown down.

After the army removed, [b] *Samuel* ſummoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and, as ſome commentators affirm, anointed king: and here *Samuel* uſed an exhortation to all the aſſembly, containing precepts, and a rehearſal of his own juſtice during the beginning of his government to that day. After [c] *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was eſtabliſhed in *Gilgal* or *Galgala*, he ſtrengthened himſelf with a good guard of 3000 choſen men, of which he aſſigned 1000 to attend on *Jonathan* his ſon at *Gibeah*, the city of his nativity: the reſt he kept about his own perſon in *Macmas*, and in the hill of *Bethel*.

SECT. IV.

Of Saul's *diſobedience in his proceedings in the wars with the* Philiſtines *and* Amalekites, *which cauſed his final rejection.*

JOnathan, with his ſmall army or regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, ſurpriſed a garriſon of *Philiſtines:* the ſame, as ſome think, which *Saul* paſs'd by, when he came from *Rama*, where he was firſt anointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariath-jearim:* becauſe a place where the *Philiſtines* had a garriſon, 1 *Sam.* x. is called *the hill of God*, which they underſtand of *Cariath-jearim:* but *Junius* underſtands this garriſon to have been at *Gebah*, in *Benjamin* near *Gibha*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thouſand followers. Howſoever, by this it appeareth, that the *Philiſtines* held ſome ſtrong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the territory of *Iſrael:* and now being greatly inraged by this ſurprize they aſſembled [d] 30000 armed chariots, and 6000 horſe, wherewith they invaded *Judea*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a city of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Jeruſalem*, and in the midſt of the land between the ſea and *Jordan*. With this ſudden invaſion the *Iſraelites* were ſtrucken in ſo great a fear, as ſome of them hid themſelves in the caves of the mountains, others fled over *Jordan* in *Gad* and *Gilead: Saul* himſelf, with ſome 2000 men of ordinary, and many other people, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the paſſage of *Joſhua* when he led *Iſrael* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuel*'s appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* ſeven days: but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminiſh greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place, 1 *Sam.* xiii. 9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt-offering and a peace-offering unto God, contrary to the eccleſiaſtical laws of the *Hebrews*, and God's commandments: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per ſacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſin of *Saul* not to have been any intruſion into the prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to God's commandment, in not ſtaying according to the appointment, 1 *Sam.* x. 8. ſecondly, a diffidence or miſtruſt in God's help, and too great relying upon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him he could not bear patiently; and laſtly, a contempt of the holy prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of ſo godly a man might procure *him*. But whatſoever was his ſin, notwithſtanding his excuſes, he was by [e] *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in terms unfitting his eſtate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* ſo to do, from God himſelf, at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the kingdom ſhould be conferred to another (a man after God's own heart) both from [f] *Saul* and his poſterity.

After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his army, found it to conſiſt of 600 men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea, among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either ſword or ſpear, but *Saul* and his ſon *Jonathan* only. For the *Philiſtines* had not left them any ſmith in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides, they that came to [g] *Saul* came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armour as they had, behind them in the garriſons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould be able the year before, or in ſome part of this very year, to ſuccour *Jabes Gilead* with 330000 men, if there had not now been any iron weapon to defend themſelves withal, ſave only in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his ſon. But howſoever all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtines*, and all thoſe craftſmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Iſraelites* only files to ſharpen and amend ſuch ſtuff as ſerved for the plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kind of arms it is manifeſt, or elſe they durſt not have attempted upon the *Philiſtines* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the text, that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*, but only that there was not any found amongſt thoſe 600 ſoldiers which ſtay'd with [h] *Saul* after *Samuel*'s departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had ſharply reprehended *Saul*, that

[a] 1 Sam. 11. 8. [b] 1 Sam. 11. [c] 1 Sam. 12. [d] 1 Sam. 13. 5. [e] 1 Sam. 13. [f] 1 Sam. 14. [g] 1 Sam. 13. 7. [h] 1 Sam. 13. 22.

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his own guards forſook him, having but 600 remaining of his 3000 ordinary ſoldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

With this ſmall troop he held himſelf to his own city of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength and better aſſured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſs that the *Philiſtines* ſhould thus diſarm the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpear, but by thunder from heaven: and when theſe craftſmen were once rooted out of the cities of *Iſrael*, no marvel if they could not in a ſhort peace under *Samuel*, be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philiſtines* is to be underſtood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not ſuffering their artificers to teach the *Iſraelites*, and ſo even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any ſtore of armour. The ſame policy did *Nabuchodonoſor* uſe after his conqueſt in *Judea*: *Dionyſius* in *Sicily*; and many other princes elſewhere in all ages. But theſe loſt weapons in part the *Iſraelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philiſtines* had not invaded. The reſt of their defences were ſuch as antiquity uſed, and their preſent neceſſity miniſtred unto them; to wit, clubs, bows, and ſlings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in caſting ſtones in ſlings: and that theſe were the natural weapons, and the firſt of all nations, it is manifeſt; and ſo in *Chronicles* i. 12. it is written of thoſe that came to ſuccour *David* againſt *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bows, and could uſe the right and the left hand with ſtones*; and with a ſling it was, that *David* himſelf ſlew the giant *Goliah*.

While the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſtood in theſe hard terms, the *Philiſtines* having parted their army into three troops, that they might ſpoil and deſtroy many parts at once; *Jonathan*, ſtrengthned by God, and followed with his eſquire only, ſcaled a mountain, whereon a [a] company of *Philiſtines* were lodged: the reſt of their army (as may be gathered by the ſucceſs) being incamped in the plain adjoining. And tho' he were diſcovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of deriſion called up by his enemies: yet he ſo behaved himſelf, as with the aſſiſtance of God, he ſlew 20 of the firſt *Philiſtines* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cauſe, fled away amazed altogether. In which confuſion, fear, and jealouſy, they ſlaughtered one another inſtead of enemies: whereupon thoſe *Hebrews* which became of their party, becauſe they feared to be ſpoiled by them, took the advantage of their deſtruction, and ſlew of them in great numbers. And laſtly, *Saul* himſelf taking knowledge of the rout and diſorder, together with thoſe *Iſraelites* that ſhrouded themſelves in mount [b] *Ephraim*, ſet upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a moſt happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that prophecy in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of thoſe which feared God, ſhould kill a thouſand, and two of them ten thouſand.*

This done, the ſmall army of *Iſrael* made retreat from the purſuit. And tho' *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his ſon *Jonathan* being infeebled with extreme labour and emptineſs, taſted a drop of honey in his paſſage: for which *Saul* his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan* ſeems to have reduced unto the *Philiſtines* remembrance of their former overthrow likewiſe miraculous in the days of *Samuel*; ſo that for ſome ſpace of time they held themſelves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns all his bordering enemies; namely the [c] *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, againſt all which he prevailed. He then aſſembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000 men, and receiving the commandment of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, waſting and deſtroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the deſart, belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which war he took *Agag* their king priſoner. But whereas he was inſtructed by *Samuel* to follow this nation without compaſſion, becauſe they firſt of all attempted [d] *Iſrael*, when they left *Egypt* in *Moſes*'s time: he notwithſtanding did not only ſpare the life of *Agag*, but reſerved the beſt of the beaſts and ſpoil of the country, with pretence to offer them in ſacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a ſecond time make him know, that God would caſt him from his royal eſtate to which he was raiſed, when he was of baſe condition, and as the text hath it, *little in his own eyes*. And tho' the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet ſeeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how ſeverely it pleaſed God to injoin the *Iſraelites* to revenge themſelves upon that nation, he was in all inexcuſable. For God had commanded that the [e] *Iſraelites ſhould put out the remembrance of Amalec from under heaven.* For the cruelty which the predeceſſors of this *Agag* uſed againſt the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially on thoſe which were overwearied, ſick, faint and aged people, was now to be revenged on him and his nation above 400 years afterwards; and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himſelf having alſo ſinned in the ſame kind, as theſe words of *Samuel* witneſs: [f] *As thy ſword hath made other women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among other women*; at which time *Samuel* himſelf (after he had been by many bootleſs intreaties perſuaded to ſtay awhile with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and ſoon after he departed to *Ramath*, and *came no more to ſee Saul, until the day of his death.*

SECT. V.

Of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul *and his death.*

NOW while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to chooſe a king for *Iſrael*, among the ſons of *Iſhai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a ſort to perform, till it pleaſed God to direct him how he might avoid both the ſuſpicion, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wiſdom he ſought to avoid the inconvenience or dangers of this life, then do thoſe men miſtake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reaſon that God hath given them, do no otherwiſe avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men ſtupified in the opinion of fate

[a] 1 Sam. 14. 12. [b] 1 Sam. 14. [c] 1 Sam. 14. [d] Exod. 17. [e] Deut. 25. 15. [f] 1 Sam. 15. 33.

or

or deſtiny, neglecting either to beg counſel at God's hand, by prayer, or to exerciſe that wiſdom or foreſight, wherewith God had inriched the mind of man, for his preſervation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made, and could deſtroy the world in an inſtant) diſdain here to inſtruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul* by the accuſtomed cautious ways of the world.

Of the ſons of *Iſhai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David* the youngeſt, having refuſed *Eliab* the firſt-born; who, tho' he were a man of a comely perſon and great ſtrength, yet unto ſuch outward appearance the Lord had no reſpect. For, as it is written, [a] *God ſeeth not as man ſeeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He alſo refuſing the other ſix brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock, for of him *the Lord ſaid to Samuel, ariſe and anoint him, for this is he:* which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to ſeek the life of *David:* in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battel by the *Philiſtines*.

The *Philiſtines* having well conſidered (as it ſeems) the increaſe of *Saul*'s power through many victories by him obtained, while they had ſitten ſtill and forborn to give impediment to his proſperous courſes, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as juſtly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Iſrael*, might be repay'd with advantage, if ever opportunity ſhould ſerve their often injured neighbours againſt them, as lately it had done againſt *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the reſt of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their ſoldiers, and all warlike proviſions, the *Philiſtines* had reaſon to think themſelves equal, if not ſuperior, to *Iſrael*. The ſucceſs of their former wars had for the moſt part been agreeable to their own wiſhes; as for late diſaſters, they might, according to human wiſdom, impute them to ſecond cauſes, as to a tempeſt happening by chance, and to a miſtaken alarm, whereby their army poſſeſſed with a needleſs fear had fallen to rout. Having therefore muſtered their forces and taken the field, encamping ſo near to the army which king *Saul* drew forth againſt them, that they could not eaſily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joining in groſs, but maintaining ſome skirmiſhes, as refuſing both of them to paſs the valley that lay between their camps. Juſt cauſes of fear they had on both ſides; eſpecially the *Philiſtines*, whoſe late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occaſion perhaps it was, that they ſought to decide the matter by ſingle combat, as willing to try in one man's perſon, whether any ſtroak from heaven were to be feared. *Goliah* of *Gath* a ſtrong giant, fearing neither God nor man, undertook to defie the whole hoſt of *Iſrael*, provoking them with deſpightful words, to appoint a champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering condition, that the party vanquiſhed in champion, ſhould hold it ſelf as overcome in groſs, and become vaſſal to the other. This gave occaſion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by God's appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into publick notice of the people. For no man durſt expoſe himſelf to encounter the great ſtrength of *Goliah*, until *David* (ſent by his father on an errand to the camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms offenſive or defenſive than a ſling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty giant, and after with his own ſword ſtruck off his head. Hereupon the *Philiſtines*, who ſhould have yielded themſelves as ſubjects to the conqueror, according to the covenant on their own ſide propounded, fled without ſtay; and were purſued and ſlaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philiſtines* were not ſo broken, that either any of their towns were loſt, or their people diſcouraged from infeſting the territories of *Iſrael*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his maſter *Saul*, through the honour purchaſed by his well deſerving. For after ſuch time as the Spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel tyrant, faithleſs and irreligious [b]. Becauſe the high-prieſt *Abimelech* fed *David* in his neceſſity with hallowed bread, and armed him with the ſword of his own conqueſt taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech*, and 85 prieſts of *Nob*, but alſo he deſtroyed the city, [c] *and ſmote with the edge of the ſword both man and woman, both child and ſuckling, both ox and aſs, and ſheep.* And he that had compaſſion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and alſo ſpared and preſerved the beſt of his cattel, contrary to the commandment and ordinance of God, both by *Moſes* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in ſtore, for the innocent, for the Lord's ſervants the prieſts of *Iſrael*. Yea, he would have ſlain his own ſon [d] *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *David*'s innocency, as alſo once before for taſting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his father's unreaſonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he ſhewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promiſed him: and again in taking her away from him, to whom he had given her; alſo in that when as *David* had twice ſpared his life in the territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice ſworn to do him no hurt, and confeſſed his errors, yet he ſought ſtill to deſtroy him, by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he ſhewed, in that he ſought counſel of the witch of *Endor*, which was the laſt preparative for his deſtruction. For whereas when he ſought counſel from God he had been always victorious: from the oracle of the devil this ſucceſs followed, that both himſelf, and his three ſons, with his neareſt and faithfulleſt ſervants, were all ſlaughter'd by the *Philiſtines:* his body with the bodies of his ſons (as a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour) were hung over the walls of *Bethſan:* and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites* of *Jabes* ſtoln their carcaſes thence and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Iſrael*, together with *Samuel*, 40 years, and by himſelf after *Samuel* 20 years, according to [e] *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Joſephus*. But yet it ſeemeth to me that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25th chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the reſt of the ſame chapter the paſſages are written of *David*, *Nabal* and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly enſued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a fair entrance to all thoſe victories which *David* afterwards obtained, for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring nations; cruſh'd the *Syrians*,

[a] 1 Sam. 16. 7. [b] 1 Sam. 16. 13. [c] 1 Sam. 22. 19. [d] 1 Sam. 24. [e] Act. 13. 31. Cedren. p. 69. Theop. l. 3. p. 3. Joſeph. l. 28.

and

and their adherents; broken the ſtrength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly waſted the power and pride of the *Philiſtines*.

SECT. VI.

Of ſuch as lived with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen *and* Hercules, *and of their iſſues: upon occaſion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponneſus *about this time.*

IN the ſecond year of *Samuel*, according to *Euſebius*, was *David* born; after *Codoman* later, and in the ninth year: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *David*, ſaith he, was thirty years old when he began to reign: whence it followeth, that he was born in the tenth of the 40 years, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Æneas Silvius* the ſon of *Poſthumus* began his reign over the *Latines* in *Alba*, who governed that ſtate 31 years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Poſthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Æneas*, and the fourth king of *Alba*, whereof I will not ſtand to diſpute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilus* ſat in the throne of *Aſſyria*, being the one and thirtieth king; he ruled that empire 40 years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponneſus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the nation, poſſeſs'd a great part thereof 328 years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratoſthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently poſſeſſed by 3 tribes or kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen*, the ſon of *Deucalion*, lord of the country *Phthiotis* in *Theſſaly*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till ſuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the land, partly by the plantation of many colonies, and ſundry great victories obtained, the iſſues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the country under their obedience, calling themſelves generally by one name, and yet every ſeveral nation after ſome one of the poſterity of *Hellen*, who had reigned over it. And becauſe this is the furtheſt antiquity of *Greece*, it will not be amiſs to recount the pedigree of her firſt planters.

Iapetus (as the poets fable) was the ſon of heaven and earth, ſo accounted, either becauſe the names of his parents, had in the *Greek* tongue ſuch ſignification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *aſtronomy* and *philoſophy*.

Iapetus begat *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*: of whom all men have read that have read poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*. *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Theſſaly*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretenſis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the queen. In *Deucalion*'s time was that great flood, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whoſe ſons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus* and *Æolus*, of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* having firſt inhabited ſundry parts of *Theſſaly*, did afterwards ſeat themſelves about *Parnaſſus*: and finally became lords of the countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldeſt ſon of *Hellen*, being baniſh by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his own uſe ſome part of their father's goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the daughter of king *Erictheus*, he begat on her two ſons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of theſe two *Achæus*, for a ſlaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponneſus*: and ſeating himſelf in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence (as ſome write) he afterwards departed; and levying an army recovered the kingdom of his grandfather in *Theſſaly*.

Ion being general for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great victory, and thereby ſuch love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their ſtate into his hands. He divided the citizens into tribes, appointing every one to ſome occupation, or good courſe of life. When the people multiplied he planted colonies in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos*, or *Ægialia*: In which country *Solinus* then reigning, thought it ſafer to give his daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a town called by his wife's name in *Ægialia*, where he and his poſterity reigned long, and (tho' not obliterating the old name) gave to that land denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* aſſiſting the nephews of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponneſus*, and overcoming the *Achæans* poſſeſſed *Laconia*, and all thoſe parts which the *Achæi* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to ſeek a new ſeat, came unto the *Iones*, deſiring to inhabit the *Ægialia* with them, and alledging in vain, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had been brethren. When this requeſt could not be obtained, they ſought by force to expel the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they loſt their king *Tiſamenes*, the ſon of *Oreſtes*, in that war.

Thus were the *Iones* driven out of *Peloponneſus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they ſailed into *Aſia*, and peopled the weſtern coaſt thereof, on which they built 12 cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the leaſt without any univerſal or memorable tranſmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Aſia* hath been mentioned by all which have written of that age, and is commonly placed 140 years after the war of *Troy*, and 60 years after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*. Theſe *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the kings of *Sparta* iſſued; which race held that kingdom about 700 years. Of their father *Hercules* many ſtrange things are delivered unto us by the poets, of which ſome are like to have been true, others perhaps muſt be allegorically underſtood. But the moſt approved writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whoſe exploits were by the *Greeks* aſcribed to the ſon of *Alcmena*, who is ſaid to have performed theſe twelve great labours.

Firſt, he ſlew the *Nemæan* lyon: ſecondly, he ſlew the ſerpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very ſwift hart: the fourth was the taking of a wild boar alive, which haunted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcady*: the fifth was the cleanſing of *Augeas*'s ox-ſtall in one day, which he performed by turning the river *Alpheus* into it: the ſixth was the chaſing away of the birds from the lake *Stymphalis*: the ſeventh was the fetching a bull from *Crete*: the eighth was the taking of the mares which *Diomedes* king of *Thrace* fed with human fleſh: the ninth was to fetch a girdle of the queen of the *Amazons*: the three laſt were, to fetch *Geryon*'s beeves from *Gades*; the golden apples of the *Heſperides*; and *Cerberus* from hell. The mythological interpretation of theſe I purpoſely omit, as both over-long to be here ſet down, and no leſs perplexed than the labours themſelves. For ſome by *Hercules* underſtand fortitude, prudence, and conſtancy, interpreting the monſters, vices. Others make *Hercules* the ſun, and his travels to be the twelve ſigns of the zodiac. There

are others who apply his works hiſtorically to their own conceits; as well aſſured, that the expoſition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables: that he took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other towns, being aſſiſted by ſuch as either admired his virtues, or were beholden unto him. Alſo that he ſlew many thieves and tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of poetical vanity. His travels through moſt parts of the world are, or may ſeem, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But ſure it is that many cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the land from much oppreſſion. But after his death no city of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the virtue and deſerts of *Hercules*, with conſtant protection of his children, perſecuted by the king *Euryſtheus*. This *Euryſtheus* was ſon of *Sthenelus*, and grandchild of *Perſeus*; he reigned in *Mycenæ*, the mightieſt city then in *Greece*. He it was that impoſed thoſe hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as poets report) for the expiation of that murther, which in his madneſs he had committed upon his own children; but as others ſay, becauſe he was his ſubject and ſervant: wherefore there are who commend *Euryſtheus* for imploying the ſtrength of *Hercules* to ſo good a purpoſe. But it is generally agreed by the beſt writers, that *Hercules* was alſo of the ſtock of *Perſeus*, and holden in great jealouſy by *Euryſtheus*, becauſe of his virtue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous ſervices wherein he was imployed, ſo that he grew great in reputation through all *Greece*, and had by many wives and concubines above 60 children. Theſe children *Euryſtheus* would fain have got in his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* king of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durſt not withſtand *Euryſtheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred *Euryſtheus*. *Iolaus* the brother's ſon of *Hercules*, who had aſſiſted him in many of his travels, was captain of the *Heraclidæ*. It is ſaid of him, that being dead, he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Euryſtheus*: whom he when had ſlain in battel, he died again. It ſeems to me, that whereas he had led *Colonies* into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to aſſiſt his couſins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponneſians* underſtood that *Euryſtheus* was ſlain, they took *Atreus* the ſon of *Pelops* to their king: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the people. Againſt him the *Heraclidæ* marched under *Hyllus* the ſon of *Hercules*. But to avoid effuſion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* ſhould fight with *Echenus* king of the *Tegeatæ* a people of *Arcadia*, who aſſiſted *Atreus*, with condition that if *Hyllus* were victor, he ſhould peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwiſe the *Heraclidæ* ſhould not enter *Peloponneſus* in 100 years. in that combat *Hyllus* was ſlain, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbear their country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Ariſtodemus* (as the beſt authority ſhews, tho' ſome have ſaid, that they came under the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom they planted in that country, as is before ſhewed, having expelled the *Achai*, over whom the iſſue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Euryſtheus* four generations.

SECT. VII.

Of Homer *and* Heſiod, *and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.*

ABOUT this time that excellent learned poet *Homer* lived, as many of the beſt chronologers affirm. He was by race of the *Mæones*, deſcended (as [a] *Functius* imagineth) of *Beroſus*'s *Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the poet to have been long after theſe times, raſhly framing his *Æra* according to [b] *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes ſeven more of this name to have flouriſhed in divers cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, ſprang the diverſity of opinions, both of the time and of the native city of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manaſſeh* king of *Judah*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Meleſigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, becauſe blind men follow a guide, which ſignification among others, is in the verb ὁμηρεῖν: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blind. [c] *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the queſtion of the time when *Homer* lived. So alſo [d] *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Aſſyrius*, in his oration *Ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flouriſhed 950 years before the conſulſhip of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* caſteth up in the world's year 3046, and after *Troy* taken, about 260 years: and about 250 years before the building of *Rome*, making him to have flouriſhed about the time of *Jehoſaphat* king of *Judah*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tatianus* above-named, mention authors that make him much ancienter. The difference of which authors in this point is not unworthy the readers conſideration, that by this one inſtance he may gueſs of the difficulty, and ſo pardon the errors in the computations of ancient time: ſeeing in ſuch diverſity of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80 years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponneſus*: and [e] *Eratoſthenes* after *Troy* 100 years. *Theopompus* 500 years after the army of *Greece* ſailed into *Phrygia* for the war of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him cotemporary with *Gyges*, who began to reign in the 18th olympiad (which was 45 years after *Rome* was built) and *Soſibius* ſaith, that he was 90 years before the firſt olympiad: which he ſeeks to prove by the times of *Charillus*, and his ſon *Nicander*; *Philocorus* placeth him 180 after *Troy*: *Ariſtarchus* 140, in the time of the ſeating of the colonies in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Ageſilaus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100 years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to viſit him, near 240 years after *Troy* taken. [f] *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flouriſhing 622 years before *Xerxes*'s enterprize againſt the *Grecians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168 years after the *Trojan* war. *Euſebius* ſeems to make him to have been about the time of *Joaſh* king of *Judah*, 124 years before *Rome* was built: tho' elſewhere in his chronology he notes, that ſome place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his evangelical preparation, where out of *Tatianus Aſſyrius* he citeth ſundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many

[a] Fun. Chro. fol. 11. col. D. [b] *This author ſet out with* Beroſus *and others, firſt at* Baſil, *and after with frier* Annius's *comment at* Antwerp *is* incertæ fidei, Naucler. f. 147. *placeth* Homer *in the* 32*d generation in the time of* Samuel. [c] Stromatum l. 5. [d] Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11. item l. 17. c. 21. [e] *As both* Cle. Alex. *and* Tatian. Aſſyr. *report his opinion*, rerum Phil. 43. Roſ. in diſc. temporum. Phil. in comm. in Archilog. [f] Her. in vita Hom.

other

other *Greek* writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Ariſtæus*, *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Heſiodus* were the elder, it is alſo much diſputed. [a] *Aulus Gellius* reports, that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Heſiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the poet, and *Ephorus* the hiſtorian, make *Heſiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. [b] *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of theſe learned fablers was firſt born: but he finds that they lived together ſome certain years, wherein he confirms himſelf by an epigram written upon a trevit, and left by *Heſiod* in *Helicon*.

[c] *Cornelius Nepos* reports, that they both lived 160 years before was *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about [d] 140 years after the fall of *Troy*. [e] *Euthymenes* finds them both 200 years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acaſtus* the ſon of *Pelias*, king of *Theſſaly*. For my ſelf, I am not much troubled when this poet lived; neither would I offend the reader with theſe opinions, but only to ſhew the uncertainty and diſagreement of hiſtorians, as well in this particular, as in all other queſtions and diſputes of time. For the curioſity of this man's age is no leſs ridiculous, than the inquiſition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing ſome great myſtery. In deriſion whereof *Lucian* feigning himſelf to have been in hell, to have ſpoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cauſe why he began his book with that word? who anſwered, that he began in that ſort, becauſe it came in his head ſo to do.

It ſeemeth that *Senyes*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires*, ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherſobris* was his ſucceſſor, who preceded *Vaphres*, father-in-law to *Solomon*.

About the end of *Saul*'s government, or in the beginning of *David*'s time according to [f] *Caſſiodorus*, the *Amazons* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Aſia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And beſides the overthrow of that famous ſtate of *Troy* (which fell 103 years before *David*'s time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not only by reaſon of thoſe northern nations: but there ſprung up, ſomewhat nearly together, ſix kingdoms into greatneſs not before erected. In *Italy*, that of the *Latins*: in the ſouth part of *Greece*, thoſe *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achæi*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damaſcus*, the *Adads* made themſelves princes, of which there were ten kings, which began and ended with the kings of *Iſrael* in effect: and ſomewhat before theſe, the ſtate of the *Iſraelites* having now altered their form of government, began to flouriſh under kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became maſter of all thoſe neighbouring nations, who by interchange of times had ſubjected the *Judeans*, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a moſt abject, and grievous ſlavery; to wit, the *Edumeans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Mideanites*, *Ituræans*, and the reſt of the *Arabians*, with the *Philiſtines*, *Jebuſites*, *Geſhurites*, *Machathites*, all which acknowledged *David* for their ſoveraign lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of DAVID.

SECT. I.

Of David's *eſtate in the time of* Saul.

THE hazards which *David* ran into while he was yet only deſigned king, and living as a private man, expected the empire, were very many. The firſt perſonal act of fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and ſo highly affected of *Jonathan* the ſon of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own ſoul: inſomuch, as when *Saul* ſought to perſuade his ſon, that *David* would aſſuredly be the ruin of his houſe, and eſtate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cauſe, *Jonathan* could never be perſuaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of *David*'s life, and well doing. It was not long after this ſignal act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, tho' he were become as his houſhold ſervant, and his eſquire, or armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil ſpirit, was adviſed to procure ſome cunning muſician to play before him upon the harp; whereby it was thought that he might find eaſe, which came to paſs accordingly. He entertained *David*, for this purpoſe, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of war. But the jealous tyrant ſoon waxed weary of his good affections; and ſought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved only thro' envy of his virtue. This paſſion firſt brake forth in the midſt of his raving fit, at which time he threw a ſpear at *David*, that was then playing on his harp, to do him eaſe.

[g] *Cenſorinus* remembreth one *Aſclepius* a phyſician, who practiſed the curing of the frenzy, by the like muſick: and tempted thereby thoſe diſeaſes which grew from paſſion. That *Pythagoras* did alſo the like by ſuch a kind of harmony, *Seneca* in his third book of anger witneſſeth. But the madneſs of *Saul* came from the cauſe of cauſes, and was thereby incurable, howſoever it ſometimes left him, and yielded unto that muſick, which God had ordained to be a means of more good to the muſician than to the king.

Saul having failed in ſuch open attempts, gave unto *David* the command over 1000 ſoldiers, to confront the *Philiſtines* withal. For he durſt not truſt him as before, about his perſon, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promiſed him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to preſent him with an hundred foreſkins of the *Philiſtines*: hoping rather (in reſpect of the valour of that nation) that the *Philiſtines* would take *David*'s head, than he their foreſkins. This hope failing, when as now *David*'s victories begat new fears and jealouſies in *Saul*, he practiſed with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purpoſes were ſtill fruſtrated. After all this he ſought to murther him in his own houſe, but *Michol* his wife delivered him. So *David* ſought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being purſued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to

[a] Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11. [b] Varro de imag. l. 1. [c] Nep. in Chron. Caſſel. 1. annal. [d] *This number* Mercator *corrects, and reads* 240 *for it.* [e] Euthym. in Chr. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 5. [f] Euſ. & Caſſ. in Chron. [g] Cenſ. c. 12. & 14.

[a] *Abimilech*,

[a] *Abimilech*, then to [b] *Achis* the *Philiſtine*, prince of *Gath:* where to obſcure himſelf, he was forc'd to counterfeit both ſimplicity and diſtraction. But being ill aſſured among the *Philiſtines*, he covered himſelf in the cave of *Adullam:* and after conveying ſuch of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himſelf in the deſarts of [c] *Ziph*, *Maon*, and the hills of *Engedi*, where he cut off the lap of *Saul*'s garments, and ſpared his life: as he did a ſecond time in the deſart of [d] *Ziph*, after his paſſage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* of *Gath* the ſecond time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his maſter *Saul* was known to proſecute him.

Of *Achis*, *David* obtained [e] *Siklag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judea:* but he bent his forces another way and ſtruck the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Iſrael*, letting none live to complain of him. *Achis* ſuppoſing that *David* had drawn blood of his own nation, thought himſelf aſſured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Iſrael*, ſummoneth *David* to aſſiſt him, who diſſembling his intent, ſeemeth very willing thereto. But the reſt of the *Philiſtine* princes knowing his valour, and doubting his diſpoſition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himſelf to *Siklag*. At his return he found the town burnt, his two wives, with the wives and children of his people taken by the *Amalekites:* hereupon his fellows mutinied, but God gave him comfort, and aſſurance to recover all again: which he did.

This army of the *Philiſtines* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three ſons were ſlain. The news with *Saul*'s crown and bracelets were brought to *David*, at *Siklag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amalek*, by a man of the ſame nation, who [f] avow'd (tho' falſely) that himſelf at *Saul*'s requeſt had ſlain him. *David*, becauſe he had accuſed himſelf, made no ſcruple to cauſe him to be ſlain at the inſtant: and the ſooner, becauſe the probabilities gave ſtrong evidence withal. Otherwiſe it followeth not that every man ought to be believed of himſelf to his own prejudice. For it is held in the law; [g] *Confeſſio reorum non habenda eſt pro explorato crimine, niſi approbatio alia inſtruit religionem cognoſcentis*; The priſoner's confeſſion muſt not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unleſs ſome other proof inform the conſcience of the judge. For a man may confeſs thoſe things of himſelf, that the judge by examination may know to be impoſſible. But becauſe it is otherwiſe determined in the title *de cuſtodia reorum l. ſi confeſſus, & in cap. de pœnis l. qui ſententiam*, therefore doth the gloſs reconcile theſe two places in this ſort. *Si quis in judicio ſponte de ſeipſo confiteatur, & poſtea maneat in confeſſione, id eſt ſatis*; If any man in judgment do confeſs of himſelf, of his own accord, and after doth perſevere in his confeſſion, it is enough. That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul* it is not improbable, for death cutteth aſunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befel him, being a king, with whom, in effect, the ſtrength of *Iſrael* alſo fell, could not but ſtir up ſorrow and move compaſſion in the heart of *David*.

The victory which the *Philiſtines* had gotten was ſo great, that ſome towns of the *Iſraelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left unto the enemy, who took poſſeſſion of them without any reſiſtance made. Wherefore it may ſeem ſtrange, that a nation ſo warlike and ambitious as were the *Philiſtines*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and ſeek to make the conqueſt entire. Moſt like it ſeems, that the civil war immediately breaking out between *David* and the houſe of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the reſt of *Iſrael*, gave them hope of an eaſy victory over both; and thereby cauſed them to attempt nothing at the preſent, leſt by ſo doing they ſhould inforce their diſagreeing enemies to a neceſſary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part ſhould conſume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquiſhed, would become a prey to the violence of ſuch as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

SECT. II.

Of the beginning of David's *reign, and the war made by* Abner *for* Iſhboſheth.

AFTER the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the War, ſought to advance *Iſhboſheth* (or *Jeboſtus* according to *Joſephus*) tho' he had no right to the kingdom of *Iſrael:* for *Mephiboſheth* the firſt ſon of *Jonathan* lived. Againſt this *Abner*, and *Iſhboſheth*, *David* made a defenſive war, till *Abner* paſs'd *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he ſent *Joab* with ſuch forces as he had, to reſiſt *Abner: Iſhboſheth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other near *Gibeon*, where it ſeemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combat between the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300 being choſen of each nation, of which number three perſons were only left unſlain. The like trial by a far leſs number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The ſame challenge *Goliah* the *Philiſtine* made, whom *David* ſlew: a cuſtom very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like trial in his own perſon to the *French* king; and *Francis* the *French* king to *Charles* the emperor. There were 12 choſen of each part, in this war of *David* with the houſe of *Saul*, to wit, ſo many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda:* whoſe force and valour was ſo equal, as there ſurvived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrel ſtaid not here: for the army of *Juda* preſs'd *Abner* in groſs, and brake him. 360 Men of *Abner*'s companions were ſlain, and but 20 of *Juda*; whereof *Aſahel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs purſue [h] *Abner*, and by *Abner*'s perſuaſions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounding him to death, with the ſtroke of his ſpear. For tho' *Aſahel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the text, as light as a wild roe, and as *Joſephus* reporteth, contended not only with men, but with horſes; and hoped to have gotten great fame, if he could have maſtered *Abner* (who as *Aſahel* perſuaded himſelf, had by being overthrown and flying away loſt his courage) yet here it fell out true; [i] *That the race is not to the ſwift.*

That this civil war laſted two years, we find it written in the 2 *Sam.* ii. 10. tho' in the beginning of the iiid it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter reſt-

[a] 1 Sam. 19. [b] 1 Sam. 21. [c] 1 Sam. 24. [d] 1 Sam. 26. [e] *It ſeemeth that* Simeon *never obtained* Siklag *till this time, for it is ſaid in the* 1*ſt of* Sam. 27. 6. *therefore* Siklag *pertaineth unto the king of* Judah *unto this day.* [f] 2 Sam. 1. [g] In F. de quæſt. l. prim. [h] 2 Sam. 2. [i] Eccleſ. 9.

eth

eth ſtill in diſpute, and ſome of the *Rabbins* conceive, that *Iſhboſheth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the war as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Iſhboſheth* after this, and till ſuch time as there grew jealouſy between him and *Iſhboſheth* for *Saul*'s concubine: neither did the death of *Iſhboſheth* inſtantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happened, the ſame doth not certainly appear.

SECT. III.

Of the death of Abner *ſlain by* Joab, *and of* Iſhboſheth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

ABNER, reconciled to *David*, was anon by [a] *Joab* murthered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *David*'s favour, and in the commandment of his forces, by which he was grown ſo powerful, as *David* forbare to call him to account; for thus much he confeſſeth of himſelf: [b] *I am this day weak, and theſe men the ſons of Zeruiah be too hard for me.* In this ſort *David* complained after *Abner*'s death, and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publick imprecation; [c] *Let the blood fall on the head of Joab, and on all his fathers houſe: and let them be ſubject to ulcers, to the leproſy, to lameneſs, to the ſword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withſtood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by *Joab* might greatly have endangered *David*'s eſtate, *Abner* being the mouth and truſt of all the reſt of the tribes, not yet reconciled. This miſchance therefore *David* openly bewailed, ſo that all *Iſrael* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held being general of the men of war, was of ſuch importance, that the kings themſelves were fain to give them great reſpect, as hath been already ſhewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himſelf worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole kingdom. For he was near to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adverſity, wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy ſhould in reward of new benefits be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature ſo jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterwards ſlew *Amaſa* his own kinſman, and the king's, upon the ſame quarrel, taking it in high diſdain to ſee him joined with himſelf, as captain of the hoſt of *Juda*; much leſs could he brook a ſuperior, and ſuch a one as had ſlain his brother, and been beaten himſelf in battel. But howſoever *Joab* did hate or deſpiſe *Abner*, *David* eſteemed highly of him as of a prince, and a great man in *Iſrael*, excuſing the overſight by which he might ſeem to have periſhed, by affirming, that he died not like a fool, nor a man vanquiſhed, [d] *But as a man falleth before wicked men, ſo* (ſaid he) *didſt thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit nor want of valour and virtue in him, whom a ſtronger hand deſtroyeth unawares, or whom ſubtilty in free truſt bringeth to confuſion. For all under the ſun are ſubject to worldly miſeries and miſadventures. Howſoever *Iſhboſheth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he deſpaired greatly of his eſtate, and with him all *Iſrael* were poſſeſs'd with great fear: inſomuch as two of *Iſhboſheth*'s own captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Iſhboſheth*, and preſenting his head to [e] *David*, received the ſame reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to have ſlain *Saul*. *Iſhboſheth* being dead, all the elders of *Iſrael* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and laſt time anointed by general conſent.

SECT. IV.

Of the flouriſhing time of David's *kingdom, the taking of* Jeruſalem, *with two overthrows given to the* Philiſtines, *and the conduction of the ark to the city of* David.

WHEN *David* was now eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, his firſt enterpriſe was upon the *Jebuſites*, who, in deriſion of his force, and confident in the ſtrength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blind and lame of their City [f]; which *David* ſoon after entered: all their other forces notwithſtanding. For having maſtered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterwards the city of *David*) he became lord of *Jeruſalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebuſites*, who had held it from the foundation to the times of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, and after them almoſt 400 years: there are who expound this place otherwiſe. *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou ſhalt not come in hither.* For ſome think that it was meant by the idols of the *Jebuſites*: others, that it had reference to the covenant made long before with *Iſaac* and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wreſtling with the angel, and that therefore till thoſe (that is, till that covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to moleſt them. But for my ſelf I take it with *Joſephus*, that they armed their walls with certain impotent people at firſt, in ſcorn of *David*'s attempt. For they, that had held their city about four hundred years againſt all the children of *Iſrael*, *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it alſo againſt *David*.

When he had now poſſeſs'd himſelf of the very heart and centre of the kingdom, and received congratulatory embaſſadors and preſents from *Hiram* king of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other concubines and married more wives, by whom he had ten ſons in *Jeruſalem*, and by his former wives he had 6 in *Hebron* where he reigned 7 years.

The *Philiſtines* hearing that *David* was now anointed king, as well of *Juda* as of *Iſrael*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his ſeat. And being encountred by *David* at two ſeveral times in the [g] *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *David* aſſembled 30000 choice *Iſraelites* to conduct the ark of God from the houſe of *Abinadab* in *Gibea*, to the city of *David*, which buſineſs was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the ſon of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord ſlew for preſuming to touch the ark, tho' it were with intent to ſtay it from taking harm when it was ſhaken. But after three years it was with great ſolemnity brought into the city with ſacrifices, muſick, dances, and all ſigns of joyfulneſs, in which *David* himſelf gladly bore a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the ark, and afterwards told him in ſcorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his ſervants*; namely, that he gat his regal dignity both in apparel and behaviour; and mixed himſelf among the baſe multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and ſtreets: not that ſhe diſliked *David*'s behaviour (as I take it) tho' ſhe made it the colour of her deriſion. But

[a] 2 Sam. 3. 27. [b] 2 Sam. 3. 39. [c] *Verſe* 29. [d] 2 Sam. 3. 34. [e] 2 Sam. 4. [f] 2 Sam. 5. [g] 2 Sam. 5.

rather the abundant grief, which this ſpectacle ſtirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom ſhe was delivered laſtly by force, and remembring the miſerable end of her father and brethren, out of whoſe ruins ſhe conceived that the ſon of *Iſhai* had built this his greatneſs, together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced ſince his poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, made her break out in thoſe deſpiteful terms, for which ſhe remained barren to her death.

This done, [a] *David* conſulted with the prophet *Nathan* for the building of the temple or houſe of God: but was forbidden it, becauſe he was a man of war, and had ſhed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all deteſt homicide; having threatned, not in vain, that he would require the blood of man, at the hand of man and beaſt. The wars which *David* had made were juſt, and the blood therein ſhed was of the enemies of God, and his church: yet for this cauſe it was not permitted that his hands ſhould lay the foundation of that holy temple. Hereby it appears how greatly thoſe princes deceive themſelves, who think by bloodſhed and terror of their wars, to make themſelves in greatneſs like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodneſs, or ſeek the bleſſedneſs promiſed by our Saviour unto the peace-makers.

Now altho' it was not pleaſing to the Lord to accept a temple of *David*'s founding, yet was his religious intent ſo well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promiſe of the everlaſting throne, that ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his ſeed.

SECT. V.

The overthrow of the Philiſtines *and* Moabites.

SOON after this *David* overthrew the *Philiſtines*, which made them altogether powerleſs, and unable to make any invaſion upon *Iſrael* in haſte. For it is written, *accepit frænum Amgaris e manu Philiſtæorum*; which place our *Engliſh Geneva* converts in theſe words, *And David took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philiſtines.* The *Latin* of [c] *Junius* giveth another and a better ſenſe; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the ſtrong city of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and ſo the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal note. This city of *Gath* was the ſame which was afterwards *Dio-Cæſaria*, ſet on the frontier of *Paleſtina* at the entrance into *Judea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incurſions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invaſions, which being taken by *David* and demoliſhed, there was left no ſuch frontier town of equal ſtrength to the *Philiſtines* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* ſtood the *Hebrews* call *Ammæ*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his 1ſt book and 13th chapter. This expoſition is made plain and confirmed in the 1ſt of *Chron.* chap. xviii.

There was no nation bordering the Jews that ſo greatly afflicted them as the *Philiſtines* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not ſharpen any weapon againſt them) did not leave one ſmith in all their cities and villages of that kind, but inforc'd them to come down into their territory, [d] for all iron work whatſoever they needed; ſo as the *Iſraelites* till this time of *David* were ſeldom free from paying tribute to the *Philiſtines.*

After this he gave them four other overthrows: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the firſt of which he was indangered by *Iſhbi-benob*, the head of whoſe ſpear weighed 300 ſheckles of braſs, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time [e] *Abiſhai* ſuccoured *David*, and ſlew the *Philiſtines*, whereupon the counſellors and captains of *David* (leſt the light of *Iſrael* might by his loſs be quench'd) vowed that he ſhould not thenceforth hazard himſelf in any battel. The ſecond and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philiſtines* was at *Gob*, a place near *Geſar*, and the laſt at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better aſſured of the *Philiſtines* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithſtanding in his adverſity he ſought ſuccour, and left his parents with him in truſt. But whether it were the ſame king or no it is not known.

The *Rabins* feign that *Moab* ſlew thoſe kinsfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Saul*'s time, but queſtionleſs *David* well knew how that nation had been always enemies to *Iſrael*, and took all the occaſions to vex them that were offered. And he alſo remembred that in the xxiiid of *Deuter.* God commanded *Iſrael* not to ſeek the peace or proſperity of the *Moabites*, which *David* well obſerved, for he deſtroy'd two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the ſon of *Rehob* king thereof. The place is ſet down in the deſcription of the holy land: to which I refer the reader.

SECT. VI.

The war which David *made upon the* Syrians.

IT is written in the text; *David ſmote alſo Hadadezer, &c. as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.* Now whether the words [*as he went to recover his border*] be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer* it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article [*he*] hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tohu* oppreſs'd by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one and ſuccoured the other. But the ancient and moſt received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any ſuch enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better caſe to have proceeded after his victory than before: ſeeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to purſue him, to take victuals and ſupplies from him, or to ſtop the paſſages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, ſeeing *David* was either to paſs through a part of *Arabia* the deſart, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his army conſiſting of footmen, for the moſt, if not all: he had now both horſe and chariots good ſtore to carry his proviſions thro' thoſe uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jeruſalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* army, not bending his courſe towards the river *Euphrates*, but ſeeking to eſtabliſh his purchaſes already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not king *David*, that was going to inlarge his border, as afore is ſaid.

The king of *Syria Damaſcena*, and of *Damaſcus*, whereof that region is ſo called, hearing that *Adadezer* was overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, fearing his

[a] 1 Chron. 13. [b] 2 Sam. 8. 1. [c] Junius *in c.* 8. *of the 2d of* Sam. [d] 1 Sam. 13. [e] 2 Sam. 21. 17.

own

own eſtate, and the loſs of his own country which adjoined to *Syria Zobah* of *Hadadezer*, ſent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his ſuccour: but theſe, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer*, and too ſoon for themſelves: for there periſhed of thoſe ſupplies 22000. This king of *Damaſcus*, *Joſephus* (out of *Nicolaus* an ancient hiſtorian) calleth *Adad*, who was alſo of the ſame name and family as all thoſe other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatneſs, and ſo continued for ten deſcents, till they were extinguiſhed by the *Aſſyrians*, as is ſhewed heretofore. *David*, having now reduced *Damaſcus* under his obedience, left a garriſon therein as he did in *Edom*: having alſo ſack'd the adjoining cities of *Betah*, and *Berathi*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which cities *Ptolemy* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. [a] *Tohu*, or *Thoi*, whoſe country of *Hamath* joined to *Adadezer* (as in the deſcription of the holy land the reader may perceive) ſent his ſon *Joram* to congratulate this ſucceſs of *David*: partly becauſe he had war with *Adadezer*, and partly becauſe he feared *David* now victorious. He alſo preſented *David* with veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſs, all which together with the golden ſhield of the *Aramites*, and the beſt of all the ſpoils of other nations *David* dedicated unto God at his return. *Junius* tranſlated the words [*clypeos aureos*] by *umbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the boſſes only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But becauſe *Roboam* made ſhields of braſs in place of theſe of *Adadezer*, at ſuch time as *Shicah* the *Egyptian* ſack'd the temple of *Jeruſalem*, it may be gathered thereby, that thoſe of *Adadezer* were golden ſhields.

This done, *David* ſent embaſſadors to *Hanum* king of the *Ammonites* to congratulate his eſtabliſhment in his father's kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill adviſed, and over-jealous of his eſtate, uſed *David*'s meſſengers ſo barbarouſly and contemptuouſly (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as he thereby drew a war upon himſelf, which neither his own ſtrength, nor all the aids purchaſed could put off, or ſuſtain. For notwithſtanding that he had waged 33000 ſoldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaſſals of *Adadezer* 20000, and of [c] *Maachah* and *Iſhtob* 13000 (for which he diſburſed a thouſand talents of ſilver) yet all theſe great armies together, with the ſtrength of the *Ammonites*, were by [d] *Joab* and his brother *Abiſhai* eaſily broken and put to ruin: and that without any great loſs or ſlaughter at that time. And it is written that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* alſo retreated into their cities, the one holding themſelves within the walls, the other in their deſarts adjoining, till *Joab* was returned to *Jeruſalem*.

Hadadezer, hearing that *Joab* had diſmiſſed his army, aſſembled his forces again, and ſent all the companies that he could levy out of *Meſopotamia*, who under the command of *Shobach* paſſed *Euphrates*, and incamp'd at [e] *Helam*, on the ſouth ſide thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, aſſembled all the ableſt men of *Iſrael*, and marched towards the *Syrian* army in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*: to wit, at *Helam*, a place no leſs diſtant from *Damaſcus*, towards the north-eaſt, than *Jeruſalem* was towards the ſouth-weſt. Now *David* (ſpeaking humanly) might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the fartheſt-off journey that ever he made) becauſe he was now lord of *Damaſcus*, which lay in the mid-way. He alſo poſſeſs'd himſelf of [f] *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Solomon* afterwards ſtrongly fortified, and this city was but one day's journey from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had he two ſafe retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damaſcus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they loſt 40000 horſemen, and 700 chariots, together with *Shobach* general of their army. The *Chronicles* call theſe 40000 ſoldiers footmen, and ſo *Junius* converts it, and ſo is it very probable. For the army of *Iſrael* conſiſting of footmen, could hardly have ſlaughtered 40000 horſe-men, except they quitted their horſes and fought on foot. So are the chariots taken in this battel, numbred at 7000, in the 1ſt of *Chronicles* chap. ix. in which number, as I conceive, all the ſoldiers that ſerved in them, with their conductors, are included; ſo as there died of the *Syrians* in this war againſt *David*, before he forced them to tribute, 100000 footmen, beſides all their horſemen and waggoners, and beſides all thoſe that *Joab* ſlew, when they fled at the firſt encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabba*. Notwithſtanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered ſtrength again, and afflicted the kings of *Juda* often: but the kings of *Iſrael* they impoveriſhed, even to the laſt end of that ſtate.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Meſopotamians* from the party and confederacy of *Ammon*: he ſent out *Joab* the lieutenant of his armies to forrage and deſtroy their territory, and to beſiege *Rabbah*, afterwards *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Iſraelites* maſtered and poſſeſs'd. The king's crown, which weighed a talent of gold, garniſhed with precious ſtones, *David* ſet on his own head, and carried away with him the reſt of the riches and ſpoil of the city. And tho' *David* ſtay'd at *Jeruſalem*, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till ſuch time as the city was brought to extremity, and ready to be entred: yet *Joab*, in honour of *David*, forbore the laſt aſſault, and entrance thereof, till his maſter's arrival. To the people he uſed extream rigour (if we may ſo call it, being exerciſed againſt heathen idolaters) for ſome of them he tore with harrows, ſome he ſawed aſunder, others he caſt into burning kilns, in which he bak'd tile and brick.

SECT. VII.

Of David's *troubles in his reign, and of his forces.*

BUT as victory begetteth ſecurity, and our preſent worldly felicity a forgetfulneſs of our former miſeries, and many times of God himſelf the giver of all goodneſs: ſo did theſe changes, in the fortune and ſtate of this good king, change alſo the zealous care which formerly he had to pleaſe God in the preciſe obſervation of his laws and commandments. For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (againſt whom he was wont to ask counſel from the Lord) he began to be adviſed by his own human affections, and vain deſires. For he was not only ſatisfied to take *Uriah*'s wife from him, and to uſe her by ſtealth; but he imbroidered his adultery with *Uriah*'s ſlaughter, giving order to his truſty ſervant [g] *Joab* to marſhal him in the front or point of thoſe *Iſraelites*,

[a] 2 Sam. 8. [b] 2 Sam. 10. [c] Maachah *the north part of* Traconitis *remembred in* Deut. 3. 14. Iſhtob *or* Thob *a country near* Gad, *under the rocks of* Arnon. [d] 2 Sam. 10. [e] Helam *or* Chelam, *which* Ptolemy *calleth* Alamatha, *near the fords of* Euphrates. 2 Sam. 10. [f] *See chap.* 18. *ſect.* 2. [g] 2 Sam. 11. 15.

which

which gave an aſſault upon the ſuburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any poſſibility of prevailing. And, that which could no leſs diſpleaſe God than the reſt, he was content that many others of his beſt ſervants and ſoldiers ſhould periſh together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent againſt him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the higheſt of happineſs; and his days then to come were filled with joys and woes interchangeable, his trodden down ſorrows began again to ſpring; and thoſe perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harveſt of many cares and diſcontentments. And if it had pleaſed God to take the witneſs of *David*'s own mouth againſt him, as *David* himſelf did againſt the *Amalekite*, which pretended to have ſlain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehenſion as the other was of the death he ſuffered. For when *Nathan* the prophet propounded unto him his own error, in the perſon of another, to wit, of him that took the poor man's ſheep that had none elſe, the bereaver being lord of many: he then vowed it to the living Lord, that ſuch a one ſhould die the death. And hereof, altho' it pleaſed God to pardon *David* for his life, which remiſſion the prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he delivered him God's juſtice, together with his mercy in the tenor following; [a] *Now therefore the ſword ſhall never depart from thy houſe*, &c. *becauſe thou haſt taken his wife to be thy wife, and haſt ſlain Uriah with the ſword of the children of Ammon.* Soon after this, *David* loſt the child of adultery which he begot on *Berſheba*. Secondly, His own ſon *Amnon* being in love with his half-ſiſter *Tamar*, by the advice of his couſin-german the ſon of *Shimeah*, *David*'s brother, poſſeſs'd her by force: which when he had performed, he thruſt her from him in a careleſs and deſpightful manner. Two years after which foul and inceſtuous act, *Abſalom* cauſed him to be murdered, at the feaſt of his ſheep-ſhearing; not perchance in revenge of *Tamar*'s raviſhment alone: but having it in his heart to uſurp the kingdom; in which, becauſe he could not in any ſort be aſſured of *Amnon*, he thought his affair greatly advanced by his deſtruction. So the one brother having raviſhed his own ſiſter, and then deſpiſed her; the other after a long diſſembled malice, firſt made his own brother drunken, and then ſlaughtered him; which done, he fled away, and lived under the ſafeguard of [b] *Talmai* king of *Geſhur*, near *Damaſcus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen king. Thirdly, When *Abſalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly becauſe of the great affection of *David* towards his ſon) was brought again; firſt to the king's favour, and then to his preſence. He began inſtantly to practiſe againſt [c] *David* his father, ſeeking by the pretence of common juſtice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his father's equity, to win unto himſelf a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a puniſhment of *David*'s ſin.

The company which [d] *Abſalom* gathered at the firſt were but 200 men: which he carried with him from *Jeruſalem* to *Hebron*; pretending, tho' impiouſly, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himſelf king, and was by the people (whoſe hearts God had turned from their lawful prince) accepted ſo readily, that *David* doubting to be ſet upon on the ſudden, durſt not truſt himſelf in his own city of *Jeruſalem*, nor in any other walled town for fear of ſurprize: but encamped in the fields and deſarts, with ſome 600 of his guards, and few elſe. The prieſts he left in *Jeruſalem*, with the ark of God, from whom he deſired to be advertiſed of thoſe things that chanced, to whom he directed [e] *Huſhai* his truſty friend and ſervant, praying him to make himſelf in all his outward actions and counſels of *Abſalom*'s party and confederacy, thereby the better to diſcover unto him the purpoſes of *Achitophel*, a revolted counſellor, whoſe practices he greatly doubted. And now when treaſon was in faſhion, *Ziba* alſo ſought to betray his maſter *Mephiboſheth* the ſon of *Jonathan*: and *Shimei* of the houſe of *Saul* (the fire of whoſe hatred *David*'s proſperity had ſmothered, but his adverſity illightened) holding himſelf upon the advantage of a mountain ſide, [f] caſt ſtones at *David*, and moſt deſpitefully curſed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbad *Abiſhai* to purſue him for the preſent, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his ſon *Solomon*. *Abſalom* being now poſſeſs'd of *Jeruſalem*, was adviſ'd by *Achitophel* to uſe his [g] father's concubines in ſome ſuch publick place, as all *Iſrael* might aſſure themſelves, that he was irreconcileable to his father: whereof being perſuaded they would then reſolvedly adhere to *Abſalom* and his cauſe, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This ſavage and impious (tho' crafty counſel) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own reſpect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his deſtruction; who moſt of all others inflamed *Abſalom* againſt his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raiſe up evil againſt thee out of thine own houſe, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he ſhall lie with thy wives in the ſight of the ſun: for thou didſt it ſecretly, but I will do this thing before all Iſrael, and before the ſun*, 2 *Sam.* xii. 11. He alſo gave advice to *Abſalom*, that himſelf with an army of 12000 men might be employed at the inſtant for the ſurprizing of *David*, which had willingly been imbraced by *Abſalom*, had not [h] *Huſhai David*'s faithful ſervant, given counter advice, and ſway'd it: perſuading *Abſalom*, that it was fitter and more ſafe for him with all the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, to purſue his father; than by ſuch a troop, which *David*'s valour, and thoſe of his attendants, might either endanger or reſiſt. This delay in *Abſalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loſs of the one and delivery of the other. whereupon [i] *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occaſion fore-ſhewed) the ſucceſs which followed, diſpoſed of his own eſtate, and then forſook both the party and the care of *Abſalom*, and of his own life.

David being advertiſed of this enterprize againſt him, march'd away all night, and paſs'd *Jordan*, poſſeſſing himſelf of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the ſame wherein *Iſhboſheth* himſelf, in the war againſt *David* after *Saul*'s death ſeated himſelf. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi*, the ſon of *Nahaſh* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the ſame which *Joſephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And tho' it be greatly diſputed what this *Shobi* was, yet the moſt general and probable opinion makes him a ſecond brother to *Hanum*, whom *David* for his father's ſake eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, after *Hanum*'s overthrow. In thankfulneſs whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came alſo to *David*'s aſſiſtance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, guardian in former times to *Mephiboſheth*, and among

[a] 2 Sam. 12. 9, 10. [b] 2 Sam. 13. [c] 2 Sam. 14. [d] 2 Sam. 15. [e] 2 Sam. 15. [f] 2 Sam. 16. [g] 2 Sam. 16. [h] 2 Sam. 17. 14. [i] 2 Sam. 17. 23.

others

others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the king and *Abſalom* prepared to fight; *Abſalom* made *Amaſa* commander of the army of *Iſrael*, the ſame place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the king himſelf, like unto that of the majors of the palace anciently in *France*. *David*, perſuaded by his company, ſtay'd in *Mahanaim*, and diſpoſed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abiſhai* and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that iſſued out at the port of *Mahanaim*, that they ſhould ſpare the life of *Abſalom*. But *Joab*, beſides that he was very cruel by nature, remembred that *Abſalom* had lately diſpoſed of his government to *Amaſa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him that *Abſalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not perſuade the meſſenger to return and kill him, [a]he himſelf with his own ſervants diſpatch'd him. It appeared alſo by the ſequel, that *Joab* affected *Adonijah*, whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the diſpoſition of *Abſalom*, he embraced the preſent advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and ſorrowed, not only as a man that had loſt a ſon, but as one that had outlived all his worldly joys, and ſeen every delight of life interred. For he ſo hid himſelf from his people, as thoſe, which hoped for honour and reward after ſo great a victory, covered themſelves alſo in the city, as if they had committed the greateſt offences, and had rather deſerved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* preſenting himſelf before *David*, perſuaded him to diſſemble his ſorrow for the preſent, and to ſhew himſelf to the army. For firſt he told him that he had diſcountenanced his faithful ſervants, who had that day preſerved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a king, than not only not to acknowledge ſo great a love and conſtancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet reſolvedly expoſe themſelves to great perils for his ſake: but on the contrary grieve and lament at their good ſucceſs. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Abſalom* at an eaſy rate. Secondly, He urged, that it was generally believ'd, that he lov'd his enemies and hated his friends, and that he witneſſed by this his mourning, that he had not any reſpect of his princes, and others his faithful ſervants, but would more have joyed if they had all periſhed, and *Abſalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulneſs and approved valour gotten.

Laſtly, He uſed this prevalent argument, that if the king came not out and ſhewed himſelf publickly to his men of war, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return; concluding with this fearful threatning: [b]*And that will be worſe unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By theſe overbold and arrogant ſpeeches (tho' perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* rais'd *David* from his bed of ſorrow, and brought him to the gates of the city among the people, whom he aſſured of his love and affection, eſpecially *Amaſa* who commanded the army of *Abſalom*, to whom he promiſed the office of lieutenantſhip; the ſame which *Abſalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amaſa* were not ſatisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, now under his commandment.

This done, the king marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his paſſage he pardoned [c]*Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face; but this remiſſion was but external, as appeared afterward. He alſo accepted of *Mephiboſheth*'s excuſe, whom *Ziba* had formerly falſly accuſed and betrayed.

He alſo intreated [d]*Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberal hoſt, to follow him to *Jeruſalem*, that he might reward his ſervice done him; who excuſing himſelf by his age, appointed his ſon *Chimham* to attend the king.

At *Gilgal* on this ſide *Jordan*, all the tribes aſſembled, and after ſome contention which of them ought to have moſt intereſt in *David*, the army brake, and *David* returned to *Jeruſalem*. But *Sheba*, the ſon of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, of the faction of the houſe of *Saul*, finding ſome diſcontentment among the *Iſraelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a ſtranger in whom they had no intereſt; and it ſeemeth that many of the people of the outtribes, and in effect of all but *Judah*, bare ſtill a good affection to the iſſues of their firſt king. *David* employed his reconciled captain *Amaſa*, to give him contentment, and to witneſs his truſt, as alſo becauſe he conceived that *Amaſa* had intereſt in thoſe revolts of *Iſrael* more than *Joab* had. He received commandment from *David* to aſſemble the army within three days, which he foreſlowed; but being onward on his way, *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s brother, was ſent after him, with *David*'s guard and beſt ſoldiers, whom alſo *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amaſa* near *Gibeon*, pretending to embrace him, [e]gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no leſs jealous of *Amaſa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the ſame manner, and out of the ſame impatient ambition. This done, he purſued [f]*Sheba*, and finding him enclos'd in *Abel*, aſſaulted the city with that fury, that the citizens by the perſuaſions of a wiſe woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba*'s head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he retreated his army to *Jeruſalem*, and commanded as before all the hoſt of *Iſrael*.

The next act of *David*'s, was the delivery of *Saul*'s ſons or kinſmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom thoſe citizens hung up in revenge of their father's cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three years, came by reaſon of *Saul* and his houſe; to wit, for the ſlaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this ſatisfaction, both becauſe he had warrant from God himſelf, as alſo, if we may judge humanly, to rid himſelf of *Saul*'s line, by whom he and his might, as well in the preſent as in the future, be greatly moleſted and endangered; only he ſpared *Mephiboſheth* the ſon of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to God.

Now where it is written in the text; *The king took the two ſons of Riſpah whom ſhe bare unto Saul, and the five ſons of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom ſhe bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibeonites*, 2 *Sam.* xxi.

Junius calls this *Michol* the ſiſter of her that was *David*'s wife, ſhe whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* here named had *Adriel* to her huſband: the ſame which is named *Merab* in 1 *Sam.* xviii, who was firſt promiſed to *David*, when he ſlew *Goliah* in the valley of *Raphaim*: and becauſe it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any human reſpect in the delivery of her children, it is only known to God.

[a] 2 Sam. 18. [b] 2 Sam. 19. [c] 2 Sam. 19. 23. [d] 2 Sam. 19. 38. [e] 2 Sam. 20. 10. [f] 2 Sam. 20. 22.

Now whereas the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better tranſlation were out of the *Hebrew* word here uſed, having an eclipſis or defect, and ſignifieth, as I am informed, one of the ſame kindred, as in the 19th verſe of the ſame xxiſt chapter it is ſaid of *Goliah*, whoſe ſpear was as weighty as a weaver's beam, when as by the ſame eclipſis it muſt be underſtood by the brother of *Goliah*: *Goliah* himſelf being formerly ſlain.

As by the death of *Saul*'s children God ſecured the houſe of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: ſo did he ſtrengthen both the king and nation againſt foreign enemies, by the valour of many brave commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Iſrael* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty captains of thouſands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in war. Over theſe were ſix colonels, whoſe valour was ſo extraordinary, that it might well be held as miraculous. Theſe colonels had ſome difference of place and honour, which ſeemeth to have been given upon meer conſideration of their virtue. For *Abiſhai* the brother of *Joab*, who in the war againſt the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was lieutenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the firſt rank, but was fain to reſt contented with being principal of the three colonels of the ſecond order, notwithſtanding his nearneſs in blood unto the king, the flouriſhing eſtate of his own houſe, and his well approved ſervices. All theſe colonels and captains, with the companies belonging to them, may ſeem to have been ſuch as were continually retained, or at the leaſt kept in readineſs for any occaſion, conſidering that the numbers which were muſtered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thouſand, yea or thirty times as many. They were moſt of them ſuch as had followed the king in *Saul*'s time, and been hardened with his adverſities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their ſeveral tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but theſe captains and colonels (who with *Joab*, that was general of all the king's forces, make up the number of 37) were the eſpecial men of war, and reckoned as *David*'s worthies [a]. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have conſumed many of theſe excellent men of war, ſo may it probably be gueſſed to have waſted the moſt of thoſe whoſe deaths we find no where mentioned. For the ſons of *Zeruia*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Solomon*, who wanted his brother *Abiſhai* to ſtand by his ſide in his laſt extremity.

By the actions fore-paſſed in the time of *David*, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33 years, or thereabout, when the poſterity of *Saul* was rooted out, ſo that he enjoyed about ſeven years of entire quiet and ſecurity, wherein it pleaſed God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the ſucceſſion of *Solomon* in his father's throne. In this time alſo *David* having eſtabliſhed all things in *Juda* and *Iſrael*, and the borders thereof, he again diſpleaſed God by [b] numbring the people, as in oſtentation of his power: in which he imployed *Joab* with other captains of his army, who after 9 months and 20 days travel, returned with the account and regiſter of all the people, able and fit to bear arms, and they amounted to the number of 1300000, beſides *Levi* and *Benjamin*; whereof in *Juda* and the cities thereof 500000, and in *Iſrael* 800000.

For this, when by the prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three puniſhments, whereof he might ſubmit himſelf to which he pleaſed; to wit, ſeven years famine; three months war, wherein he ſhould be unproſperous in all attempts, and be chaſed by his enemies; or a general peſtilence to laſt three days: *David* made choice to bow himſelf under the hand of God only, and left himſelf ſubject to that cruel diſeaſe, which hath no compaſſion or reſpect of perſons, of which there periſhed 70000. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth us this divine reaſon, [c] *For his mercies are great.*

SECT. VIII.

Of the laſt acts of David: Adonijah's *faction*: *the revenge upon* Joab *and* Shimei.

LASTLY, when he grew weak and feeble, and paſt the acts and knowledge of women, he was yet adviſed to lie in the arms of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak eſtate of body, when he was in a manner bed-rid, *Adonijah* his eldeſt ſon (*Amnon* and *Abſalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the prieſt, began manifeſtly to prepare for his eſtabliſhment in the kingdom after his father. For being the eldeſt now living of *David*'s ſons, and a man of goodly perſonage, *Solomon* yet young and born of a mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by St. *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others ſuppoſe) he preſumed to carry the matter without reſiſtance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Bathſheba* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promiſe, that *Solomon* her ſon ſhould reign after him (*Nathan* the prophet affirming the ſame thing unto the king, and ſeconding her report of *Adonijah*'s preſumption) the king calling unto him *Zadoc* the prieſt, *Nathan* the prophet, and *Benaiah* the captain of his guard, gave charge and commiſſion to anoint *Solomon*, and to ſet him on the mule whereon himſelf uſed to ride in his greateſt ſtate: which done, *Solomon* attended and ſtrongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of war, the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, ſhewed himſelf to the people. Thoſe tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he preſently abandoned his aſſiſtants, and for the ſafety of his life he held by the horns of the altar, whom for the preſent *Solomon* pardoned. After this, [d] *David* had remaining two eſpecial cares, whereof he was deſirous to diſcharge his thoughts; the one, concerning the peace of the land, which might be diſturbed by ſome rebellion againſt *Solomon*; the other, concerning the building of the temple, which he ſought by all means to advance, and make the buſineſs publick. [e] To bring theſe intentions to good effect he ſummoned a parliament, conſiſting of all the princes of *Iſrael*, the princes of the ſeveral tribes, all the captains and officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who repaired unto *Jeruſalem*.

In this aſſembly the king ſtood up, and ſignified his purpoſe of building the temple, ſhewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occaſion to lay open his own title to the crown, ſhewing that the kingdom was by God's ordinance due to the tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his

[a] 2 Sam. 23. 39. [b] 2 Sam. 24. 1 Chron. 21. [c] 2 Sam. 14. [d] 1 Kings 1. [e] 1 Chron. 28. 1.

bleſſing

bleſſing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himſelf was pleaſed to make choice of him among all his father's ſons. In like manner he ſaid that God himſelf had appointed *Solomon* by name to be his ſucceſſor: whereupon he earneſtly charged both the people and his ſon, to conform themſelves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this work of the Lord's houſe which *Solomon* was choſen to build [a]. Then produced he the pattern of the work according to the form which God himſelf had appointed; and ſo laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The king's propoſition was ſo well approved by the princes and people, that whereas he himſelf had given 3000 talents of gold, and 7000 of ſilver, they added unto it 7000 of gold, and 10000 of ſilver, beſides braſs, iron and jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of ſo religious a work. This buſineſs being well diſpatched, a ſolemn feaſt with great ſacrifice was made, at which time *Solomon* was again anointed king, and received fealty of all the princes and people of the land, and of all the princes his brethren the ſons of king *David*. *Solomon* being thus eſtabliſhed king, his father *David* finding himſelf even in the hands of death, firſt exhorted his ſon to exerciſe the ſame courage and ſtrength of mind, which himſelf had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterpriſes, he uttered theſe mighty words; [b] *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and keep his ſtatutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his teſtimonies, as it is written in the law of Moſes, &c.* to the performance of which God faſtened the ſucceſſion, and proſperity of his iſſues. For this done (ſaith God himſelf) [c] *Thou ſhalt not want one of thy poſterity to ſit upon the throne of Iſrael.*

Secondly, He adviſed him concerning *Joab*, who out of doubt had ſerved *David* from the firſt aſſault of *Jeruſalem* to the laſt of his wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, ſaving that he faſtened himſelf to *Adonijah* (his maſter yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, ſo was it his will that *Joab* ſhould drink of the ſame cup, whereof he had enforced other men to taſte, and ſuffer the ſame violence which himſelf had unjuſtly ſtrucken others withal, *qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amaſa* of their lives, having againſt the one the pretence only of his brother's ſlaughter, whom *Abner* had ſlain in the time of war, and could not avoid him: againſt the other but a meer jealouſy of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And tho' *Joab* aſſured himſelf that *Abner* and *Amaſa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him or ſupplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raiſed up *Benaiah* the ſon of *Jehoiadah*, to puſh him from the ſanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For *David* giveth this cauſe to *Solomon* againſt *Joab*, that he ſlew the captains of the hoſt of *Iſrael*, [d] and ſhed blood of battel in peace; and to this apparent and juſt cauſe, it is not improbable but that *David* remembred the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Solomon*, which *Joab* made manifeſt by the untimely ſetting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed againſt *David*, of which in theſe words he put his ſon *Solomon* in mind; [e] *Thou knoweſt alſo what Joab the ſon of Zeruiah did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abſalom*, contrary to the king's deſire, or by the proud words uſed to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abſalom*; or whether it were the publiſhing of *David*'s letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*: thereby to diſgrace *Solomon* as deſcended of ſuch a mother, the ſcriptures are ſilent. True it is, that thoſe great men of war do oftentimes behave themſelves exceeding inſolently towards their princes, both in reſpect of their ſervice done, as alſo becauſe they flatter themſelves with an opinion, that either their maſters cannot miſs them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrown many a worthy man otherwiſe deſerving of great honour and reſpect.

He alſo gave order to *Solomon*, to rid himſelf of *Shimei*, who not long before had caſt ſtones at *David*, and curſed him to his face. And albeit by reaſon of his oath and promiſe *David* ſpared *Shimei* all the time himſelf lived, yet being duſt and in the grave he ſlew him, by the hand of *Solomon* his ſon [f]. Hence it ſeemeth that king *Henry* the ſeventh of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the eighth to execute *Pool* as ſoon as himſelf was buried, having made promiſe to the king of *Spain*, when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor ſuffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yield unto *Solomon* any ſuch great profit or aſſurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Rezin* of *Damaſcus* to vex him: who, as the ſcriptures witneſs [g], were emboldened to enterprize upon *Solomon*, hearing that *David* ſlept with his fathers, and that *Joab* the captain of the hoſt was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all 40 years, to wit, in *Hebron* 7 years, and in *Jeruſalem* 33, he died.

For his perſon, he was of ſmall ſtature, but exceeding ſtrong. For his internal gifts and graces he ſo far exceeded all other men, as, putting his human frailty apart, he was ſaid by God himſelf to be a man according to his own heart. The *Pſalms* which he wrote witneſs his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Jerome* to *Paulinus*. *David Simonides noſter, Pindarus & Alcæus, Flaccus, quoque Catullus, & Serenus, Chriſtum lyra perſonat, & in decachordo Pſalterio ab inferis ſuſcitat reſurgentem.* *David* (ſaith he) our *Simonides*, *Pindarus*, *Alcæus*, *Horace*, *Catullus* and *Serenus*, he playeth Chriſt on his harp, and on a ten-ſtringed pſalter he raiſeth him up riſing from the dead. And being both a king and a prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomely and lively than all the reſt.

The book of the *Pſalms*, ſaith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and diſtinguiſhed, by *Ezekias*: but whether all the pſalms were written by *David* it is diverſly diſputed. For [h] *Athanaſius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceive divers authors, anſwering the titles of the ſeveral *Pſalms*, as *Moſes*, *Solomon*, and the reſt hereafter named, and that only 73 *Pſalms* were compoſed by *David* himſelf, namely thoſe which are intitled *ipſius David*. For the 50th and the 72d, with the 10 that follow, are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the ſon of *Barachia*, 11 others on the ſons of *Korah*, and 11 are aſcribed to *Moſes*, to wit, the 89th and the 10 following, and ſo they are intitled in the old *Hebrew* copies, tho' the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint* (three excepted) ſtyle them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed nine authors of theſe *Pſalms*

[a] 1 Chron. 29. 19. [b] 1 Kings 2. 3. [c] 1 Kings 1. 20. [d] 1 Kings 2. [e] 1 Kings 2. [f] 1 Kings 2. [g] 1 Kings 11.
[h] Athan. in Synop. Hier. epiſt. 134. Lyr. in exp. 1. pſ.

which

which *David* wrote not, [a] *Sixtus Senensis* nameth as followeth; *Solomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben-Ezra*, contrary to *Jerome*, maketh one of *David*'s singers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three sons of *Chore*. But St. *Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole author of all the *Psalms*, and so doth [b] St. *Augustine*, reasoning in this manner. Altho' (saith he) some there are that ascribe those *Psalms* only unto *David*, which are over-written *ipsius David*, and the rest intitled *ipsi David* to others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse David in spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus* 109 *sic incipit: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede a dextris meis, &c.* The voice of the gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himself in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the cixth *Psalm* begins thus, *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand*, &c. Lastly, his testimonies are used both by Christ and the apostles, and he was as a pattern to all the kings and princes that succeeded him.

His story, and all his particular actions, were written by the prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in 1 *Chron.* xxix. 19. For the several parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were as it seems written by these three holy men.

[c] *Constantine Manasses* hath an opinion, that the *Trojans*, during the time of the siege, sought for succour from *David*, and that he stay'd neuter in that war. But it seemeth that *Manasses* did miscast the time betwixt *David* and the *Trojan* war. For it is generally received, that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samson*, judges of *Israel*, about the world's year 2848, and *David* died in the year 2991.

SECT. IX.

Of the treasures of David *and* Solomon.

HIS treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 1st of *Chronicles*, chap. xxii. ver. 14. that he left *Solomon* for the building of the temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron passing all weight, which is more than any king of the world possess'd besides himself, and his son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty and three cartload and a third of a cartload of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver, or six thousand pound sterling to every cartload, besides threescore and seventeen millions of *French* crowns, or of our money, twenty three millions and one thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the scriptures, exceeding all belief. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear; seeing that the judges had not any treasure, nor any soveraign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars, they were followed by such voluntiers as the several tribes by turns gave them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philistines*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possess'd by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiss to consider how *David* within the space of not very many years, might amass up such mighty treasures. For tho' parsimony be it self a great revenue, yet needs there must have been some other great means. It seems that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Eusebius*, in his 9th book and last chapter *de præparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the temple, built a navy in *Melanis* (or, as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a city of *Arabia*, and from thence sent men to dig for gold in the island *Urphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks, was *Ophir*, tho' *Eupolemus* in his place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this island is in the *Red* sea; from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Jury*. *Pineda*, *l.* 4. *de rebus Salomonis*, *c.* 1. thinks that *David* did this way also enrich himself, and citeth this testimony of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather riches. Much land doubtless he gained by conquest, from the *Canaanites* and *Philistines*, besides those fruitful vallies near *Jordan* in *Traconitis* and *Basan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Israelites*. These demesns belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his wars, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, 1 *Chron.* xvii. that *Jehonathan* was over his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the towns; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simei* over the vineyards; and *Sabdi* over the store of the wine; *Baal Hanan* over the olive trees, and *Joash* over the store of the oil, also that he had herdsmen that had charge over his cattel, both in the high lands, and in the plains, over his sheep, camels and asses. And this custom of enriching themselves by husbandry and cattle the ancient kings every where held, both before and after *David*'s time. For we read of [d] *Pharoah*, that he spoke to *Joseph* to appoint some of his brethren, or of their servants, to be rulers over his cattle. We read of [e] *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much cattle, and ploughmen, and dressers of vines: likewise we read it in all *Greeks* poets, that the wealth of the ancient kings did especially consist in their herds and flocks, whereof it were needless to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus*, or any other, for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David*, it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not imploy'd in husbandry, were many of them used by him in all sorts of gainful professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner used their slaves.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtless were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tohu*, and others) we may add the great spoils which he found in the cities and countries which he conquered: also the head-money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; by the law of capitation or head-money, every man, rich or poor, paying half a sickle of the sanctuary, which is about as much as 14 pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous sum in that kingdom: wherein 1570000 fighting men were numbred by [f] *Joab*. Now altho' this law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confess is against the *Hebrew* expositions) yet *David* upon this occasion is not unlikely to have

[a] Vid. Sixt. Senen. Bib. sanct. l. 1. fol. 10. & 11. [b] Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 13. c 14. [c] Cap. 17. §. 6, 7. *In his annals translated out of* Greek *into* Latin, *by* Joannes Leunclaius. [d] Gen. 47. [e] 2 Chron. 26. [f] 1 Chron. 21.

put

put it in practice. And by these means might he be able to leave those huge treasures to *Solomon*. Yet it may seem that this great mass of gold and silver left by *David*, the least part was his own in private, and so will it appear the less wonderful that he left so much. Of his own liberality we find, that he gave to the building of the temple 3000 talents of gold, and 7000 talents of silver, a great sum: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the sanctuary it self were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continual encrease, without any loss or diminution ever since the time of *Moses* and *Joshua*. The revenues of the sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defray'd the daily expences, and maintained the priest and *Levites*) were partly raised out of the head-money beforementioned; partly out of the spoils gotten in war. For all the booty was divided into two [a] parts, whereof the soldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the country received benefit of the victory, yet so that the soldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lord's tribute, which was one in fifty of that which the people received, and one in five hundred of that which was given to the soldiers; namely, one hundred and one thousandth part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of *Midian*, 32000 women being taken, the army had 16000 of them for [b] slaves, and the congregation the other 16000; but out of the 16000 given to the army were exempted 32 for the Lord's tribute. Out of the people's number were taken 320. By this means the lesser that the army was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every soldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domestic affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lord's tribute was always certain, yea, many times it was increased, either by some especial commandment, as when all the gold, and silver, and other metals found in *Jericho*, were [c] consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the rulers and people, as when after the victory obtained against the *Midianites* without the loss of one man, all jewels, bracelets, ear-rings, and the like, were [d] offered up, as voluntary presents.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppress'd, and trodden down by other nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never got possession of the tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole land of [e] *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained against the bordering nations. For that this treasury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; seeing that before the time of *David* and his lieutenant *Joab*, it is recorded, that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in war, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former judges and captains in other ages. Certain it is, that the conquest of *David* brought into the land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Joshua* perhaps excepted; but these vast sums of an 100000 talents of silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treasures laid up in many former ages, than to have been the mere fruits of his own industry.

Now concerning the riches of [g] *Solomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues, with his tributes, 666 [f] talents of gold, besides the customs of spices. He had also six rich returns from the *East-Indies*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the 22d year of his reign, and ruled 40 years. Besides this, all *Judea* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Iturea*; all of [g] *Idumea*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished, tho' subjected.

Into this flourishing estate was the kingdom of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after 40 years reign, and 70 years of life, [h] died in a good age, full of days, riches, and honour, and was buried in the city of *David*. It is written by [i] *Josephus*, that there was hid in *David*'s tomb, a marvelous quantity of treasures, insomuch as *Hyrcanus* (who first of the *Chasmanæi*, or race of the *Maccabees*, called himself king) 1300 years after, drew thence 3000 talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus*, then besieging *Jerusalem*, and afterwards *Herod* opening another cell, had also an exceeding mass of gold and silver therein. And it was an ancient custom to bury treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they inriched themselves by nothing so much in their first conquest. That *Solomon* did bury so much treasure in his father's grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it not withal considered that his want of money grew from such magnificent imployments. Particularly of the sepulchre of *David*, the scriptures have no mention, but only the sepulchres of the kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the monuments of those kings, as (by relation of the duke of [k] *Ulika*) they remained within these 30 years, and are like to remain still, are able to make any report credible, of cost bestowed upon them.

SECT. X.

Of the Philistines, *whom* David *absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with* David.

OF the *Philistines*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David*'s time, somewhat here may be spoken.

They descended of *Casloim*, who according to *Isidore*, *l.* 9. 19. and *Jos. l.* 1. *Ant.* 17. was one of the sons of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Israel*. There were of them five cities of petty principalities; namely, [l] *Azotus* or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this nation, because

[a] Numb 31. 27. [b] Numb 31. 40. [c] Jos. 6. 19. [d] Numb. 31. 50. [e] 1 Chron. 26. 27, 28. [f] *A talent of gold is* 770 French *crowns*, 1 Kings 10. 14. [g] 1 Kings 9. 20. *and* 10. 29. [h] 1 Chron. 29. 28. [i] Jos. Ant. l. 7. [k] Peregrinat. Hierosol. D. N. Ch. Radz. Epist. 2. [l] 1 Sam. 6.

of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

The firſt king of theſe *Philiſtines*, which the ſcriptures have named, was that [a] *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham*'s wife.

The ſecond *Abimelech* lived at once with *Iſaac*, to whom *Iſaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then reſiding at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumea*, which *Abimelech* fancied [b] *Iſaac*'s wife: as his father had done *Sara*.

After *Abimelech* the 2d, the *Philiſtine* kings are not remembred in the ſcriptures, till *David*'s time: perhaps the government was turned into *Ariſtocratical*. For they are afterwards named princes of the *Philiſtines*, howſoever [c] *Achis* be named king of *Gath*, the ſame to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul*'s time.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Solomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive ſervant, which time the ſeeking of his ſervant was the loſs of his life. *Jeremiah* the prophet ſpeaketh of the kings of *Paleſtine* or *Philiſtine*. *Amos* nameth the king of *Aſcalon*: *Zacharias*, a king of *Gaza*. The reſt of the wars of the *Philiſtines* are remembred in the catalogue of the judges, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I ſhall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* king of *Alba* called *Latinus Silvius*, who is ſaid to have ruled that part of *Italy* 50 years. And about his 14th year *Codrus* the laſt king of the *Athenians* died, to whom ſucceeded the firſt prince of thoſe, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regal name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reaſons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of ſoveraignty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Grecians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis* and the mountain *Oeta*, ſought counſel from the oracle, for their ſucceſs in their wars againſt the *Athenians*, it was anſwered, that then undoubtedly they ſhould prevail, and become lords of that ſtate, when they could obtain any victory againſt the nation, and yet preſerve the *Athenian* king living. *Codrus*, by ſome intelligence being informed of this anſwer, withdrew himſelf from his own forces, and putting on the habit of a common ſoldier, entred the camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the firſt he encountred, was himſelf forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31ſt king of *Aſſyria*, which others account but the 30th, began to rule that empire, about the 13th year of *David*, and held it 38 years.

Near the ſame time began *Ixion* the 2d king of the *Heraclidæ*, the ſon of *Euryſthenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the 2d of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his ſucceſſors were called *Agidæ*, for many years after. He reſtored the *Laconians* to their former liberty: he overcame the citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refuſed to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetual ſlavery; whereof it came, that all the *Meſſenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like ſort from the *Sclavi* came the word ſlave. For when that nation iſſuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Ruſſia*, had ſeiſed upon the country of *Illyria*, and made it their own by conqueſt, their victory pleaſed them ſo highly, that thereupon they called themſelves by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after-times (that warmer climate having thawed their northern hardineſs, and not ripened their wits) when they were trodden down, and made ſervants to their neighbours; the *Italians*, which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen ſlaves, uſing the word as a name of reproach: in which ſenſe it is now current thro' many countries.

Other chronologers make this *Agis*, the third king of *Sparta*, and ſomewhat later, about the 23d year of *David*, and ſay that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth king of this race, the ſame whom [d] *Euſebius* calls *Labotes*, and ſets him in the thirteenth year of *Solomon*.

In the tenth year of *Acheſtratus*, *Androclus*, the 3d ſon of *Codrus*, aſſiſted by the *Iones*, built *Epheſus* in *Caria*, who, after the adjoining of the iſle of *Samos* to his territory, was ſlain by the *Carians*, whoſe country he uſurped. He was buried (ſaith *Pauſanias*) in one of the gates of [e] *Epheſus*, called *Magnetes*, his armed *ſtatua* being ſet over him. *Strabo* reports, that after *Androclus* had ſubdued the *Ionians* (the next province to *Epheſus*, on the ſea coaſt of *Aſia* the leſs) he inlarged his dominions upon the *Æoles*, which joineth to *Ionia*: and that his poſterity governed the cities of [f] *Epheſus* and *Erythræ*, by the name of *Baſilidæ* in *Strabo*'s own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones*, how they came hither out of *Peloponneſus*, I have [g] ſpoken already upon occaſion of the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that land: tho' this of the *Iones* ſucceeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100 years.

The city of *Epheſus* became exceeding famous: firſt, for the temple of [h] *Diana* therein built: which had in length 425 foot, and 220 in breadth, ſuſtained with 127 pillars of marble, of 70 foot high: whereof 27 were moſt curiouſly graven, and all the reſt of choice marble poliſh'd, the work being firſt ſet out by *Cteſiphon* of *Gnoſſos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the firſt that received the Chriſtian faith, of which *Timothy* was biſhop; to whom, and to the *Epheſians*, St. *Paul* wrote his epiſtles ſo intituled. The other city poſſeſs'd by *Androclus* in *Æolis* was alſo univerſally ſpoken of by reaſon of *Sibylla*, ſurnamed *Erythræa*: who lived 740 years before Chriſt was born. St. *Auguſtine* avoweth that a *Roman* proconſul ſhewed him in an ancient *Greek* copy certain verſes of this propheteſs: which began (as St. *Auguſtine* changed them into *Latin*) in theſe words: *Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius Salvator*. Jeſus Chriſt Son of God the Saviour.

About the time that *Joab* beſieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Egypt*, the ſame that was father-in-law to *Solomon*, whoſe epiſtles to *Solomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Euſebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21ſt of *David*, was the city of *Magneſia* in *Aſia* the leſs founded; the ſame which is ſeated upon the river *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territory are the beſt horſes of the leſſer *Aſia* bred, whereof *Lucan*.

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

[a] Gen. 20. [b] Gen. 26. [c] Judg. 16. 1 Sam. 18. 29. 1 Sam. 21. 11. 1 Kings 2. [d] Euſeb. in Chron. [e] *The eaſt gate of* Epheſus *towards* Magneſia *upon the river* Mæander. [f] Ariſt. l. 5. pol. c. 6. [g] *See* Ch. *in this* 17. Ch. 9. 1. poſt medium. [h] Plin. l. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.

About

About the ſame time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to [a] *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joineth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, ſaying that to the one of theſe people the government was given, with condition that the other ſhould give name to the city. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous ſcholar of *Iſocrates*.

Euſebius and *Caſſiodore* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31ſt year of *David*, but much miſtaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinus* the ſon of *Badezor* brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* king of *Iſrael*; and between the death of *David*, and the firſt of *Achab*, there were waſted about 95 years.

In this time alſo *Acaſtus* lived, the ſecond of the *Athenian* princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in deſcent before the ſtate changed into a magiſtracy of ten years. Some [b] writers make it probable, that the *Æolians* led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oreſtes*, who poſſeſs'd the city and iſland of *Lesbos* about this time. In the 32d year of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyre*, according to [c] *Joſephus*, who ſaith that in his twelfth year *Solomon* began the work of the temple. But it is a familiar error in *Joſephus*, to miſreckon times, which in this point he doth ſo ſtrangely, as if he knew not how at all to caſt any account. For it is manifeſt that *Hiram* ſent meſſengers, and cedars to *David*, ſoon after his taking of *Jeruſalem*, which was in the very beginning of *David*'s reign over *Iſrael*, when as yet he had reigned only ſeven years in [d] *Hebron*, over the houſe of *Judah*. Wherefore it muſt needs be that *Hiram* had reigned above thirty years before *Solomon*; unleſs more credit ſhould be given to thoſe *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Joſephus*, than to the plain words of ſcripture contradicting them. For that it was the ſame *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Solomon*, the ſcriptures make plainly manifeſt.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of SOLOMON.

SECT. I.

Of the eſtabliſhing of Solomon: *of birthright, and of the cauſe of* Adonijah's *death, and of* Solomon's *wiſdom.*

SOlomon, who was brought up under the prophet *Nathan*, began to reign over *Judah* and *Iſrael*, in the year of the world 2991. He was called *Solomon* by the appointment of God. He was alſo called *Jedidiah*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, becauſe the Lord loved him.

Hiram king of *Tyre*, after *Solomon*'s anointing, diſpatched embaſſadors towards him, congratulating his eſtabliſhment: a cuſtom between princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like ſort ſalute [e] *Hanum* king of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the kingdom.

The beginning of *Solomon* was in blood, tho' his reign were peaceable. For ſoon after *David*'s death he cauſed his brother *Adonijah* to be ſlain by *Benaiah* the ſon of *Jehoiada*, taking occaſion from *Adonijah* his deſiring by *Bathſheba*, that the young maid *Abiſhag*, which lay in *David*'s boſom in his latter days, to keep him warm, might be given to him. Whatſoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and fought the kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Solomon*. And yet it is ſaid, that a word is enough to the wiſe, and he that ſees but the claw, may know whether it be a lion or no ſo it may ſeem that to the quick-ſighted wiſdom of *Solomon*, this motion of *Adonijah*'s, was a demonſtration of a new treaſon. For they which had been concubines to a king, might not after be touched but by a king: whence [f] *Achitophel* wiſhed *Abſalom* to take his father's concubines as a part of the royalty. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but ſhut them up, and they remained widowed until their death [g]. And this it ſeems was the depth of *Iſhboſheth*'s quarrel againſt *Abner*, for having his father's concubine. And ſome ſignification of this cuſtom may ſeem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy maſter's houſe and thy maſter's wives.* And in the words of *Saul*, upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had choſen *David* to the ſhame of the [h] nakedneſs of his mother. Hereunto perhaps was ſome reference to this purpoſe of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was always preſent with *David* in his latter days, and who belike knew all that was paſt, for the conveying of the kingdom to *Solomon*. There might be divers farther occaſions, as either that he would learn ſuch things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perſuade her to forge ſome ſtrange tale about *David*'s laſt teſtament, or any thing elſe that might prejudice the title of *Solomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which [i] *Adonijah* pretended, tho' generally it agreed both with the law of nations, and with the cuſtoms of the *Jews*: yet the kings of the *Jews* were ſo abſolute, as they did therein, and in all elſe, what they pleaſed. Some [k] examples alſo they had (tho' not of kings) which taught them to uſe this paternal authority in transferring the birthright to a younger ſon: namely of *Jacob*'s diſinheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joſeph*: of whom he made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appears by the words of *Bathſheba* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was neceſſary to confirm, or that the refuſal of the people had authority to fruſtrate the elder brother's right to the kingdom, it no where appears in the ſtories of the *Jews*. It is ſaid indeed that the people made *Saul* king at [l] *Gilgal*: that is, they acknowledged and eſtabliſhed him. For that he was king long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elſewhere the phraſe of chuſing or making their king is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they ſhould not make themſelves a king, it is ſaid, [m] *Thou ſhalt make him king whom the Lord ſhall chuſe.*

But to proceed with the acts of *Solomon*: at the ſame time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himſelf alſo of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had adviſed him: he diſplaced alſo the prieſt [n] *Abiathar*, who took part with *Adonijah* againſt him: but in reſpect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and becauſe he

[a] Serv. in Æneid. 3. Strabo, l. 5. [b] Euſeb. in Chron. Herod. in vit. Hom. & Strab. 1. 14. [c] Antiq. 8. & cont. Ap. l. 1. [d] 2 Sam. 5. [e] 2 Sam. 10. [f] 2 Sam. 16. 21. [g] 2 Sam. 20. 3. [h] 1 Sam. 20. 30. [i] 1 Kings 2. 15. [k] Deut. 21. 15. Filium exoſæ agnoſcito dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipſius eſt jus primogenitorum. [l] Reg. 1. 17. & 20. 29, 34. [m] Kings 1. 20, 27. [l] 1 Sam. 11. 14. [m] Deut. 11. 30. [n] 1 Kings 2.

had

had borne the ark of God before his father, he ſpared his life. And thus being eſtabliſhed in his kingdom, he took the daughter of *Vaphres* king of *Egypt* to wife: for ſo *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thouſand ſacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands; *Solomon* chuſeth wiſdom, which pleaſed God. *And God ſaid unto him, Becauſe thou haſt asked this thing, and haſt not asked for thy ſelf long life, neither haſt thou asked riches for thy ſelf, neither haſt asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words:* by which we may inform ourſelves what deſires are moſt pleaſing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life, in reſpect of ourſelves, cannot but proceed of ſelf-love, which is the root of all impiety: the deſire of private riches is an affection of covetouſneſs which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the ſword out of God's hand, and to diſtruſt his juſtice. And in that it pleaſed God to make *Solomon* know that it liked him, that he had not aſked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brother's ſlaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the law of God. But becauſe *Solomon* deſired wiſdom only, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleaſed God to give him withal that which he deſired not. *And I have alſo given thee*, ſaith God, *that which thou haſt not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of wiſdom our commentators ſtretch to almoſt all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the ſcriptures teſtify, tho' no doubt the chief excellency of [a]*Solomon*'s wiſdom, was in the knowledge of governing his kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wiſdom, the ſcripture telleth how ſoon he judged the controverſy between the two harlots.

SECT. II.

Of Solomon's *buildings and glory.*

HE then entered into league with *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his materials, for the king's palace and the temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *David*, 1 *Chron.* xxii. 6. *That he called Solomon his ſon, and charged him to build a houſe for the Lord God of Iſrael:* ſo doth [b]*Toſtatus* give the force of a divine precept to theſe words, *Behold, a ſon is born unto thee*, &c. *He ſhall build an houſe for my name.*

[c] He began the work of the temple, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time alſo he prepared his fleet at *Ezion-gaber*, to trade for gold in the *Eaſt-Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to ſupply the charge of ſo great a work. For that the temple was in building, while his fleets were paſſing to and fro, it is manifeſt: for the pillars of the temple were made of the *Almaggim* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this moſt glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the [d] form and example was given by God himſelf) many learned men have written, as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Azorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the reader.

For the cutting and ſquaring of the cedars which ſerved that building, *Solomon* employed thirty thouſand carpenters, ten thouſand every month by courſe: he alſo uſed [e] eighty thouſand maſons in the mountain, and ſeventy thouſand labourers that bore burdens, which, it is conceived, he ſelected out of the proſelytes, beſides three thouſand three hundred maſters of his work, ſo as he paid and employed in all one hundred eighty three thouſand and three hundred men, in which number the *Zidonians*, which were far more ſkilful in hewing timber than the *Iſraelites*, may, as I think, be included. For [f] *Hiram* cauſed his ſervants to bring down the cedars and firs from *Lebanon* to the ſea, and thence ſent them in raffs to *Joppe*, or the next port to *Jeruſalem*. For in 2 *Chron.* ii. it is plain that all but the thirty thouſand carpenters, and the overſeers, were ſtrangers, and, as it ſeemeth, the vaſſals of [g] *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* king of *Egypt*. In recompence of all this timber and ſtone, *Solomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and twenty meaſures of pure oil yearly. *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus*, in the ninth book of his preparation, the laſt chapter, hath left us a copy of *Solomon*'s letter to *Suron* (which was the ſame as *Huram* or *Hiram*) king of *Tyre*, in theſe words.

REX Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœniciæ regi, amico paterno ſalutem. Scias me à Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepiſſe, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram credvit, condere, ut etiam ad te ſcriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum templum Dei mittere velis.

KING *Solomon* to king *Suron*, of *Tyre*, *Sidon* and *Phœnicia*, king, and my father's friend, ſendeth greeting. You may underſtand that I have received of the great God of my father *David*, the kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded alſo that I ſhould write to you. I write therefore to you, and beſeech you, that you would be pleaſed to ſend me artificers and carpenters to build the temple of God.

To which the king *Suron* made this anſwer.

SURON, Tyri, Sidonis, & Phœniciæ rex, Salomoni regi ſalutem. Lectis litteris gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam ſcribis fabros miniſtroſque ad condendum templum eſſe tibi mittendos, miſi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut neceſſariis non egeant, & templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

SURON of *Tyre*, *Sydon*, and *Phœnicia* king, to king *Solomon* greeting. When I read your letters, I gave God thanks, who hath inſtalled you in your father's kingdom. And becauſe you write, that carpenters and workmen may be ſent to build God's temple, I have ſent unto you fourſcore thouſand men, and a maſter-builder a *Tyrian*, born of a *Jewiſh* woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all neceſſaries be provided for them, and when the temple of God is built, that they come home to us.

The copies of theſe letters were extant in [h] *Joſephus*'s time, as himſelf affirmeth, and to be ſeen, ſaith he, *Tam in noſtris quam in Tyriorum annalibus*; As

[a] 1 Kings 4. 33. 1 Kings 3. 9. [b] Toſt. 9. 26. in 1 Chron. [c] 1 Kings 6. [d] 1 Chron. 28. 29. [e] 1 Kings 5. [f] 1 Kings 5. 9. [g] 1 Kings 5. 11. [h] Joſeph. Ant. l. 8. c. 2.

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well in our own as in the *Tyrian* annals. But he delivereth them ſomewhat in different terms, as the reader may find in his antiquities. But were this intercourſe between *Solomon* and *Hiram* either by meſſage or by writing, it is ſomewhat otherwiſe delivered in the [a] ſcriptures, than either *Eupolemus*, or *Joſephus* ſet it down; but ſo, that in ſubſtance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like letter in effect *Solomon* is ſaid to have written to *Vaphres* king of *Egypt*, and was anſwered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas ſome commentators upon *Solomon* find, that *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* king of *Egypt*, gave *Solomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Euſebius*; I do not find any ſuch addition of *magnus* in *Euſebius* in the laſt chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in *Joſephus* in the eighth book and ſecond chapter of the *Jews* antiquities: it being a vain title uſed by ſome of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* kings, and uſed likewiſe by the *Parthians*, and many others after them, inſomuch as in later times it grew common, and was uſurped by mean perſons in reſpect of the great *Hermes* the firſt, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightineſs.

After the finiſhing and dedication of the temple and houſe of the Lord, *Solomon* fortified *Jeruſalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the ancient metropolis of the *Canaanites* before *Joſhua*'s time: ſo did he *Gaza* of the *Philiſtines*: he built [b] *Bethoron*, *Gerar*, and the *Millo* or munition of *Jeruſalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it ſeemeth in favour of *Solomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar* which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the ſword and burnt their city. The place and territory he gave *Solomon*'s wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that becauſe *Solomon* was then buſied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father-in-law to rid him of theſe neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to viſit thoſe parts again before they were ſent for; and in his ſon *Rehoboam*'s time *Sheſhack* this man's ſucceſſor did ſack *Jeruſalem* itſelf.

Solomon alſo built *Megiddo* in *Manaſſe*, on this ſide *Jordan*; and *Balah* in *Dan*: alſo *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolemy*'s *Thamoron* in the deſart of *Judah* (or as [c] *Joſephus* thinks *Palmyra* in the deſart of *Syria*) which *Palmyra* becauſe it ſtood on the utmoſt border of *Solomon*'s dominion, to the north-eaſt of *Libanus*, and was of *David*'s conqueſt when he won *Damaſcus*, it may ſeem that *Solomon* therefore beſtowed thereon the moſt coſt, and fortified it with the beſt art, that that age had. [d] *Joſephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name, ſaith he, given by *Solomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Jerome* in his book of *Hebrew* places, calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the emperor, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In reſpect of this great charge of building, *Solomon* raiſed tribute throughout all his dominions, beſides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hiram*'s ſervants, *Solomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or near the the upper *Galilee*, but becauſe they ſtood in an unfruitful and mariſh ground, *Hiram* refuſed them, and thereof was the territory called *Chabul*.

Theſe towns, as it is ſuppoſed, lay in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: ſed quia ſub ditione regis gentilis erat*; Not that it was poſſeſs'd by the *Gentiles*, ſaith *Nauclerus*, but becauſe it was under the rule of a king that was a *Gentile*. Howſoever it were, it is true that *Solomon* in his twenty firſt year fortified thoſe places, which *Hiram* refuſed. Further, he made a journey into *Syria-Zobah*, and eſtabliſhed his tributes; the firſt and laſt war (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in perſon in all his life. He then viſited the border of all his dominions paſſing from *Thadmor* to the the north of *Palmyrena*, and ſo to the deſarts of *Idumea*, from whence he viſited *Eziongaber* and *Eloth*, the uttermoſt place of the ſouth of all his territories, bordering to the *Red* ſea: which cities I have deſcribed in the ſtory of *Moſes*.

SECT. III.

Of Solomon's *ſending to* Ophir, *and of ſome ſeeming contradictions about* Solomon's *riches*, *and of* Pineda's *conceit of two ſtrange paſſages about* Africk.

HERE *Solomon* prepared his fleet of ſhips for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joined in that voyage, and furniſhed him with mariners and pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all others the moſt expert ſeamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belong'd to *Edom* and was conquered by *David*, did the fleet paſs to the *Eaſt-Indies*, which was not far off, namely to *Ophir*, one of the iſlands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witneſs the *Spaniards*, who notwithſtanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in thoſe iſlands of the eaſt at *Manilia*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with leſs labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or *New Spain*.

The return which was made by theſe ſhips amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in 2 *Chron.* viii. it is written four hundred and fifty talents: whereof thirty went in expence for the charge of the fleet and wages of men, and four hundred and twenty talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thouſand crowns, came clear. And thus muſt thoſe two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 *Kings* x. 14. which ſpeaketh of ſix hundred ſixty and ſix talents of gold, that ſum, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Solomon*'s which were yearly, and which came to him beſides theſe profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought, but a country in the *Eaſt-Indies*; with ſome reaſon why at thoſe times they could not make more ſpeedy return to *Jeruſalem* from the *Eaſt-Indies* than in three years; and that *Tharſis* in ſcripture is divers times taken for the ocean; hath been already declared in the firſt book [e].

Only it remaineth, that I ſhould ſpeak ſomewhat of *Pineda*'s ſtrange conceits, who being a *Spaniard* of *Bætica* would fain have *Gades* or *Calismalis*, in old times called *Tarteſſus*, which is the ſouth-weſt corner of that province, to be the *Tharſis* from whence *Solomon* fetch'd his gold; for no other reaſon, as it ſeems, but for love of his own country, and becauſe of ſome affinity of ſound between *Tharſis* and *Tarteſſus*. For whereas it may ſeem ſtrange that it ſhould be three years ere they that took ſhip in the *Red* ſea, ſhould return from the *Eaſt-Indies* to *Jeruſalem*, this hath been in part anſwered already. And further, the intelligent may conceive of ſundry letts, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between *Jeruſalem* and the *Red* ſea,

[a] 1 Kings 5. *from v.* 1. *to v.* 9. [b] Joſeph. Ant. l. 8. c. 2. 8. *Sect.* 9, 10. † 5. Lib. 4. de rebus Salomonis, c. 6. & 15. [c] Joſeph. l. 8. Ant. c. 2. [d] Joſeph. l. 8. Ant. c. 2. [e] *Chap.*

and perhaps alſo elſewhere: ſo that we have no need to make *Solomon*'s men to go many thouſand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that ſo they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Solomon* and the *Iſraelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them, could not have been ignorant of) was along the *Mediterranean* ſea, and ſo (beſides many wonderful inconveniencies and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they ſhould have eſcaped the troubleſome land-carriage between *Jeruſalem* and the *Red* ſea, thro' dry, deſart, and thieviſh countries: and within thirty miles of *Jeruſalem* at *Joppe*, or ſome other haven in *Solomon*'s own country, have laden and unladen their ſhips.

But this direct courſe they could not hold, ſaith *Pineda*, becauſe the huge iſland of *Atlantis* in largeneſs greater than all *Africk* and *Aſia* being ſwallowed up in the *Atlantick* ocean hindred *Solomon*'s ſhips from paſſing thro' the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alledgeth *Plato in Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Solomon*'s, or that thereby the ſtraits of *Gades* were filled with mud and made unpaſſable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the *Meditteranean* ſea: or that this indraught, where the ſea runneth moſt violently, and moſt eaſily ſcoureth his channel, ſhould be filled with mud, and not alſo the great ocean in like manner, where this huge iſland is ſuppoſed to have ſtood: or that *Solomon*'s ſhips being in the *Red* ſea, ſhould neglect the golden mines of the *Eaſt-Indies* (which were infinitely better, and nearer to the *Red* ſea, than any in *Spain*) to ſeek gold at *Cadiz* by the way of compaſſing *Africa*, it is moſt ridiculous to imagine. For the *Spaniard* himſelf, that hath alſo the rich *Peru* in the weſt, fortifieth in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and inhabits ſome part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in thoſe parts no leſs quantity of gold (the ſmall territory which he there poſſeſſeth conſidered) than in *Peru*.

The ſame [a] *Pineda* hath another ſtrange paſſage round about all *Africa*, which elſewhere he dreams of: ſuppoſing whereas *Jonas* ſailing to *Tharſis* the city of *Cilicia* was caſt out in the *Mediterranean* ſea, and taken up there by a whale, that this whale in three days ſwimming above twelve thouſand *Engliſh* miles, along the *Mediterranean* ſea, and ſo thro' the ſtraits of *Gades*, and along the huge ſeas round about *Africa*, caſt up *Jonas* upon the ſhore of the *Red* ſea, that ſo he might have perhaps ſome ſix miles the ſhorter (tho' much the worſe) way to *Nineveh*. This conceit he grounds only upon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an epithet of the *Red* ſea (as if we ſhould call it *mare algoſum*, the ſea full of weeds) for the *Red* ſea. But in *Jonas* ii. 5. it is generally taken in the proper ſignification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have have it, who in this place againſt his own rule (which elſewhere he giveth us) ſuppoſeth ſtrange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the whale finiſh'd in three days, is a greater miracle, than the very preſervation of *Jonas* in the belly of the whale: and therefore ſeeing there is no neceſſity of this miracle, we ſend it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non ſunt multiplicanda*. And again, [b] *Non ſunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda*; Miracles are not to be multiplied without neceſſity, nor delivered without cauſe, nor feigned at pleaſure. Therefore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwiſe very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our ſtory of *Solomon*.

The queen of *Sheba*'s coming from far to *Solomon* (as it ſeems from *Arabia Fœlix*, and not as ſome think from *Ethiopia*) and her rich preſents, and *Solomon*'s reciprocal magnificence, and his reſolving of her difficult queſtions, thoſe are ſet down at large in the text. But herein [c] *Joſephus* is greatly miſtaken, who calls this queen of *Sheba Nicaules*, the ſucceſſor (ſaith he out of *Herodotus*) of thoſe thirty and eight *Egyptian* kings which ſucceeded *Mineus* the founder of *Memphis*; adding that after this *Egyptian*, and the father-in-law of *Solomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elſewhere proved, that the queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; ſo were there other *Pharaohs* after the father-in-law of *Solomon*. Yea, above three hundred years after *Solomon*, [d] *Pharaoh-Necho* ſlew *Joſias* king of *Judah*.

It is alſo written of *Solomon*, that he kept in garriſons fourteen thouſand chariots and twelve thouſand horſemen; that he ſpent in court every day thirty meaſures of fine flour, threeſcore meaſures of wheat, one hundred ſheep, beſides ſtags and fallow deer, bugles and fowl; four thouſand ſtalls of horſes he had for his chariots and other uſes, and for the twelve thouſand horſemen of his guard. For the forty thouſand ſtalls in 1 *Kings* iv. are to be taken but for ſo many horſes, whence in 2 *Chron.* ix. it is written but four thouſand ſtalls or teams, and in every team ten horſes, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* underſtand it. He was ſaid to be wiſer than any man, yea, than were [e] *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Junius* addeth a fifth, to wit, *Ezrack*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by nation. *Joſephus* writes them *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan*, the ſons of *Hemon*. He ſpake three thouſand proverbs, and his ſongs were one thouſand and five, whereof either the moſt part periſhed in the captivity of *Babylon*, or elſe becauſe many acts of *Solomon*'s were written and kept among the publick records of civil cauſes and not eccleſiaſtical, therefore they were not thought neceſſary to be inſerted into God's book.

SECT. IV.

Of the fall of Solomon, *and how long he lived.*

NOW as he had plenty of all other things, ſo had he no ſcarcity of women. For beſides his ſeven hundred wives, he kept three hundred concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people ſhould accompany the daughters of idolaters) he took wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when he fell a doating, his wives turned his heart after other Gods, as *Aſhtaroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemoſh* of *Moab*.

Theſe things God puniſhed by *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own ſervant, and one of the maſters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tare from his ſon *Rehoboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. [f] *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipſe non fecit*; God in puniſhing ſinners, uſeth the ſins of others, which he himſelf wrought not.

In the reign of *Solomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings, with other works of magnificence and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Forty years he reigned: how ma-

[a] De rebus Sal. l. 4. c. 12. 11. *As it appears he took ſhip at* Japho *or* Joppe, *ch.* 1. *v.* 3. [b] Ing. F. [c] Joſeph. Ant. l. 8. 1, 2. [d] 2 Kings, c. 23. & 2 Chron. c. 25. Jer. c. 46. v. 2. [e] 1 Kings 4. 31. [f] P. Mart. in reg.

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ny he lived it is not written, and muſt therefore be found only by conjecture. The moſt likely way to gueſs at the truth in this caſe, is by conſidering the actions of *David* before and after *Solomon*'s birth, whereby we may beſt make eſtimation of the years which they conſumed, and conſequently learn the true, or moſt likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron:* in his 8th year he took *Jeruſalem*, and warred with the *Philiſtines*, who alſo troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the ark ſeems to have been in the 10th year of *David*, and his intention to build the temple in the [a] year enſuing, at which time he had ſufficient leiſure, living in reſt. After this he had wars with the *Philiſtines*, *Moabites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which muſt needs have held him 5 years, conſidering that the *Aramites* of *Damaſco* raiſed war againſt him, after ſuch time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in every of theſe wars, he had the entire [b] victory. Neither is it likely that theſe ſervices occupied any longer time, becauſe in thoſe days and places there were no wintering camps in uſe, but at convenient ſeaſons of the year, kings went forth to war, diſpatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly upon the ſpoil of the enemies country, partly upon the [c] private proviſion which every ſoldier made for himſelf. The 17th year of *David*, in which he took *Mephiboſheth* the ſon of *Jonathan* into his court, appeareth to have paſſed away in quiet; and the year following to have begun the war with *Ammon*; but ſomewhat late in the end of ſummer perhaps, it came to trial of a battel (for *Joab* after the victory, returned immediately to *Jeruſalem*) the cauſes and preparations for that war having taken up all the ſummer. *David*'s perſonal expedition againſt the *Aramites* wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* under his own allegiance, appears manifeſtly to have been the next year's work, wherein he did cut off all means of ſuccour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab*, and *Idumæa*, being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it muſt have been the 20th year of *David*'s reign, and about the 50th of his life, in which he ſent forth *Joab* to beſiege *Rabba*, and finiſhed the war of *Ammon:* wherein alſo fell out the matter of *Uriah*'s wife. So one half of *David*'s reign was very proſperous: in the other half he felt great ſorrow by the expectation, execution, and ſad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God, for his foul and bloody offence.

Now very manifeſt it is, that in the year after the death of that child, which was begotten in adultery, *Solomon* was born, who muſt needs therefore have been 19 years old or thereabouts, when he began to reign at the deceaſe of his father, as being begotten in the 21ſt year of his father's reign, who reigned in all 40.

This account hath alſo good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of enſuing actions: for 2 years paſſed, ere *Abſalom* ſlew his brother *Ammon*; 3 years ere his father pardoned him; and 2 years more ere he came into the king's preſence. After this he prepared horſes and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which ſeems to have been 1 year's work. So the rebellion it ſelf, with all that happened thereupon, as the commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amaſa*, and the reſt, may well ſeem to have been in the 30th year of *David*'s reign.

Whether the 3 years of famine ſhould be reckoned apart from the laſt years of war with the *Philiſtines*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the 10 remaining years of *David*, there was time ſufficient, and to ſpare, both for the 3 years of famine, for 4 years of war, and for numbring the people, with the peſtilence enſuing; as alſo for his own laſt infirmity, and diſpoſing of the kingdom. Yet indeed it ſeems that the war with the *Philiſtines* was but one year's work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* near unto *Gezer*, and the laſt at *Gath*. This war the *Philiſtines* undertook, as it ſeemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Iſrael*, and perhaps emboldened by *David*'s old age, for he fainted now in the battel, and was afterwards hindered by his men from expoſing himſelf unto danger any more. So *David* had 6 or 7 years of reſt, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of war died (being of his own age) whereby the ſtirring ſpirit of *Adonijah* found little ſuccour in the broken party of *Joab* the ſon of *Zeruiah*.

At this time it might both truly be ſaid by [d] *David* to *Solomon*, *Thou art a wiſe man*, and by *Solomon* to God, *I am but a young child*; for 19 years of age might well agree with either of theſe two ſpeeches.

Nevertheleſs there are ſome that gather out of *Solomon*'s profeſſing himſelf a child, that he was but 11 years old when he began to reign. Of theſe *Rabbi Solomon* ſeems the firſt author, whom others of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themſelves perhaps upon that which is ſaid of [e] *Abſalom*'s rebellion, that it was after 40 years, which they underſtood as years of *David*'s reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the ſon of *Solomon* was 41 years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himſelf but a child of 9 or 10 years old; the difference between their ages being no greater (if *Solomon* who reigned 40 years) were but 11 years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Joſephus* allows 80 years of reign to *Solomon*; a report ſo diſagreeing with the ſcriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion conſtrued the words of *Joſephus*, as if they included all the years of *Solomon*'s life. But by ſuch reckoning he ſhould have been 40 years old at his father's death; and conſequently ſhould have been born long before his father had won *Jeruſalem*; which is a manifeſt untruth. Wherefore the 40 years remembred in *Abſalom*'s rebellion, may either ſeem to have reference to the ſpace between *David*'s firſt anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedneſs, or perhaps be read (according to *Joſephus*, *Theodoret*, and the *Latin* tranſlation) 4 years; which paſſed between the return of *Abſalom* to *Jeruſalem*, and his breaking out.

SECT. V.

Of Solomon's *writings.*

THERE remain of *Solomon*'s works, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the *Song of Solomon*. In the firſt he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the ſecond, the vanity of human nature; in the third, he ſingeth as it were the *Epithalamion* of Chriſt and his church. For the

[a] 1 Kings 7. 1. [b] 2 Sam. 11. 1. [c] 1 Sam. 17. 17, 18. [d] 1 Kings 2. 9. & 3. 7. [e] 2 Sam. 15. 7.

book

book intitled the wiſdom of *Solomon* (which ſome give unto *Solomon*, and ſome make the elder *Philo* the author thereof:) *Jerome*, and many others of the beſt learned, make us think it was not *Solomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri ſapientiæ* (ſaith [a] *Jerome*) *qui Salomonis inſcribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; The ſtyle of the book of wiſdom, which is aſcribed to *Solomon*, ſavoureth of the *Grecian* eloquence; and of the ſame opinion was St. *Auguſtine*, and yet he confeſſeth in the 19th book and 20th chapter of the city of God, that the author of that book hath a direct foretelling of the paſſion of Chriſt in theſe words: [b] *Circumveniamus juſtum, quoniam inſuavis eſt nobis, &c.* Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleaſing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending againſt the law, he makes his boaſt to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himſelf the ſon of the Lord, *&c.* and ſo doth the courſe of all the following words point directly at Chriſt. The books of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Proverbs*, and [c] *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moſes Kimchi* aſcribeth to *Iſaiah* the prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report that *Solomon* wrote of the remedies of all diſeaſes, and graved the ſame on the ſides of the porch of the temple, which they ſay [d] *Ezechias* pulled down, becauſe the people neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of *Solomon*'s books of invocations and inchantments to cure diſeaſes, and expel evil ſpirits, *Joſephus* hath written at large, tho' as I conceive, rather out of his own invention, or from ſome uncertain report, than truly.

He alſo ſpeaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Solomon*'s ring, diſpoſſeſs'd divers perſons of evil ſpirits in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, and many others, which I will not ſtand to examine.

Certainly, ſo ſtrange an example of human frailty hath never been read of as this king: who having received wiſdom from God himſelf, in honour of whom, and for his only ſervice, he built the firſt and moſt glorious temple of the world: he that was made king of *Iſrael* and *Judea*, not by the law of nature, but by the love of God, and became the wiſeſt, richeſt, and happieſt of all kings, did in the end, by the perſuaſion of a few weak and wretched idolatrous women, forget and forſake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodneſs, of which he was more liberal to this king, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner; Solomon *reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a houſe in his name, and prepare the ſanctuary for ever; how wiſe waſt thou in thy youth, and waſt filled with underſtanding, as with a flood! thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark ſentences. Thy name went abroad in the iſles, and for thy peace thou waſt beloved*, &c. but thus he concludeth, *Thou didſt bow thy loins to women, and waſt overcome by thy body; thou didſt ſtain thine honour, and haſt defiled thy poſterity, and haſt brought wrath upon thy children, and felt ſorrow for thy folly*, chap. xxvii.

SECT. IV.

Of the contemporaries of Solomon.

NEAR the beginning of *Solomon*'s reign, *Agelaus* the 3d of the *Heraclidæ* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedemon*; and ſoon after *Sylvius Alba* the 4th of the *Sylvii*, ſway'd thoſe kingdoms: *Laoſthenes* then governing *Aſſyria*: *Agaſtus* and *Archippus* the 2d and 3d princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the 26th of *Solomon*'s reign *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Baliaſtrus* ſucceeded, and reigned 17 years, after *Mercator*'s accompt, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his ſons. [e] *Joſephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* againſt *Autolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not ſome kings omitted between the death of *Hiram*, and the reign of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the 20th of *Solomon*, *Seſac* or *Shiſak* (as our *Engliſh Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the ſame with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Soſachis*; *Joſephus*, *Suſac*; *Cedrenus*, *Suſeſinus*; *Euſebius* in the column of the *Egyptian* kings *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrews Suſac*. *Joſephus*, in the 8th of his antiquities, reproveth it as an error in *Herodotus*, that he aſcribeth the acts of *Suſac* to *Seſoſtris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by compariſon, accounting *Seſac* another *Seſoſtris*; for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and virtues of king *Seſoſtris* I have ſpoken already in the ſtory of the *Egyptian* princes: only in this he was reproved that he cauſed four of his captive kings to draw his chariot, when he was diſpoſed to be ſeen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, ſaith *Eutropius*, at ſuch time as *Seſoſtris* was carried out to take the air, caſt his head continually back upon the two foremoſt wheels next him; which *Seſoſtris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion; to whom the captive king anſwered, that in thoſe he beheld the inſtability of all worldly things; for that both the loweſt part of the wheel was ſuddenly carried about, and became the higheſt, and the upmoſt part was as ſuddenly turned downward and under all: which when [f] *Seſoſtris* had judiciouſly weighed, he diſmiſſed thoſe princes, and all others, from the like ſervitude for the future. Of this *Seſoſtris*, and that he could not be taken for *Seſac*, I have ſpoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* kings preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Solomon's *ſucceſſors until the end of* Jehoſaphat.

SECT. I.

Of Rehoboam's *beginnings: the defection of the ten tribes, and* Jeroboam's *idolatry.*

REhoboam, the ſon of *Solomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammoniteſſe*, now 40 years old, ſucceeded his father *Solomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the 10 tribes of *Iſrael* were aſſembled: who attended awhile the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, ſince he fled thither, fearing *Solomon*. After his arrival, the people preſented a petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eaſed of thoſe great tributes laid on them by his father. [g] *Sic enim firmius ei fore imperium, ſi amari mallet quam metui*; So ſhould his empire (ſaith *Joſephus*) be more aſſured if he deſired rather to be beloved than feared: whereof he took 3 days to deliberate before his anſwer, of whom

[a] Hier. ad Cromaſium. [b] Sap. 2. [c] S. Sen. f. 62. [d] Reinecc. in Jul. Hiſt. [e] Ant. lib. 3. [f] Hiſt. Miſcel. l. 17. [g] Ant. lib. 8. c. 3.

therefore

therefore it could not be ſaid as of *David*, that he was wiſer than all his teachers. For as of himſelf he knew not how to reſolve, ſo had he not the judgment to diſcern of counſels, which is the very teſt of wiſdom in princes, and in all men elſe. But notwithſtanding that he had conſulted with thoſe grave and adviſed men, that ſerved his father, who perſuaded him by all meahs to ſatisfy the multitude: he was tranſported by his familiars and favorites, not only to continue on the backs of his ſubjects thoſe burdens which greatly cruſh'd them; but (vaunting falſly of greatneſs exceeding his father's) he threatned in ſharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unſupportable loads on them. But as it appeared by the ſucceſs, thoſe younger adviſers greatly miſtook the nature of ſeverity, which without the temper of clemency, is no other than cruelty it ſelf: they alſo were ignorant that it ought to be uſed for the help, and not for the harm of ſubjects. For what is the ſtrength of a king left by his people; and what cords or fetters have ever laſted long, by thoſe which have been twiſted and forged by love only; his witleſs paraſites could well judge of the king's diſpoſition: and being well learned therein, tho' ignorant in all things elſe, it ſufficed and enabled them ſufficiently for the places they held. But this anſwer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboam*'s deſigns. For being foretold by the prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, theſe the king's threats (changing the people's love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes. For he was no ſooner arrived, than elected king of *Iſrael*: the people crying out, What portion have we in *David*? we have no inheritance in the ſon of *Iſhai*. Now tho' themſelves, even [a] all the tribes of *Iſrael*, had conſented to *David*'s anointing at *Hebron* the 2d time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his fleſh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bonds of nature, and their duty to God, and, as all alienated reſolved hearts do, they ſerved themſelves for the preſent with impudent excuſes. And now over-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram*, one of the taxers of the people, a man moſt hateful to all his ſubjects, to pacify them: whom they inſtantly beat to death with ſtones. Whereupon the king affrighted, got him from [b] *Sichem* with all ſpeed, and recover'd *Jeruſalem*, where preparing to invade *Iſrael* with an hundred and fourſcore thouſand choſen men, *Shemai* in the perſon of God commanding to the contrary, all was ſtay'd for the preſent. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new king fortified *Sechem* on this ſide, and *Penuel* on the other ſide of *Jordan*; and fearing that the union and exerciſe of one religion would alſo join the people's hearts again to the houſe of *David*; and having in all likelihood alſo promiſed the *Egyptians* to follow their idolatry: he ſet up two calves of gold for the children of *Iſrael* to worſhip, impiouſly perſuading them that thoſe were the gods, or at leaſt by theſe he repreſented thoſe gods, which delivered them out of *Egypt*: and refuſing the ſervice of the *Levites*, he made prieſts fit for ſuch gods. It muſt needs be that by baniſhing the *Levites*, which ſerv'd *David* and *Solomon* thro' all *Iſrael*, *Jeroboam* greatly inrich'd himſelf: as taking into his hands all thoſe cities which were given them by *Moſes* and *Joſhua*; for, as it is written, *The Levites left their ſuburbs, and their poſſeſſion, and came to Juda*, &c. This irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of an idolatry that never could be rooted out, until *Iſrael* for it was rooted out of the land) was by prophecy and miracles impugned ſufficiently when it firſt began; but the affections maintaining it, were ſo ſtrong, that neither [c] prophecy nor miracle could make them yield. *Jeroboam* could not be moved now by the authority of *Ahia*, who from the Lord had firſt promiſed unto him the kingdom; nor by the [c] withering of his own hand as he ſtretched it over the altar, which alſo clave aſunder, according to the ſign, which the man of God had given by the commandment of God, who again recover'd and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obſtinate an idolater as before, for he held it the ſafeſt courſe in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forſook God, and the religion of his forefathers, by God and his miniſters taught them, was by a modern hiſtorian compared with the policies of late ages, obſerving well the practice of his nation, being an *Italian* born; *Sic qui hodie* (ſaith he) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, præſenteſque utilitates ſibi tanquam ultimum finem conſtituunt, cauſam quam vocant ſtatus in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipſa tuenda, promovenda, conſervanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, ſi juſtitiæ honeſtatiſque leges ſubvertendæ, ſi religio ipſa peſſundanda, ſi denique omnia jura divina & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nihil per fas nefaſque relinquendum cenſent, cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipſos, modo id, quod e re ſua eſſe ſibi perſuadent, obtineant, ac ſi nullus ſit qui talia curet, caſtigareve poſſit Deus*; So they who are now called politicians, propounding to themſelves, as their utmoſt end and ſcope, their own commodity and preſent profit, are wont to alledge the caſe of ſtate forſooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the ſtate, for advancing, preſerving, or encreaſing of the ſtate, they think they may do any thing. If they mean to oppreſs their neighbour, to overturn all laws of juſtice and honeſty, if religion it ſelf muſt go to wrack, yea if all rights of God and man muſt be violated, they will try all courſes, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing; let all go to ruin, what care they, ſo long as they may have what they would; as who ſhould ſay, there were no God that would offer to meddle in ſuch matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *Raggione del ſtato*, did ſerve as well to uphold, as at the firſt it had done to bring in this vile idolatry of the ten tribes. Upon this ground *Amazia* the prieſt of *Bethel*, counſelled the prophet [d] *Amos*, not to propheſy at *Bethel*; *For* (ſaith he) *it is the king's court*. Upon this ground even [e] *Jehu* that had maſſacred the prieſts of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wiſe depart from that politick ſin of *Jeroboam* the ſon of [f] *Nebat*, which made *Iſrael* to ſin. It was reaſon of ſtate that perſuaded the laſt famous *French* king *Henry* the fourth to change his religion; yet the proteſtants whom he forſook obey'd him, but ſome of the papiſts whom he followed murder'd him. So ſtrongly doth the painted vizzor of wiſe proceeding delude even thoſe that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it, and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it; whereof *Jehu* and all the kings of *Iſrael* had, and were themſelves, very great examples.

[a] 2 Sam. 5. 1. [b] 1 Kings 12. 21. [c] 1 Kings 13. 4, 5, 6. [d] Amos 7. 13. [e] 2 Kings 10. 16. [f] 2 Kings 10. 20.

SECT. II.

Of Rehoboam's *impiety; for which he was puniſhed by* Seſac: *of his end and contemporaries.*

WHILE *Jeroboam* was occupied in ſetting up his new religion, *Rehoboam* on the other ſide having now little hope to recover the provinces loſt, ſtrengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour: for he fortified and victualled fifteen cities of [a]*Judah* and *Benjamin:* not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only faſtned himſelf, but withal invited them to invade *Judea:* laying perchance before them the unaccountable riches of *David* and *Solomon*, which might now eaſily be had, ſeeing ten of the twelve tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judeans*. So as by thoſe two ways (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of religion, and invitation of foreign force, *Jeroboam* hoped to ſettle himſelf in the ſeat of *Iſrael*, whom yet the powerful God for his idolatry in a few years after rooted out with all his. *Rehoboam* alſo having, as he thought, by [b] fortifying divers places, aſſured his eſtate, forſook the law of the living God, and made high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill, and under every green tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, *Seſac*, or *Shiſhac* before ſpoken of, being now king of *Egypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Idumea*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar, and his inſtruments, entred [c]*Judea* with twelve thouſand chariots, and threeſcore thouſand horſe, beſides footmen, which [d]*Joſephus* numbers at four hundred thouſand. This army was compounded of four nations; *Egyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cuſites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybæans*, the next bordering region to *Egypt*, on the weſt-ſide. The *Cuſites* were of *Petræa*, and of the deſart *Arabia*, which afterwards followed *Zerah* againſt [e]*Aſa* king of *Judah*. The *Succæans*, according to *Junius*'s opinion, were of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth tents: he doth ſuppoſe, that they were the *Troglodítæ*, often mentioned in [f]*Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not far from the banks of the *Red* ſea, in 22 degrees from the line northward about ſix hundred *Engliſh* miles from the beſt and maritimate part of *Egypt:* and therefore I do not think that the *Succims* or *Succæi* were thoſe *Troglodítæ*, but rather thoſe *Arabians* which *Ptolemy* calls *Arabes Ægyptii* or *Ichthyophagi*, which poſſeſs that part of *Egypt* between the mountains called [g]*Alabaſtrini*, and the *Red* ſea, far nearer *Egypt*, and readier to be levied, than thoſe removed ſavages of the *Troglodítæ*.

With this great and powerful army, *Seſac* invaded *Judea*, and (beſides many other ſtrong cities) won *Jeruſalem* itſelf, of which, and of the temple, and king's houſe he took the ſpoil, carrying away (beſides other treaſures) the golden ſhields which *Solomon* had made, in imitation of thoſe which *David* recovered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* war: theſe *Rehoboam* ſupplied with targets of braſs, which were fit enough to guard a king of his quality: whom *Siracides* calleth the fooliſhneſs of the people.

From this time forward the kings of *Egypt* claimed the ſoveraignty of *Judea*, and held the *Jews* as their tributaries: *Seſac*, as it ſeems, rendring up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the words of God, where promiſing the deliverance of *Judah* after their humiliation, he doth notwithſtanding leave them under the yoke of *Egypt* in theſe words. *Nevertheleſs they* (to wit, the *Judeans*) *ſhall be his ſervants, that is, the ſervants of* Seſac.

After this overthrow and diſhonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and, his loſſes received by *Seſac* notwithſtanding, he continued the war againſt *Jeroboam* all his life-time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Iſrael* four years.

Rehoboam lived fifty-eight years, and reigned ſeventeen. His ſtory was written at large by *Shemeiah* and *Hiddon* the prophets, but the ſame periſhed with that of *Nathan* and the reſt.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Terſippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or governours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdaſtrartus* or *Abſtrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Doriſthus* the fifth of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to [h]*Euſebius* (others make him the ſixth) and *Priminas* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latins* reigned *Sylvius Alba*, add *Sylvius Atys*, the fourth and fifth of the *Sylvii*.

About the 12th of *Rehoboam*, *Abdaſtrartus* king of *Tyre*, was murdered by his nurſe's ſons, or foſter-brethren, the elder of which uſurped the kingdom twelve years.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to govern *Aſſyria*, the 34th king thereof: and not long after *Aſtartus* the ſon of *Baleaſtartus* recovered the kingdom of *Tyre* from the uſurpers.

SECT. III.

Of the great battle between Jeroboam *and* Abijah, *with a corollary of the examples of God's judgments.*

ABIJAH the ſon of *Rehoboam* inherited his father's kingdom, and his vices. He raiſed an army of four hundred thouſand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred thouſand; both armies joined near to the mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the ſtrength of *Iſrael* broken; for there fell of that ſide five hundred thouſand, the greateſt overthrow that ever was given or received of thoſe nations. *Abijah* being now maſter of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jeſhanah* and *Ephron*, ſoon after which diſcomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22 years. *Abijah*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelf, entred into league with *Heſion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may be gathered out of 2 *Chron.* xvi. 23. He reigned but three years and then died. The particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the prophet, as ſome part of his father's were.

Here we ſee how it pleaſed God to puniſh the ſins of *Solomon* in his ſon *Rehoboam:* firſt, by an idolater and a traitor: and then by the ſucceſſor of that *Egyptian*, whoſe daughter *Solomon* had married, thereby the better to aſſure his eſtate, which, while he ſerved God, was by God aſſured againſt all and the greateſt neighbouring kings, and when he forſook him, it was torn aſunder by his meaneſt vaſſals; not that the father wanted ſtrength to defend him from the *Egyptian Seſac*. For the ſon *Abijah* was able to levy four hundred thouſand men, and with the ſame number he overthrew eight hundred thouſand *Iſraelites*, and ſlew of them five hundred thouſand, God giving ſpirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaſeth him. And as in thoſe times the cauſes were expreſs'd, why it pleaſed God to puniſh both kings and their people: the ſame being both before and at the inſtant

[a] 2 Chron. 11. [b] 1 Kings 14. 13. [c] 2 Chron. 12. 3, not. in 12. Chron. [d] Joſeph. Ant. 8. c. 4. [e] 2 Chron. 12. 2 Kings 14. Anno [f] Plin. l. 6. c. 29. Ptol. Aſiæ, Tab. 3. [g] Cap. 47. v. 23. [h] Euſeb. Chron.

ſtant delivered by prophets; ſo the ſame juſt God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in theſe our times give victory, courage, and diſcourage, raiſe, and throw down kings, eſtates, cities, and nations, for the ſame offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the preſent: for which reaſon, in theſe and other afflictions of *Iſrael*, always the cauſes are ſet down, that they might be as precedents to ſucceeding ages. They were puniſhed with famine in *David*'s time for three years, [a] *for Saul and his bloody houſe*, &c. And *David*, towards his latter end, ſuffered all ſorts of afflictions, and ſorrows in effect, for *Uriah*. *Solomon* had ten tribes of twelve torn from his ſon for his idolatry. *Rehoboam* was ſpoiled of his riches and honour by *Seſac* of *Egypt*, becauſe the people of *Judah* made images, high places and groves, *&c.* and becauſe they ſuffered *Sodomites* in the land. *Jeroboam* was puniſhed in himſelf and his poſterity for the golden calves that he erected. *Joram* had all his ſons ſlain by the *Philiſtines*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flux, for murdering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Jezabel* were ſlain, the blood of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogs, for the falſe accuſing and killing of *Naboth*. So alſo hath God puniſhed the ſame and the like ſins in all after-times, and in theſe our days by the ſame famine, plagues, war, loſs, vexation, death, ſickneſs, and calamities, howſoever the wiſe men of the world raiſe theſe effects no higher than to ſecond cauſes, and ſuch other accidents; which, as being next their eyes and ears, ſeem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

SECT. IV.

Of Aſa *and his contemporaries.*

TO *Abijah* ſucceeded *Aſa*, who enjoyed peace for his firſt ten years, in which time he eſtabliſhed the Church of God, [b] breaking down the altars dedicated to ſtrange Gods, with their images, cutting down their groves, and taking away their high places. He alſo ſpared not his own [c] mother who was an idolatreſs, but depoſing her from her regency, brake her idol, ſtampt it, and burnt it.

He alſo fortified many cities and other places, providing (as provident kings do) for the troubles of war in the leiſure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judea*, and with ſuch a multitude entred the territory of *Aſa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never aſſembled of that nation either before or ſince. For it is written, that there came againſt the *Judeans*, [d] *Zerah* of *Ethiopia* with an hoſt of ten hundred thouſand, and three hundred chariots, which *Aſa* encountred with an army of five hundred and fourſcore thouſand, levied out of thoſe two tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the ſpoil both of their cities and camps.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Ethiopian* I have [e] proved already, and were it but the length between *Ethiopia* and *Judea*, and the ſtrong flouriſhing regions of *Egypt* interjacent (who would not ſuffer a million of ſtrangers to paſs thro' them) it were ſufficient to make it appear how fooliſh the opinion is, that theſe invaders were *Ethiopians*. But in that the ſcriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the cities thereabouts were ſpoiled by the *Judeans* in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* ſtandeth upon the torrent of *Beſor*, which *David* paſs'd over when he ſurprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*, this proveth ſufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that [f] *Gerar* was a frontier town ſtanding on the uttermoſt ſouth-border of all *Judea*, from all parts of *Ethiopia* ſix hundred miles. Alſo the ſpoils which *Aſa* took, as the cattle, camels, and ſheep, whereof he ſacrificed five thouſand, ſhew them to be *Arabians* adjoining, and not far off, and not unknown to the *Ethiopians*. And if it be objected, that theſe deſart countries can hardly yield a million of men fit for the wars, I anſwer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*, and the deſart which compaſs two parts of the *Holy Land*, ſhould yield ten hundred thouſand, as that two tribes of the twelve ſhould arm five hundred and fourſcore thouſand. Beſides, it anſwereth to the promiſe of God to *Abraham*, that theſe nations ſhould exceed in number; for God ſpake it of *Iſmael*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he ſhould beget twelve princes, *&c.*

[g] *Baaſha*, a king of *Iſrael*, began to reign in the third of *Aſa*, and fearing the greatneſs of *Aſa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* king of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadezer*, to join with him againſt *Aſa*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama* which lieth in the way from *Jeruſalem* towards *Samaria*.

This war began according to the letter of the ſcriptures in the 36th year of *Aſa*'s reign: but becauſe in 1 *Kings* xvi. it is ſaid that *Baaſha* died in the 26th year of *Aſa*, therefore could not *Baaſha* begin this war in the 35th of *Aſa*'s reign, but in the 35th year of the diviſion of *Judah* and *Iſrael*: for ſo many years it was from the firſt of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17 years, to the 16th of *Aſa*. It may ſeem ſtrange, that *Aſa* being able to bring into the field an army of five hundred and fourſcore thouſand good ſoldiers, did not eaſily drive away *Baaſha*, and defeat him of his purpoſes, the victories of *Abia* againſt *Jeroboam*, and of *Aſa* himſelf againſt *Zerah* being yet freſh in mind, which might well have emboldned the men of *Judah*, and as much diſheartned the enemies. Queſtionleſs there were ſome important circumſtances omitted in the text, which cauſed *Aſa* to fight at this time with money. It may be, that the employment of ſo many hundred thouſand of hands in the late ſervice againſt *Zerah*, had cauſed many mens private buſineſs to lie undiſpatched, whereby the people being now intentive to the culture of their lands, and other trades, might be unwilling to ſtir againſt the *Iſraelites*, chuſing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardneſs of the people might have deterred *Aſa* from adventuring himſelf with the leaſt part of his forces, and committing the ſucceſs into the hands of God. Howſoever it were, he took the treaſures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* againſt *Baaſha*, whoſe employments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baaſha*. For the *Iſraelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himſelf (after his invaſion) nor his ſucceſſors after him, ever gave over till they had made themſelves maſters of that kingdom. So [h] *Benhadad* being now entered into *Nephthalim* without reſiſtance, he ſpoiled divers principal cities

[a] 2 Sam. 21. 1. [b] 2 Chron. 14. [c] 2 Chron. 15. 16. [d] 2 Chron. 14. 9. [e] *In the former book, ch.* 4. *ſect.* 14. item, *ch.* 8. *ſect.* 10. † 6. [f] 2 Chron. 14. [g] 2 Chron. 16. 1. [h] 2 Chron. 16. 4.

thereof,

thereof, and enforced [a]*Baaſha* to quit *Ramah*, and to leave the ſame to *Aſa* with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortify the ſame: which done *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being loaden with the ſpoils of *Iſrael*, and the treaſures of *Judah*, returned to *Damaſcus*. After this, when *Hanani* the prophet reprehended *Aſa* in that he now relied on the ſtrength of *Syria*, and did not reſt himſelf on the favour and aſſiſtance of God, he not only cauſed *Hanani* to be impriſoned, but he began to burden and oppreſs his people, and was therefore ſtricken with the grievous pains of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two years [b]continually tormented, he gave up the ghoſt when he had reigned 41 years.

There lived with *Aſa*, *Ageſilaus* the ſixth of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fifth king of the ſame race in *Corinth*, of whom his ſucceſſors were afterwards called *Bacidæ*. *Aſtartus* and *Aſtarimus* were kings in *Tyre*. [c]*Aſtarimus* took revenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murder of *Ithobalus* prieſt of the goddeſs *Aſtarta*, whom *Solomon* in dotage worſhipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the *Latins*. *Pyrithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Aſſyrians*: *Terſippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36th year of *Aſa*, left *Cheops* his ſucceſſor that reigned fifty-ſix years, even to the 16th of *Joas*.

SECT. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten tribes during the reign of Aſa.

IN the reign of *Aſa*, the kingdom of *Iſrael* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten tribes unto their former allegiance to the houſe of *David*, if the wiſdom of God had not otherwiſe determined. The wickedneſs of *Jeroboam* had, in his latter days, the ſentence of heavy vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Ahia*, the ſame prophet which had foretold the diviſion of *Iſrael*; for the ſin of *Solomon*, and his reign over the ten tribes. One ſon *Jeroboam* had, among others, in whom only God found ſo much piety, as (tho' it ſufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable teſtimony of the people's love, by their general mourning and lamentation at his death; and (wherein he was moſt happy) the favourable approbation of God himſelf.

After the loſs of this good ſon, the ungodly father was ſoon taken away: a miſerable creature, ſo conſcious of his vile unthankfulneſs to God, that he durſt not ſuffer his own name to be uſed in conſulting with an holy prophet, aſſured of the ruin hanging over him and his, yea, of God's extreme hatred; yet forbearing to deſtroy thoſe accurſed idols that wrought his confuſion. So loth he was to forſake his worldly wiſdom, when the world was ready to forſake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the ſon of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the ſecond and third years of *Aſa*, which are reckoned as two years, tho' indeed his father's laſt year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the ſecond of [d]*Aſa*, whoſe third year was the firſt of *Baaſha*; ſo that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his father's courſes, neither did God alter his ſentence. It ſeems that he little feared the judgments denounced againſt his father's houſe: for as a prince that was ſecure of his own eſtate, he armed all *Iſrael* againſt the *Philiſtines*, and beſieged one of their towns. There (whether it were ſo, that the people were offended with his ill ſucceſs, and recalled to mind their grievous loſs of five hundred thouſand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky family to the nation; or (whether by ſome particular indiſcretion, he exaſperated them) ſlain he was by *Baaſha*, whom the army did willingly accept for king in his ſtead. *Baaſha* was no ſooner proclaimed king, than he began to take order with the houſe of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might moleſt him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the ſword. That he did this for private reſpects, and not in regard of God's will to have it ſo, it is evident, by his continuing in the ſame form of idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the ſame ſentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*, which was executed upon him alſo in the ſame ſort. He began to infeſt *Aſa*, by fortifying *Rama*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waſte his country, deſtroying all the land of *Nephthalim*. Four and twenty years he reigned: and then dying, left the crown to *Elah* his; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam* had done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

Elah was as much an idolater as his father: and withal a riotous perſon. He ſent an army againſt *Gebbethon*, the ſame town of the *Philiſtines* before which *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam* periſhed; but he ſat at home the while, feaſting and drinking with his minions, whereby he gave ſuch advantage againſt himſelf, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the king at *Tirzah*, finding his maſter ſo diſſolute, and his behaviour ſo contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baaſha* had found, by doing as *Baaſha* had done. Wherefore he did ſet upon *Elah* in his drunkenneſs, and ſlew him. Preſently upon which fact, he ſtyled himſelf king of *Iſrael*; and began his reign with maſſacring all the houſe of *Baaſha*; extending his cruelty not only to his children and kinsfolks, but unto all his friends in *Tirzah*. Theſe news were quickly blown to the camp at *Gebbethon*, where they were not welcomed according to *Zimri*'s expectation. For the ſoldiers, inſtead of proclaiming him king, proclaimed him traitor: and being led by *Omri* whom they ſaluted king, they (quitting the ſiege of *Gebbethon*) preſented themſelves before *Tirzah*; which in ſhort ſpace they may ſeem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting ſtrength to defend the city, not courage to keep himſelf from falling alive into his enemies hands, did ſet fire on the palace, conſuming it and himſelf together to aſhes. Seven days he is ſaid to have reigned: accounting (as is moſt likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the camp. For *Zimri* was alſo an idolater, *Walking in the way of Jeroboam*, 1 *Kings* xvi. 19. and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himſelf, than the reign of ſeven days, and thoſe conſumed partly in murdering the friends of *Baaſha*, partly in ſeeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Elah*, there aroſe another king to oppoſe the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may ſeem, that *Zimri* had made his party ſtrong, as being able to ſet up a new head, who doubtleſs would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, ſome ſtrength, not unlikely to reſiſt and vanquiſh the army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new competitor

[a] 1 Kings 15. [b] 2 Chron. 16. [c] Euſeb. in Chron. [d] 1 Kings 15. 25.

of

of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; only it appears that his ſide was decay'd, and ſo he died, leaving no other ſucceſſor than his concurrent.

SECT. VI.

A conjecture of the cauſes hindring the re-union of Iſrael *with* Juda, *which might have been effected by theſe troubles.*

ANY man that ſhall conſider the ſtate of *Iſrael*, in thoſe times, may juſtly wonder how it came to paſs, that either the whole nation, wearied with the calamities already ſuffered under theſe unfortunate princes, and with the preſent civil wars, did not return to their ancient kings, and re-unite themſelves with the mighty tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppreſs'd factions, did not call in *Aſa*, but rather choſe, the one to endure a deſperate neceſſity of yielding, or burning himſelf, the other to languiſh away, a man forſaken: than to have recourſe unto a remedy, ſo ſure, ſo ready, and ſo honourable. To ſay that God was peaſed to have it ſo, were a true, but an idle anſwer (for his ſecret will is the cauſe of all things) unleſs it could be prov'd, that he had forbidden *Aſa* to deal in that buſineſs, as he forbad *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the reſtraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only bind his hands from attempting the ſuppreſſion of that preſent inſurrection, it appears by the war continu'd between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, ſo many years following: wherein *Abia* ſo far prevailed, that he won a great battel, and recovered ſome towns belonging to the other tribes, which he annexed to his own dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the ſecond cauſes, moving the people and leaders of the ten tribes, to ſuffer any thing under new upſtarts, rather than to caſt their eyes upon that royal houſe of *David*, from which the ſucceſſion of five kings in lineal deſcent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his competitors, in making peace with *Aſa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not only an idolater, [a] *but did worſe than all that were before him*, which as it might ſerve alone to prove, that *Aſa*, being a godly king, would not adhere to him, ſo the courſe which he profeſs'd to take at the very firſt, of revenging the maſſacre committed upon the family and friends of *Baaſha* (*Aſa* his mortal enemy) gives manifeſt reaſon, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, ſhould more juſtly than he have expected the friendſhip of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore, in ſearching out the reaſon of this backwardneſs in the ten tribes (which was ſuch that they may ſeem to have never thought upon the matter) to ſubmit themſelves to their true princes; it were not amiſs to examine the cauſes, moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam*, who follow'd the wars in perſon, as a man of ſpirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very firſt defection of the ten tribes, was (if we look upon human reaſon) occaſioned by deſire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Solomon* had galled their necks. Their deſire was to have a king that ſhould not oppreſs them; not to have no king at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had cauſed them to renounce him, they did immediately chooſe *Jeroboam* in his ſtead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (as it ſeems) herein altogether deceived. For his affection of popularity appears in his building of decay'd towns, and in the inſtitution of his new deviſed idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them, to travel ſo far as *Jeruſalem*. But whether it were ſo, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to ceaſe, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his ſon, when long time of poſſeſſion had confirm'd his title, which at the firſt was only good by courteſy of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in ſuch caſes) were more offended by ſome prerogatives of a king that he ſtill retained in his own hands, than pleaſed with his remiſſion of other burdens: it is clearly apparent, that the whole army of all *Iſrael* joined with *Baaſha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboam*'s houſe.

Now the reign of *Baaſha* himſelf, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and coſt at *Rama* was caſt away; the other ſide of his kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one town of *Gibbethon* from the *Iſraelites*; but left that buſineſs to his ſon, who likewiſe appears an unprofitable ſluggard. Wherefore it muſt needs be, that the favour of the people towards the houſe of *Baaſha* grew from his good form of civil government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And ſurely he that ſhall take pains to look into thoſe examples, which are extant of the different courſes, held by the kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, in adminiſtration of juſtice, will find it moſt probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten tribes continu'd ſo averſe from the line of *David*; as to think all adverſity more tolerable than the weighty ſcepter of that houſe. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deſerved; yet in that they ſuffered it without form of judgment, they ſuffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgment, and without any crime objected, other than the king's jealouſy: out of which, by the ſame rule of arbitrary juſtice (under which it may be ſuppoſed that many were caſt away) he would have ſlain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence, as appears by his confident return out of *Egypt*, like one that was known to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jehoram* did upon his brethren, and upon ſundry of his greateſt men; as alſo *Joaſh* did ſo put to death *Zachariah* the ſon of *Jehoiada*, who had made him king, [b] *Even in the court of the houſe of the Lord:* [c] *and Manaſſes did ſhed innocent blood exceeding much, till he repleniſhed Jeruſalem from corner to corner:* and this was imputed to him as another fault; *beſides his ſin wherewith he made Juda to ſin.* Contrariwiſe, among the kings of *Iſrael* we find no monument of ſuch arbitrary proceeding, unleſs perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an inſtance, when he ſaid [d] *God do ſo to me, and more alſo, if the head of Eliſha the ſon of Shaphat ſhall ſtand on him this day:* whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemn'd as a falſe prophet, that had made them hold out againſt the *Aramites*, till they were fain to eat their own chil-

[a] 1 Kings 16. 25. [b] 2 Chron. 24 25. [c] 2 Kings 21. 16. [d] 2 Kings 6. 31.

dren; which he thought a ſufficient argument to prove, that it was not God's purpoſe to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* ſheweth rather the liberty which the *Iſraelites* enjoy'd, than any peremptory execution of the king's will. For *Naboth* did not fear to ſtand upon his own right, tho' *Ahab* were even ſick for anger, neither was he for that cauſe put to death, as upon commandment, but made away by conſpiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give ſatisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, tho' to God it could not.

The murther of the prophets is continually aſcribed to *Jezebel*, an impudent woman, and not unto the king her husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no law made, whereby their lives were taken from them; but certain it is, that the people, being [a] idolaters, were both pleaſed with their death, and labour'd in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of *Juda* (ſuch as are regiſtred) prove them to have uſed a more abſolute manner of command, than the kings of the ten tribes. Neither do their ſufferings witneſs the contrary. For of thoſe which reigned over *Juda*, from the diviſion of the kingdom, to the captivity of the ten tribes, three were ſlain by the people, and two were denied a place of burial amongſt their anceſtors. Yea, the death of *Ahaziah* and his brethren, ſlain by *Jehu*, with the deſtruction of all the royal ſeed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) ſtir up in the people any ſuch thirſt of revenge, as might by the ſuddenneſs and uniformity teſtify the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their princes; unleſs we ſhould think that the death of *Athalia*, after 7 years reign, were occaſioned rather by the memory of her ill purchaſing, than by the preſent ſenſe of her tyrannical abuſing the government, whereon ſhe had ſeized. On the other ſide, ſuch of the kings of *Iſrael* as periſhed by treaſon (which were ſeven of the twenty) were all ſlain by conſpiracy of the great men, who aſpired by treaſon to the crown: the people being ſo far from embruing their hands in the blood of their ſoveraigns, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their kings, when it lay in their power, nor approve the good ſucceſs of treaſon, unleſs fear compelled them. So that the death of two kings, being thoroughly revenged upon other two, namely, the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterouſly got and uſurp'd, for a little while, their places; only three of the ſeven remain, whoſe ends how the people took, it may be doubtful. Tho' indeed it is preciſely ſaid of the ſlaughter, committed on *Ahab*'s children by *Jehu*, that the people durſt not fight with him that did it, becauſe [b] *they were exceedingly afraid:* and the ſame fear might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whoſe hiſtory (as others of that time) is curſorily paſſed over. The like may be pronounced, and more abſolutely, of the kings of *England*, that never any of them periſhed by fury of the people, but by treaſon of ſuch as did ſucceed them, neither was there any motive urging ſo forcibly the death of king *Edward* and king *Richard*, when they were in priſon, as fear leſt the people ſhould ſtir in their quarrel. And certainly (howſoever all that the law calls treaſon, be interpreted as tending finally to the king's deſtruction) in thoſe treaſonable inſurrections of the vulgar, which have here moſt prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quench'd it ſelf, with the blood of ſome great officers; no ſuch rebellions, howſoever wicked and barbarous otherwiſe, thirſting after the ruin of their natural ſoveraign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his royal perſon: which if any man impute unto groſs ignorance, another may more charitably, and, I think, more truly, aſcribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who, being looſened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands give aſſiſtance to *Jupiter*, when all the reſt of the gods conſpired again him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as ſignifying, that monarchs need not to fear any curbing of their abſoluteneſs by mighty ſubjects, as long as by wiſdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be ſure to come in on their ſide. Tho' indeed the ſtory might very well have borne the ſame interpretation, as it is rehearſed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the conſpiracy, and that *Thetis* alone did mar all their practice, by looſening *Briareus*. For a good form of government ſufficeth by it ſelf to retain the people, not only without aſſiſtance of a laborious wit, but even againſt all devices of the greateſt and ſhrewdeſt politicians: every ſheriff and conſtable, being ſooner able to arm the multitude, in the king's behalf, than any over-weening rebel, how mighty ſoever, can againſt him.

This declaration of the people's love, being ſeldom found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it ſelf of government there was ſuch, as neither gave occaſion of contentment unto the ſubjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the kings. Upon which reaſons it may ſeem that the multitude was kept uſually diſarmed. For otherwiſe it would have been almoſt impoſſible, that *Athalia* the ſiſter of *Ahab*, a ſtranger to the royal blood of *Juda*, ſhould by the only authority of a queen-mother have deſtroy'd all the ſeed of *David*, and uſurped the kingdom very near ſeven years, without finding any reſiſtance. Yea, when *Jehoiada* the high prieſt had agreed with the captains and principal men of the land to ſet up *Joaſh* their lawful king, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; he was fain to give to theſe captains and their men, *the ſpears and the ſhields that were king* David's, *and were in the houſe of the Lord*. But we need not enter into ſuch particulars. Queſtionleſs, the tribes which thought obedience to their princes to be a part of their duty towards God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had kings of their own choice or admiſſion, holding the crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reaſon, why the ten tribes did never ſeek to return to their ancient lords: but after the deſtruction of their ſix firſt kings, which died in the reign of *Aſa*, admitted a ſeventh of a new family, rather than they would conſubject themſelves, with thoſe of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy yoak.

So *Aſa*, having ſeen the death of ſeven kings of *Iſrael*, died himſelf after 41 years reign, leaving *Jehoſhaphat* his ſon to deal with *Ahab* the ſon of *Omri*, who was the eighth king over the ten tribes.

SECT. VII.

Of Jehoſhaphat *and his contemporaries.*

JEhoſhaphat, who ſucceeded *Aſa*, was a prince religious and happy, he deſtroyed all the groves,

[a] 2 Kings 19. 10.

[b] 2 Kings 10. 4.

altars,

altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and ſent teachers to all places and people wanting inſtruction, he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philiſtines:* from the one he had ſilver, from the other ſheep and goats to the number of fifteen thouſand and four hundred. The numbers of his men of war were more than admirable: for it is written that [a] *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thouſand, *Jehohanan* of two hundred and fourſcore thouſand, and *Amaſia* of two hundred thouſand; alſo that he had, beſides theſe, in *Benjamin* of thoſe that bare ſhields, which we call *Targeteers*, and of archers under *Eliada* two hundred thouſand, and under the commandment of *Jehoſabad* a hundred and fourſcore thouſand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand, all which are ſaid to have waited upon the king beſides his garriſons.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a territory not much exceeding the county of *Kent*, ſhould muſter eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand fighting men, it is very ſtrange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. [b] *Joab* in *David*'s time found five hundred thouſand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourſcore thouſand: *Abia* four hundred and eight thouſand: *Aſa* five hundred and fourſcore thouſand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could bear arms, and they amounted to three hundred thouſand: *Uzziah* three hundred and ſeven thouſand and five hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehoſhaphat*, that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his territory to the weſt of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he fear'd (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field eleven hundred and threeſcore thouſand fighting men, leaving all his ſtrong cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my ſelf to better judgment) that theſe numbers ſpecified in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ſeventeenth, diſtributed to ſeveral leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thouſand under *Adnah*, and the two hundred and fourſcore thouſand under *Jehohanan*, were afterwards commanded and muſtered by *Amaſia*, *Eliada*, and *Jehoſabad:* for the groſs and total is not in that place ſet down, as it was under the other kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which *Jehoſhaphat* brought to *Ahab*, did not ſhew that he was a prince of extraordinary power, ſo the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, which he feared could never make the one half of thoſe numbers, which he that commanded leaſt among *Jehoſhaphat*'s leaders had under him.

This mighty prince, notwithſtanding his greatneſs, yet he joined in friendſhip with *Ahab* king of *Iſrael*, who had married that wicked woman *Jezabel*. Him *Jehoſhaphat* viſited at *Samaria*, and cauſed his ſon *Joram* to marry *Athaliah*, this *Ahab*'s daughter.

Ahab perſuaded *Jehoſhaphat* to aſſiſt him in the war againſt the *Syrians*, who held the city of *Ramoth-Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his prophets, or *Baalites* to foretel the ſucceſs: who promiſed him victory. But *Jehoſhaphat* believed nothing at all in thoſe diviners, but reſolved firſt of all to confer with ſome one prophet of the Lord God of *Iſrael*. Hereupon *Ahab* made anſwer, that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that prophet, becauſe he always foretold of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was ſent for to the king, but by the way the meſſenger prayed him to conſent with prophets; and to promiſe victory unto them as they did. But *Michaiah* ſpake the truth, and repeated his viſion to both the kings, which was, *That God asked who ſhall perſuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead?* To whom a ſpirit that ſtood before the Lord anſwered, that he would enter into his prophets, and be in them a falſe ſpirit to delude. For as it is ſaid by Chriſt, *Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed ſpiritus patris veſtri loquitur in vobis:* it is not you that ſpeak, but the ſpirit of your father ſpeaks in you: ſo in a contrary kind did the devil in the prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, encourage *Ahab* to his deſtruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well obſerveth, theſe evil ſpirits are the miniſters of God's vengeance, and are uſed as the hangmen and tormentors, which princes ſometimes employ. For as it pleaſeth God by his good angels, to ſave and deliver from deſtruction, of which the ſcriptures have many examples: ſo on the contrary, it is by the evil that he puniſheth and deſtroyeth, both which are ſaid to perform the will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Eccleſiaſticus* remembreth a ſecond ſort of malignant natures, but they are every where viſible. There are ſpirits, ſaith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on ſure ſtrokes. In the time of deſtruction they ſhew forth their power, and accompliſh the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaia* having by this his revelation greatly diſpleaſed the king, and the prophets whoſe ſpirit he diſcovered, was ſtricken by *Zedekiah* one of *Baal*'s prophets, and by *Ahab* himſelf committed to priſon: where he appointed him to be reſerved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah* not fearing to reply, anſwered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not ſpoken by me*. Nevertheleſs *Ahab* went on in that war, and was wounded to death. *Jehoſhaphat* returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he was [c] reprehended by *Jehu* the prophet for aſſiſting an idolatrous prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* of *Damaſcus*, joined with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumeans*, to invade *Judea:* who paſs *Jordan*, and encamp at *Engaddi*, and when *Jehoſhaphat* gathered his army, the prophet *Jahaziel* foretold him of the victory, which ſhould be obtained without any blood-ſhed of his part: and ſo when *Jehoſhaphat* approached, this aſſembly of nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* diſagreeing with the *Idumeans*, and quarrelling for ſome cauſes among themſelves; thoſe of *Ammon* and *Moab* ſet upon the *Idumeans*, and brake them utterly; which done, they alſo invaded each other; in which broil *Jehoſhaphat* arriving, [d] took the ſpoil of them all without any loſs of his part, as it was foretold and promis'd by God. Notwithſtanding this victory, *Jehoſhaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for aſſiſting an idolatrous king, did notwithſtanding join with *Ochazias* the ſon of *Ahab*, in preparing a fleet to ſend to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Solomon* had: but as [e] *Eliezer* the prophet foretold him, his ſhips periſhed and were broken in the part of *Ezion-gaber*, and ſo that enterprize was overthrown.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, againſt the *Moabites*, with which kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* the *Edomites* join their forces, not forgetting, it ſeems, that the *Moabites*, aſſiſted

[a] 2 Chron. 17. [b] 2 Sam. 24. 4. [c] 2 Chron. 19. [d] 2 Chron. 20. [e] 2 Chron. 20.

by

by the *Ammonites*, had not long before deſtroyed their army.

The *Moabites*, ſubjects to *David* and *Solomon*, forſaking the kings of *Judah*, gave themſelves for vaſſals to *Jeroboam*, and ſo they continued to his ſucceſſors till the death of *Ahab*: but *Jehoſhaphat*, notwithſtanding the idolatry of his collegue, yet, as it ſeemeth, he was drawn into this war both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Judah* to *Iſrael*, as alſo becauſe they had lately joined themſelves with the *Syrians* againſt *Jehoſhaphat*, and thirdly, to puniſh their double rebellion, who firſt forſook *Judah* and now *Iſrael*.

Both kings reſolved to paſs by the way of *Idumea*, thereby the better to aſſure that nation; for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* againſt *Jehoſhaphat*: but whether they had then declared themſelves againſt *Jehoſhaphat*, it is not certain; for in 2 *Chron.* xi. 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram*, the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, *Edom* rebelled; and therefore it ſeemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were ſlain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themſelves ſatisfied in ſuch conditions as they required, offered to turn from them, and to join themſelves with the army of *Judah*: for that they were numbred among the enemies of *Jehoſhaphat*, it is plain in 2 *Chron.* xx. and is plain chap. ii. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a king, till *Jehoſhaphat*'s death. Now in the paſſage of theſe kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumeans* having a purpoſe to rebel, miſled the army of *Judah* and *Iſrael* with intent to enfeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they ſuffered the ſame, if not a greater thirſt than the armies of *Craſſus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, utterly periſhed, had not *Eliſha* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water ſprang, by which, not only *Jehoſhaphat* and his army, but *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael* an idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodneſs of God, having ever been prone to ſave the evil for the good, whereas he never deſtroyed the good for the evil.

The miſerable iſſue of this war, and how [a] *Moab* burnt his ſon, or the ſon of the king of *Edom* for ſacrifice on the rampart of his own city, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the kings of *Iſrael*. [b] *Jehoſhaphat* reigned twenty-five years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* ſet over his grave is yet to be ſeen, ſaith [c] *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Jehu* the ſon of *Hanani*.

There lived with *Jehoſhaphat*, *Ophratenes* in *Aſſyria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberinus* kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took name.

In *Jehoſhaphat*'s time alſo ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Ageſilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the ſame race, of the *Heraclidæ* the ſeventh in *Lacedæmon*. *Badeſorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Ahab*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Iſraelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram *the ſon of* Jehoſhaphat, *and* Ahaziah.

SECT. I.

That Jehoram *was made king ſundry times.*

JEHORAM the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah* began to reign at 32 years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a king: but of theſe eight years, which *Jehoram* is ſaid to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* war with *Ahab*, left this *Jehoram* king in his ſtead, as *Ahab* did his ſon *Ahaziah*. This appears by the ſeveral beginnings, which are given in ſcripture to the two *Jehorams* kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, and to *Ahaziah* the eldeſt ſon of *Ahab*: for [d] *Ahaziah* is ſaid to have begun his reign, in the ſeventeenth year of *Jehoſhaphat*. *Jehoram* the brother of [e] *Ahaziah* ſucceeded him in the ſecond year of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of *Judah* was deſigned king by his father; it being (as we find elſewhere) the [f] eighteenth year of *Jehoſhaphat* himſelf, who went with the *Iſraelite* againſt *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal office was retained ſtill by *Jehoſhaphat*, who governed abſolutely by himſelf, not communicating the rule with his ſon. But in the fifth year of [g] *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoſhaphat*, the old king took unto him, as partner in the government, this his eldeſt ſon, who was at that time thirty-two years old, his father being fifty-ſeven. Now foraſmuch as *Jehoſhaphat* reigned [h] twenty-five years, it is evident that his ſon did not reign alone till the eighth of *Joram* king of *Iſrael*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, who did not always reign preciſely ſo long as the bare letter of the text may ſeem at firſt to affirm: but their years were ſometimes complete, ſometimes only current, ſometimes confounded with the years of their ſucceſſors or foregoers, and muſt therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of thoſe others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing leſs needful than curious, to enquire into the reaſons moving *Jehoſhaphat* either to aſſume unto him his ſon as partner in the kingdom, whilſt he was able himſelf to command both in peace and in war, the like having never been done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the ſeventeenth of his reign) vouchſafed unto him that honour, to reſume it unto himſelf, or at leaſt-wiſe to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were paſſed. Yet foraſmuch as to enter into the examination of theſe paſſages, may be a means to find ſome light, whereby we may more clearly diſcover the cauſes of much extraordinary buſineſs enſuing, I hold it not amiſs to make ſuch conjecture, as the circumſtances of the ſtory briefly handled in the ſcriptures may ſeem to approve.

We are therefore to conſider; that this king *Jehoſhaphat* was the firſt of *Reboboam*'s iſſue that ever entred into any ſtreight league with the kings of the ten tribes. All that reigned in *Judah* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themſelves in vain, making ſmall profit of the greateſt

[a] 2 Kings 3. [b] 2 Chron. 20. [c] Broch. ter. ſanct. [d] 1 Kings 22. 51 [e] 2 Kings 1. 17. [f] 2 Kings 3. *v.* 1. & 9. [g] 2 Kings 8. 16. [h] 1 Kings 22. 42.

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advantages that could be wiſhed. Wherefore *Jehoſhaphat* thought it the wiſeſt way to make a league offenſive and defenſive between *Iſrael* and *Judah*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious king, with one that did [a] *hate the Lord*, could not long proſper, as not iſſuing from the true *root and fountain of all wiſdom:* yet as a piece of ſound policy, doubtleſs it wanted not fair pretences of much common good thereby likely to ariſe, with mutual fortifications of both thoſe kingdoms, againſt the uncircumciſed nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit being ſo ineſtimable a jewel that it might not eaſily be loſt, but continue as hereditary from father to ſon, it was thought a very good courſe to have it confirmed by ſome ſure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Athaliah* the daughter of *Omri*, and ſiſter of *Ahab* king of *Iſrael*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was ſon and heir apparent to the king of *Judah*. This lady was of a maſculine ſpirit, and learn'd ſo much of queen *Jezabel* her brother's wife, that ſhe durſt undertake, and could thoroughly perform, a great deal more in *Jeruſalem*, than the other knew how to compaſs in *Samaria*. She was indeed a fire-brand, ordained by God to conſume a great part of the nobleſt houſes in *Judah*, and perhaps of thoſe men or their children, whoſe worldly wiſdom, regardleſs of God's pleaſure, had brought her in.

The firſt-fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Judah* and *Iſrael* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory ſhould have redounded wholly to *Ahab:* as godly princes very ſeldom thrive by matching with idolaters, but rather ſerve the turns of thoſe falſe friends, who being ill affected to God himſelf, cannot be well affected to his ſervants. Before their ſetting forth, *Ahab* deſigned as king, his ſon *Ahaziah*; not ſo much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of war (for none of his predeceſſors had ever done the like upon the like occaſions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the prophet *Michaia* (for he deſpiſed them) as inviting *Jehoſhaphat* by his own example, to take the ſame courſe, wherein he prevailed.

SECT. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old king Jehoſhaphat *to change his purpoſe often, in making his ſon* Jehoram *king.*

MANY arguments do very ſtrongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his wife; eſpecially for his forſaking the religion of his godly anceſtors, and following the abominable ſuperſtitions of the houſe of *Ahab*.

That ſhe was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole courſe of her actions witneſſeth at large. Much vain matter ſhe was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy perſons in compariſon of him, and his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and ſiſter of two great kings, not upon baſe women and mere ſubjects. The court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained againſt the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter ſufficient to make an inſolent man think highly of himſelf, as being allied ſo honourably; who could otherwiſe have found in his heart well enough, to deſpiſe all his brethren, as being the eldeſt, and heir apparent to the crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the poſſeſſion.

How ſoon his vices brake out, or how long he diſſembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that ſome ſmoak, out of the hidden fire, did very ſoon make his father's eyes to water; who thereupon cauſed the young man to know himſelf better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And ſurely the doings of *Jehoſhaphat* about the ſame time, argue no ſmall diſtemper of the whole country, thro' the miſgovernment of his ungodly ſon. For the good old king was fain to make his progreſs round about the land, reclaiming the people unto the ſervice of God, and appointing judges [b] *throughout all the ſtrong cities of Judah, city by city.* This had been a needleſs labour, if the religion taught and ſtrongly maintained by *Aſa*, and by himſelf, had not ſuffered alteration, and the courſe of juſtice been perverted by the power of ſuch as had borne authority. But the neceſſity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the king did give to the judges; and by his commiſſion given to one of the prieſts in ſpiritual cauſes, and to the ſteward of his houſe in temporal matters, to be general overſeers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahaziah* the ſon of *Ahab*; but how long after, it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahaziah* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoſhaphat*, which was then accounted the ſecond of *Jehoram*, *Jehoſhaphat*'s ſon, tho' afterwards this *Jehoram* of *Judah* had another firſt and ſecond year even in his father's time, before he reigned alone, as the beſt chronologers and expoſitors of the holy text agree. So he continued in private eſtate, until the two and twentieth of his father's reign, at which time, tho' the occaſions inducing his reſtitution to former dignity are not ſet down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto appearing ſubſtantial were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Iſrael* held the ſame correſpondence with *Jehoſhaphat*, that his father had done; and made uſe of it. He drew the *Judean* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young prince of *Judah* was again ordained king by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize againſt *Moab* did not occupy ſo much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoſhaphat*, in which year that nation rebelled againſt *Iſrael*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and the affinity between them contracted in the perſon of *Jehoram*, might offer ſome good occaſions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger ſons, in their elder brother's diſgrace, might cauſe their father to put him in poſſeſſion, for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep diſſimulation of *Jehoram* himſelf, might win the good opinion both of his father and brethren; it being a thing uſual in miſchievous fell natures, to be as abject and ſervile in time of adverſity, as inſolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifeſt, that being repoſſeſſed of his former eſtate, he demeaned himſelf in ſuch wiſe towards his brethren, as cauſed their father to enable them, not only with ſtore [c] *of ſilver, and of gold, and of precious things* (which kind of liberality other kings doubtleſs had uſed unto their younger ſons) but with the cuſtody of *ſtrong cities in Judah*, to aſſure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means againſt unwonted perils.

[a] 2 Chron. 19. 2, *and* 3. [b] 2 Chron. 19. 4, 5, &c. [c] 2 Chron. 21. 3.

SECT. III.

The doings of Jehoram *when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of* Edom *and* Libna.

BUT all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwiſe determined of the ſequel. When once the good old man, their father, was dead, the younger ſons of *Jehoſaphat*, found ſtrong cities a weak defence againſt the power of him to whom the citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the ſummons of a king their brother, then had he them without any more ado; if they ſtood upon their guard, then were they traitors, and ſo unable to hold out againſt him, who, beſides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Iſraelitiſh* kingdom againſt them; ſo that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, ſufficed to make all forſake them in the very beginning. Howſoever it was, they were all taken and ſlain, and with them for company many great men of the land; ſuch belike, as either had taken their part, when the tyrant ſought their lives, or had been appointed rulers of the country, when *Jehoram* was depoſed from his government; in which office they, without forbearing to do juſtice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things, derogatory to their young maſter, which if he would now call treaſon, ſaying that he was then king, who durſt ſay the contrary?

After this, *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now lord alone, to make innovations in religion; wherein he was not contented, as other idolatrous princes, to give way and ſafe-conduct unto ſuperſtition and idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that ſin, whereto it is wonderful that they were ſo much addicted, having ſuch knowledge of God, and of his deteſting that above all other ſins; but he uſed compulſion, and was (if not the very firſt) the firſt that is regiſtred, to have ſet up irreligion by force.

Whilſt he was thus buſied at home, in doing what he liſted, the *Edomites* his tributaries rebelled againſt him abroad; and having hitherto, ſince *David*'s time, been govern'd by a viceroy, did now make unto themſelves a king. Againſt theſe *Jehoram* in perſon made an expedition, taking along with him his princes, and all his chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing ſome of thoſe, whom he ſhould have ſubdued, and kept his ſervants. Now began the prophecy of *Iſaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Eſau* in proceſs of time ſhould break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this, the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the kings of *Juda*, but held their own ſo well, that when, after many civil and foreign wars, the *Jews* by ſundry nations had been brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his ſon, and others of that race following them, became lords of the *Jews*, in the decrepit age of *Iſrael*, and reigned as kings, even in *Jeruſalem* it ſelf.

The freedom of the *Edomites*, tho' purchaſed ſomewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great city within *Juda*, which in the time of *Joſhua* had a peculiar king, to rebel againſt *Jehoram*, and ſet it ſelf at liberty. *Libna* ſtood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the aſſiſtance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore ſo unlikely it was to have maintained it ſelf in liberty, that it may ſeem ſtrange how it could eſcape from utter deſtruction, or at the leaſt from ſome terrible vengeance, moſt likely to have been taken by their powerful, cruel, and throughly incenſed lord. The *Iſraelite* held ſuch good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the town, had it offered it ſelf unto him: neither do we read that it ſought how to caſt it ſelf into a new ſubjection, but continued a free eſtate. The rebellion of it againſt *Jehoram* was, [a] *Becauſe he had forſaken the Lord God of his fathers*; which I take to have not only been the firſt and remote cauſe, but even the next and immediate reaſon, moving the inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a town of the *Levites*: who muſt needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion contrary to God's law, had not only ſome allowance to countenance it by the king, but compulſive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the uſe of the temple at *Jeruſalem* (which, being devout men, they might fear to loſe by this rebellion) it was never deny'd to thoſe of the ten revolted tribes by any of the religious kings, who rather invited the [b] *Iſraelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under idolaters they muſt have been without it, whether they lived free or in ſubjection. Yet it ſeems that private reaſons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than to ſuffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general viſitation before remembred, wherein *Jehoſhaphat* reformed his kingdom, the good old king appointing new governours, and giving them eſpecial charge to do juſtice without reſpect of perſons, uſed theſe words, *The Levites ſhall be officers before you; be of good courage and do it, and the Lord ſhall be with the good.* By theſe phraſes, it ſeems, that he encouraged them againſt the more powerful, than juſt proceedings of his ſon; whom if the *Levites* did (according to the truſt repoſed in them) neglect, in diſcharging their duties, likely it is, that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feel, as many princes of the land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon deſtroy'd, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) ſo much as beſieged or moleſted, may juſtly ſeem very ſtrange. And the more ſtrange it is in regard of the mighty armies which *Jehoſhaphat* was able to raiſe, being ſufficient to have over-whelmed any one town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one month have caſt into it with ſhovels, by ordinary approaches.

But it ſeems that of thoſe great numbers which his father could have levied, there were not many whom *Jehoram* could well truſt; and therefore perhaps he thought it an eaſier loſs, to let one town go, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to puniſh it. So deſperate is the condition of tyrants, who thinking it a greater happineſs to be feared, than to be loved; are fain themſelves to ſtand in fear of thoſe, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

SECT. IV.

Of the miſeries falling upon Jehoram, *and of his death.*

THESE afflictions not ſufficing to make any impreſſion of God's diſpleaſure in the mind of the wicked prince; a prophecy in writing was de-

[a] 2 Chron. 21. 10. [b] 2 Chron. 30.

liver'd

liver'd unto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, and his own body. Hereby likewiſe it appears, that he was a cruel perſecutor of God's ſervants; in as much as the prophets durſt not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predeceſſors, both good and evil kings, but were fain to denounce God's judgments againſt him by letters, keeping themſelves cloſe and far from him. This epiſtle is ſaid to have been ſent unto him from [a] *Elias* the prophet. But *Elias* was tranſlated, and *Elizeus* propheſied in his ſtead before this time, even in the days of *Jehoſhaphat* [b]. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as ſome conjecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occaſion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the tradition held by ſome of the *Jewiſh Rabbins*, that *Elias* from heaven did ſend this epiſtle; a tale ſomewhat like to the fable of our Lady's letters, deviſed by *Eraſmus*, or of the verſe that was ſent from heaven to St. *Giles*.

But whoſoever was the author of this threatning epiſtle, the accompliſhment of the prophecy was as terrible as the ſentence. For the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* brake into *Judea*, and took the king's houſe, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they ſlew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. Theſe *Philiſtines* had not preſumed ſince the time of *David*, to make any offenſive war till now; for they were by him almoſt conſumed, and had loſt the beſt of their towns, maintaining themſelves in the reſt of their ſmall territories, by defenſive arms, to which they were conſtrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Iſraelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked people, all horſemen, and ill appointed; their country affording no other furniture, than ſuch as might make them fitter to rob and ſpoil in the open fields, than to offend ſtrong cities ſuch as were thick ſet in *Juda*. True it is, that in ages long after following, they conquer'd all the ſouth parts of the world then known, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, deſtroying ſome, and building other ſome very ſtately cities. But it muſt be conſidered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the art of war; and that the proviſions which they found, together with the arts which they learned, in one ſubdued province, did make them able and skilful in purſuing their conqueſt, and going onward into regions far removed from them. At this day having loſt in effect all that they had gotten, ſuch of them as live in *Arabia* it ſelf are good horſemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to paſſengers, but unable to deal with good ſoldiers, as riding ſtark naked, and rather truſting in the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, than in any other means of reſiſtance, where they are well oppoſed. And ſuch, or little better, may they ſeem to have been, that ſpoiled *Judea* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their country was always barren and deſart, wanting manual arts whereby to ſupply the naturals with furniture: neither are theſe bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philiſtines*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the leaſt muſter of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoſhaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thouſand fighting men) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than theſe enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their prince's jealouſy, as in *Saul*'s time by the policy of the *Philiſtines*.

It may ſeem that the houſe of the king which theſe invaders took, was not his palace in *Jeruſalem*, but rather ſome other houſe of his abroad in the country, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: becauſe we read not, that they did ſack the city, or ſpoil the temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got poſſeſſion thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jeruſalem* it ſelf by ſurpriſe, the people being diſarmed, and the king's guards too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, becauſe it was ſo large and populous; and therefore having done what ſpoil they could, withdrew themſelves with ſuch purchaſe as they were able ſafely to convey away.

The ſlaughter committed by *Jehu* upon the two and forty brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elſewhere) ſo many of his brothers ſons, and the cruel maſſacre, wherein all the royal ſeed periſhed (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyranny of *Athalia*, following within two years after this invaſion of the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians*, make it ſeem probable, that the ſons of *Jehoram* were not all ſlain at once, but that rather the firſt murder began in his own time, and was ſeconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his houſe was inceſſantly ſtricken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After theſe calamities, the hand of God was extended againſt the body of this wicked king, ſmiting him with a grievous diſeaſe in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched ſoul departed from his miſerable carcaſs. The people of the land, as they had ſmall cauſe of comfort in his life, ſo had they not the good manners to pretend ſorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of burial among his anceſtors the kings of *Juda*, tho' his own ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom, who was guided by the ſame ſpirits that had been his father's evil angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatneſs, to retain her favourites in their authority, and to place about her ſon ſuch [c] *counſellors, of the houſe of Ahab*, as were fitteſt for her turn. Wherefore ſhe thought it unreaſonable to make much ado about a thing of nothing, and offend the people's eyes, with a ſtately funeral of a man by them deteſted: but rather choſe to let the blame of things paſſed be lain upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her ſelf, and hers, which it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of wicked inſtigators, having made greedy uſe of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults alſo, the man whoſe evil inclinations their ſiniſter counſels have made worſe, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a buſy time; when his friend and coſin the *Iſraelite*, who had the ſame name, was entangled in a difficult war againſt the *Aramite*; and therefore could have had no better leiſure to help *Athalia* in ſetting of things according to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the ſame hindrance) to help her huſband, when he was diſtreſſed by the *Philiſtines*. Yea rather, he needed and craved the aſſiſtance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not ſped ſo

[a] 2 Chron. 21. 12. [b] 2 Kings 2, 3. 11. [c] 2 Chron. 22. 4.

well

well the laſt time, that they ſhould willingly run thither again, unleſs they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (purſuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumſtances remembred in holy ſcripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accompliſh nevertheleſs his hidden purpoſe, and without miraculous means, confound themſelves in the ſeeming-wiſe devices of their own folly: as likewiſe to the end that all men might learn to ſubmit their judgments to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may ſafely diſpenſe with his commandments, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wiſdom dictateth unto them. For in ſuch kind of unhappy ſubtilties, it is manifeſt that *Athaliah* was able to furniſh both her husband and her ſon, but the iſſue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear in that which immediately followeth.

SECT. V.

Of the reign of Ahaziah, *and his buſineſs with the king of* Iſrael.

OCHAZIAS, or *Ahazia*, the ſon of *Jehoram* and *Athaliah*, began his reign over *Judah* in the twelfth year of *Jehoram*, the ſon of *Ahab* king of *Iſrael*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much diſputation, whereof I ſee no more probable concluſion, than that of *Torniellus*, alledging the edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588, which ſaith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom, and the annotations thereupon, which cite other copies, that give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young; for he was governed by his mother, and her miniſters, who gave him counſel by which he periſhed. In matter of religion he altered none of his father's courſes. In matter of ſtate, he likewiſe upheld the league made with the houſe of *Ahab*. He was much buſied in doing little, and that with ill ſucceſs. He accompanied his couſin the *Iſraelite* againſt *Ramoth Gilead*, which they won, but not without blows: for the *Aramites* fought ſo well, that the king of *Iſrael* was fain to adventure his own perſon, which eſcaped not unwounded.

The town being won, was manned ſtrongly, in expectation of ſome attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* king of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael* withdrew himſelf to the city of *Jezreel*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahaziah* returned to *Jeruſalem*. It ſeems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all ſcantly one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners ſake, to viſit the king of *Iſrael*, who lay ſore of his wounds. Belike *Athaliah* was brewing ſome new plots, which his preſence would have hindred, and therefore ſought every occaſion to thruſt him abroad: for otherwiſe it was but a vain piece of work ſo to leave his kingdom, having no other buſineſs than by way of complement to go to ſee one whom he had ſeen yeſterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had reſolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgment, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the prophet, upon the houſe of *Ahab*. And hereunto at this time had he diſpoſed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in man's eyes might ſeem to have been accidental; but the very thoughts and affections of ſuch perſons, as intended nothing leſs than the fulfilling of his high pleaſure. Of theſe *Athaliah* doubtleſs was one; whoſe miſchievous purpoſes it will ſhortly be needful, for explanation of ſome difficulties ariſing, that we diligently conſider and examine.

SECT. VI.

How Ahaziah *periſhed with the houſe of* Ahab: *and how that family was deſtroyed by* Jehu.

THE whole army of *Iſrael*, with all the principal captains lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a diſciple of *Elizeus* the prophet, came in among the captains that were ſitting together, who calling out from among them *Jehu*, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him king over *Iſrael*; rehearſing unto him the prophecy of *Elias* againſt the houſe of *Ahab*, and letting him underſtand that it was the pleaſure of God to make him executioner of that ſentence. The faſhion of the meſſenger was ſuch as bred in the captains a deſire to know his errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had overheard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him king: for the prophecy of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durſt any one oppoſe himſelf againſt him, that was by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, who had upon the ſudden this great honour thrown upon him, was not ſlow to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of it, but uſed the firſt heat of their affections who joined with him, in ſetting on foot the buſineſs which nearly concerned him, and was not to be foreſlowed, being no more his own than God's.

The firſt care taken was, that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, whereby the king might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreſeen, he marched ſwiftly away to take the court while it was yet ſecure. King *Jehoram* was now ſo well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cauſe it ſeems that there was much feaſting and joy made, eſpecially by queen *Jezabel*, who kept her ſtate ſo well, that the brethren of *Ahaziah* coming hither at this time, did make it as well their errand to ſalute the queen, as to viſit the king.

Certain it is, that ſince the rebellion of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael*, the houſe of *Ahab* did never ſo much flouriſh as at this time. Seventy princes of the blood royal there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the ſon of queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his father had attempted in vain, with loſs of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now paſt, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was ſo great between *Iſrael* and *Judah*, that it might ſuffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of ſucceſs to any rebellious enterprizer: ſo that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwiſe remembred, than as an unlucky tale, by them that beheld the majeſtical face of the court, wherein ſo great a friend as the king of *Judah* was entertained, and forty princes of his blood expected.

In the midſt of this ſecurity, whilſt theſe great eſtates were (perhaps) either conſulting about proſecution of their intents, firſt againſt the *Aramites*, and then againſt *Moab*, *Edom* and other rebels and enemies;

enemies; or elſe were triumphing in joy of that which was already atchieved, and the queen-mother dreſſing herſelf in the braveſt manner to come down amongſt them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a tower diſcovered a company coming. This news was not very troubleſome: for the army, that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready againſt all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be diſcharged upon ſome notice taken, that the enemy would not, or could not ſtir. Only the king ſent out an horſeman to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The meſſenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the king as little warning as might be. The ſeeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an anſwer, might argue the matter to be of ſmall importance; yet the king to be ſatisfied, ſent out another, that ſhould bring him word how all went; and he was likewiſe detained by *Jehu*. Theſe dumb ſhews bred ſome ſuſpicion in *Jehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew ſo near, that they might, tho' not perfectly, be diſcerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himſelf, by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the king, that was loth to diſcover any weakneſs, cauſed his chariot to be made ready, and iſſued forth with *Ahaziah* king of *Judah* in his company, whoſe preſence added majeſty to his train, when ſtrength to reſiſt, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done ſo haſtily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the town's end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to ſalute *Jehu* with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter anſwer, his heart failed him, ſo that crying out upon the treaſon to his fellow-king, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* ſoon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he ſtruck him dead, and threw his carcaſe into that field, which, purchaſed with the blood of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the blood of the unjuſt poſſeſſor. Neither did *Ahaziah* eſcape ſo well, but that he was arreſted by a wound, which held him till death did ſeize upon him.

The king's palace was joining to the wall, by the gate of the city, where *Jezabel* might ſoon be advertiſed of this calamity, if ſhe did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whoſe judgment, pronounced againſt her long before, had overtaken her when ſhe leaſt expected it. But ſhe, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made herſelf ready in all haſte, and painted her face, hoping with her ſtately and imperious looks to daunt the traitor, or at the leaſt to utter ſome *Apophthegm*, that ſhould expreſs her brave ſpirit, and brand him with ſuch a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did ſhe think upon the hungry dogs, that were ordained to devour her, whoſe paunches the *ſtibium*, with which ſhe beſmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the ſcolding language, wherewith ſhe armed her tongue, could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew near, ſhe opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treaſon, and murder of the king his maſter. This was in mere human valuation ſtoutly ſpoken, but was indeed a part of miſerable folly, as are all things, howſoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to God *the Lord of all*. Her own eunuchs, that ſtood by and heard her, were not affected ſo much as with any compaſſion of her fortune; much leſs was her enemy daunted with her proud ſpirit. When *Jehu* ſaw that ſhe did uſe the little remainder of her life in ſeeking to vex him; he made her preſently to underſtand her own eſtate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her ſervants, to know which of them would be of his ſide, and ſoon found them ready to offer their ſervice, before the very face of their proud lady. Hereupon he commanded them to caſt her down headlong: which immediately they perform'd without all regard of her greatneſs and eſtate, wherein ſhe had a few hours before ſhined ſo gloriouſly in the eyes of men; of men that conſidered not the judgments of God that had been denounced againſt her.

So periſhed this accurſed woman by the rude hands of her own ſervants, at the commandment of her greateſt enemy, that was yeſterday her ſubject, but now her lord: and ſhe periſhed miſerably ſtruggling in vain with baſe grooms, who contumelioufly did hale and thruſt her, whilſt her inſulting enemy ſat on horſe-back, adding indignity to her grief by ſcornfully beholding the ſhameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carcaſs that was left without the walls was devoured by dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her idolatry, murder, and oppreſſion, with ſlow, but ſure payment, and full intereſt.

Ahaziah king of *Judah* flying apace from *Jehu*, was overtaken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly wound in the kingdom of *Samaria*, was ſuffered to get him gone (which he did in all haſte) and ſeek his burial in his own kingdom: and this favour he obtained for his grandfather's ſake, not for his father's, nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jeruſalem*, where he was interred with his anceſtors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia, *and whoſe ſon he was that ſucceeded her.*

SECT. I.

Of Athalia's *uſurping the kingdom, and what pretences ſhe might forge.*

AFTER the death of *Ahaziah*, it is ſaid, that his houſe *was not able to retain the kingdom:* which note, and the proceedings of [a] *Athalia* upon the death of her ſon, have given occaſion to divers opinions concerning the pedigree of *Joas* who reigned ſhortly after. For *Athalia* being thus diſpoiled of her ſon, under whoſe name ſhe had ruled at her pleaſure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the princes of the blood, and ſlew them, that ſo ſhe might occupy the royal throne herſelf, and reign as queen, rather than live a ſubject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made counſellors unto her ſon, ſuch as were fitteſt for her purpoſe, and ready at all times to execute her will: that ſhe kept a ſtrong guard about her, it is very likely; and as likely it is, that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the princes, and many of the nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to ſtir, whatſoever they ſaw or heard.

[a] 2 Chron. 22. 9.

Yet ambition, how violent ſoever it be, is ſeldom or never ſo ſhameleſs as to refuſe the commodity of goodly pretences offering themſelves; but rather ſcrapes together all that will any way ſerve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abſurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when ſhe ſaw the princes of the royal blood, all of them in a manner, ſlain by her huſband, and afterwards his own children deſtroy'd by the *Philiſtines*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, thoſe poſſibilities wherewith her huſband's bad fortune had preſented her. Not without great ſhew of reaſon, either by her own mouth, or by ſome truſty creature of hers, might ſhe give him to underſtand, how needful it were to take the beſt order whilſt as yet he might, for fear of the worſt that might happen. If the iſſue of *David*, which now remained only in his family, ſhould by any accident fail (as woful experience had already ſhewed what might after come to paſs) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to chooſe a king of ſome new ſtock, a popular ſeditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthineſs, would not care what aſperſions he laid upon that royal houſe, which was fallen down. And who could aſſure him, that ſome ambitious ſpirit, foreſeeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the deſtruction of him, and all his ſeed? Wherefore it were the wiſeſt way to deſign by his authority, not only his ſucceſſor, but alſo the reverſioner, and ſo to provide, that the crown might never be ſubject to any rifling, but remain in the diſpoſition of them that loved him beſt, if the worſt that might be feared coming to paſs, his own poſterity could not retain it.

Such perſuaſions being urged, and earneſtly followed, by the importunate ſollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous tyrant think, that the only way to fruſtrate all devices of ſuch as gaped after a change, was to make her heir the laſt and youngeſt of his houſe, whom it moſt concern'd, as being the queen-mother, to uphold the firſt and eldeſt.

If *Athalia* took no ſuch courſe as this in her huſband's times, yet ſhe might do it in her ſon's. For *Ahazia* (beſides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the ſecurity of his half-brethren, or their children; as accounting his father's other wives, in reſpect of his own born-mother, little better than concubines, and their children baſely begotten. But if this miſchievous woman forgot herſelf ſo far in her wicked policy, that ſhe loſt all opportunity, which the weakneſs of her huſband and ſon did afford, of procuring unto herſelf ſome ſeeming title: yet could ſhe afterwards fain ſome ſuch matter, as boldly ſhe might: being ſure that none would ask to ſee her evidence, for fear of being ſent to learn the certainty of her ſon or huſband in another world. But I rather think that ſhe took order for her affairs beforehand. For tho' ſhe had no reaſon to ſuſpect or fear the ſudden death of her ſon, yet it was the wiſeſt way to provide betimes againſt all that might happen, whilſt her husband's iſſue by other women was young and unable to reſiſt. We plainly find that the brethren or nephews of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and forty, were ſent to the court of *Iſrael*, only to ſalute the children of the king, and the children of the queen. The ſlender occaſion of which long journey, conſider'd together with the quality of theſe perſons (being in effect all the ſtock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any ſtrength) makes it very ſuſpicious that their entertainment in *Jezabel*'s houſe would only have been more formal, but little differing in ſubſtance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courſes held both before and after by theſe two queens, will find cauſe enough to think no leſs. Of ſuch as have aſpired unto lordſhips not belonging to them, and thruſt out the right heirs by pretence of teſtaments, that had no other validity than the ſword of ſuch as claimed by them could give, hiſtories of late, yea of many ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Solomon* is true: [a] *Is there any thing whereof one may ſay, behold, this is new? It hath been already in the old time that was before us.* That a king might ſhed his brother's blood, was proved by *Solomon* upon *Adonia*; that he might alienate the crown from his natural heirs, *David* had given proof; but theſe had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that pleaſe them, will neglect the reaſons of thoſe examples, if they pleaſe them not, and reſt contented with the practice, as more willingly ſhewing what they may do, than acknowledging why *Solomon* ſlew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entring into another. [b] *Jehoram ſlew all his brethren, which were better than he: David* purchaſed the kingdom, and might the more freely diſpoſe of it, yet he diſpoſed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Jehoram*, who had loſt much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alienate the remainder at his pleaſure; or if *Ahazia* ſought to cut off the ſucceſſion of his brethren, or of their iſſue; either of theſe was to be anſwered with the words which *Jehoiada* the prieſt uſed afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joaſh: Behold, the king's ſon muſt reign; as the Lord hath ſaid of the ſons of David.* Wherefore, tho' I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend ſome title, whatſoever it might be, to the crown of *Juda*; yet it is moſt certain, that ſhe had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and ſo ſhe held it ſix whole years, and a part of the ſeventh in good ſeeming ſecurity.

SECT. II.

How Jehu *ſpent his time in* Iſrael, *ſo that he could not moleſt* Athalia.

IN all this time *Jehu* did never go about to diſturb her; which in reaſon he was likely to deſire, being an enemy to her whole houſe. But he was occupied at the firſt in eſtabliſhing himſelf, rooting out the poſterity of *Ahab*, and reforming ſomewhat in religion: afterwards in wars againſt the *Aramite*, wherein he was ſo far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much leſs attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were ſeventy living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter, adviſed the citizens to ſet up ſome one as king, and to prepare themſelves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was, which they well underſtood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to reſiſt him. Wherefore they took example by the two kings whom he had ſlain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their ſervice; wherein they ſo readily ſhewed themſelves obedient, that in leſs than one day's warning, they ſent him the heads of all thoſe princes, as they were injoined by a ſecond letter from him. After this, he ſurprized all the prieſts of *Baal* by a ſubtilty, feigning a great ſacrifice to their god, by which

[a] Eccleſ. 1. 10. [b] 2 Chron. 21. 13.

means

means he drew them altogether into one temple, where he ſlew them: and in the ſame zeal to God, utterly demoliſhed all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the idolatry deviſed by *Jeroboam*, no king of *Iſrael* had ever greater reaſon than *Jehu* to deſtroy it. For he needed not to fear leſt the people ſhould be allured unto the houſe of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the crown of *Juda* in the poſſeſſion of a cruel tyranneſs: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeal expreſſed in deſtroying *Baal* out of *Iſrael*, he was promiſed, notwithſtanding his following the ſin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom ſhould remain in his family, to the fourth generation. But all this would not ſerve; he would needs help to piece out God's providence with his own circumſpection; doing therein like a fooliſh greedy gameſter, who by ſtealing a needleſs card to aſſure himſelf of winning a ſtake, forfeits his whole teſt. He had queſtionleſs diſpleaſed many, by that which he did againſt *Baal*; and many more he ſhould offend by taking from them the uſe of a ſuperſtition, ſo long practiſed as was that idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all theſe, how many ſoever they were, had never once thought upon making him king, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forſook, had not given him the crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Iſrael*, whereof *Hazael* king of *Damaſcus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous prince we may find in the prophecy of *Elizeus*, who foretold it, ſaying: [a] *Their ſtrong cities ſhalt thou ſet on fire; and their young men ſhalt thou ſlay with the ſword, and ſhalt daſh their infants againſt the ſtones, and rent in pieces their women with child.* So did not only the wickedneſs of *Ahab* cauſe the ruin of his whole houſe, but the obſtinate idolatry of the people bring a lamentable miſery upon all the land. For the fury of *Hazael*'s victory was not quenched with the deſtruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invaſion; but he [b] *ſmote them in all the coaſts of Iſrael*, and waſted all the country beyond the river of *Jordan*. Notwithſtanding all theſe calamities, it ſeems that the people repented not of their idolatry (*For in thoſe days the Lord began to loath Iſrael*) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble houſe of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten thoſe enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conqueſt of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to reſtore the cities which his father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful ſhifts, living under a lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his maſter that had put him in truſt, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in ſerving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, inſtead of the eaſe and pleaſure to themſelves propounded by contrary courſes, over-whelm'd with the troubles which they ſought to avoid, and therein by God whom they firſt forſook, forſaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wiſdom, wherein they had repoſed all their confidence.

SECT. III.

Of Athalia's *government.*

THESE calamities falling upon *Iſrael*, kept *Athalia* ſafe on that ſide, giving her leiſure to look to things at home; as having little to do abroad, unleſs it were ſo that ſhe held ſome correſpondency with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husband's grandfather king *Aſa*, who had done the like. And ſome probability that ſhe did ſo, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find, that this [c] *wicked Athalia and her children brake up the houſe of God, and all things that were dedicate for the houſe of the Lord did they beſtow upon Baalim.* Such a ſacrilege, tho' it proceeded from a deſire to ſet out her own idolatry, with ſuch pomp as might make it the more glorious in the people's eyes, was not likely to want ſome fair pretext of neceſſity of the ſtate ſo requiring: in which caſe others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next ſucceſſor was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taſte of that which was formerly thence extracted for his ſake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the prieſts and *Levites* was very notable, and ſerved (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the religion taught by God himſelf, howſoever the queen's proceedings advanc'd the contrary. For the poverty of that ſacred tribe of *Levi* muſt needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and poſſeſſions in the ten tribes being utterly loſt, the oblations and other perquiſites, by which they liv'd, being now very few, and ſmall; and the ſtore laid up in better times under godly kings, being all taken away by ſhameful robbery. Yet they upheld in all this miſery the ſervice of God, and the daily ſacrifice, keeping daily their courſes, and performing obedience to the high prieſt, no leſs than in thoſe days wherein their entertainment was far better.

SECT. IV.

Of the preſervation of Joas.

JEHOIADA then occupied the prieſthood, an honourable, wiſe, and religious man. To his carefulneſs it may be aſcribed, that the ſtate of the church was in ſome ſlender ſort upheld in thoſe unhappy times. His wife was *Jehoſhabeth*, who was daughter of king *Jehoram*, and ſiſter to *Ahazia*, a godly lady and virtuous, whoſe piety makes it ſeem that *Athalia* was not her mother, tho' her acceſs to the court argue the contrary: but her diſcreet carriage might more eaſily procure her welcome to her own father's houſe, than the education under ſuch a mother could have permitted her to be ſuch as ſhe was. By her care *Joas* the young prince that reigned ſoon after, was convey'd out of the nurſery, when *Athalia* deſtroy'd all the king's children, and was carried ſecretly into the temple, where as ſecretly he was brought up. How it came to paſs that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was miſſing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his eſcape, I will not ſtand to examine; for it was not good in policy, that the people ſhould hear ſay, that one of the children had avoided that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and ſo be the leſs conformable to the preſent go-

[a] 2 Kings 8. 12. [b] 2 Kings 10. 32. [c] 2 Chron. 24. 7.

vernment

vernment. So *Joas* was delivered out of that ſlaughter, he and his nurſe being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be caſt away, as having no other guard than a poor woman that gave him ſuck, who fooliſhly doubting that ſhe herſelf ſhould have been ſlain, was fled away with him into ſome deſolate place, where it was like enough that ſhe and he ſhould periſh. In ſuch caſes flatterers, or men deſirous of reward, eaſily coin ſuch tales, and rather ſwear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will loſe the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

SECT. V.

Whoſe ſon Joas *was.*

† I.

Whether Joas *may be thought likely to have been the ſon of* Ahazia.

NOW concerning this [a] *Joas*, whoſe ſon he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath cauſed much controverſy among writers. The places of ſcripture, which call him *the ſon of* Ahazia, ſeem plain enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give the title of *ſon* unto him, in regard that he was his ſucceſſor, I neither by myſelf can find, nor can by any help of authors learn how to anſwer the difficulties, appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural ſon of *Ahazia*. For whereas it is ſaid, that [b] *the houſe of Ahazia was not able to retain the kingdom*; ſome do infer that this *Joas* was not properly called his ſon, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore ſucceeded him, as a ſon in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For ſhe perceiving that the kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom ſhe had no intereſt, might eaſily find cauſe to fear, that the tyranny exerciſed by her husband, at her inſtigation, upon ſo many noble houſes, would now be revenged upon herſelf. The ruin of her idolatrous religion might in this caſe terrify both her and her minions; the ſentence of the law rewarding that offence with death, and the tragedy of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own grandchild had been heir to the crown; for ſhe that had power enough to make herſelf queen, could with more eaſe, and leſs envy, have taken upon her the office of a protector, by which authority ſhe might have done her pleaſure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and ſecure of her own eſtate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that ſhe ſhould be ſo unnatural, as to deſtroy the child of her own ſon, of whoſe life ſhe might have made greater uſe, than ſhe could of his death; whereas indeed the love of grand-mothers to their nephews is little leſs than that of mothers to their children.

This argument is very ſtrong; for it may ſeem incredible, that all natural affection ſhould be caſt aſide, when as neither neceſſity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it; yea when all human policy doth teach one the ſame, which nature without reaſon would have perſuaded.

† II.

That Joas *did not deſcend from* Nathan.

BUT (as it is more eaſy to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to ſhew how it might have otherwiſe been) the pedigree of this *Joas* is, by them which think him not the ſon of *Ahazia*, ſet down in ſuch ſort that it may very juſtly be ſuſpected. They ſay that he deſcended from *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, and not from *Solomon*; to which purpoſe they bring a hiſtory (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *David*, ſaying that the line of *Solomon* held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of *Nathan* ſhould ſucceed it. Concerning this *Nathan*, the ſon of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the prophet, who (as they think) was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as alſo St. *Auguſtine* ſometime was; but afterwards he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the ſons of *David*, by [c] *Bathſhua* the daughter of *Ammiel*, and therefore could not be the prophet. *Gregory Nazianzene* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Eraſmus* and *Faber Stapulenſis*, have likewiſe held the ſame of *Joas*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan*, and thoſe other brethren of *Solomon* by the ſame mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods, to have been the children of *Uria* the *Hittite:* and ſo are they accounted by ſundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenſis*, who follow the *Hebrew* expoſitors of that place in the firſt of *Chronicles*. The words of *Solomon*, calling himſelf the only begotten of his mother, do approve this expoſition; for we read of no more than two ſons which *Bathſhua* or *Bathſheba* did bear unto *David*, whereof the one, begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Solomon* only of her children by the king did live. So that the reſt muſt needs have been the children of *Uria*, and are thought to have been *David*'s only by adoption. Wherefore, if *Joas* had not been the ſon of *Ahazia*, then muſt that pedigree have been falſe, wherein St. *Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Solomon*; yea, then had not *our bleſſed Saviour* iſſued from the loins of *David*, according to the fleſh, but had only been of his line by courteſy of the nation, and form of law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late writers into the opinion that *Joas* was not of the poſterity of *Solomon*, it is enough to ſay that this was *Frier Annius*'s *Philo:* for no other edition of *Philo* hath any ſuch matter: but *Annius* can make authors to ſpeak what he liſts.

† III.

That Joas *may probably be thought to have been the ſon of* Jehoram.

IN ſo doubtful a caſe, if it ſeem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, methinks it were not amiſs to lay open at once, and peruſe together two places of *Scripture*, whereof the [d] one telling the wickedneſs of *Jehoram*, the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, king of *Judah*, for which he and his children periſhed, rehearſeth it as one of God's mercies towards the houſe of *David*, that according to his promiſe he would *give him a light, and to his children for ever:* the other doth ſay, that for the offences of the ſame *Jehoram*, *there was not a ſon left him ſave* Jehoahas, *the youngeſt of his ſons.* Now, if it were in regard of God's promiſe to *David*,

[a] 2 Kings 11. 2. 2 Chron. 22. 11. [b] 2 Chron. 22. 9. [c] 1 Chron. 3. 5. [d] 2 Kings 8. 19.

vid, that, after thoſe maſſacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the ſeed of *David* eſcaped; why may it not be thought that he was ſaid to have eſcaped, in whom the line of *David* was preſerved? for had all the race of *Solomon* been rooted up in theſe woeful tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* ſucceeded in place thereof, like enough it is, that ſome remembrance more particular would have been extant of an event ſo memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguiſhed, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogy* of our Lord, as it is recounted by St. *Luke*; but the preſervation of the houſe of *David*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the perſon of *Jehoahas*, in whom the royal branch of *Solomon*, the natural, and not only legal iſſue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joas*, who followed *Athalia* in the kingdom, was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram*, whoſe life *Athalia*, as a ſtep-dame, was not unlikely to purſue. For it were not eaſily underſtood, why the preſervation of *David*'s line, by God's eſpecial mercy in regard of his promiſe made, ſhould pertain rather to that time, when beſides *Ahazia* himſelf there were two and forty of his [a] brethren, or (as in another place they are called) ſons of his brethren, remaining alive, which afterwards were all ſlain by *Jehu*, than have reference to the lamentable [b] deſtruction, and little leſs than extirpation of that progeny, wherein one only did eſcape. Certainly that inhuman murder which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the hiſtory) revenged upon his own children, then was not this vengeance of God accompliſhed by the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards proſecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that ſame wicked woman, at whoſe inſtigation he had committed ſuch barbarous outrage. And from this execution of God's heavy judgment laid upon [c] *Jehoram* and all his children, only *Jehoahas*, his youngeſt ſon, was exempted; whom therefore if I ſhould affirm to be the ſame with *Joas*, which is called the ſon of *Ahazia*, I ſhould not want good probability. Some further appearance of neceſſity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwiſe have been. For it was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preſerved, which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, ſeeing that he was twenty years old at the leaſt (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and conſequently was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his father's age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* ſhould have begotten many children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he ſhould upon the ſudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which muſt have been true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the ſame *Jehoahas*, which was his youngeſt ſon. But this inconvenience is taken away, and thoſe other doubts ariſing from the cauſeleſs cruelty of *Athalia*, in ſeeking the life of *Joas*, are eaſily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withſtand this opinion, for he was [d] *ſeven years old when he began to reign*; which if we underſtand of years compleat, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten ſomewhat after the beginning of his ſickneſs. Neither is it more abſurd to ſay that he was the natural ſon of *Jehoram*, though called the ſon of *Ahazia*, than it were to ſay, as great authors have done, this difficulty notwithſtanding, that he was of the poſterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to anſwer; which, had it concurred with the reſt, might have ſerved as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoahas*, that ſoundeth much more near to *Joas*, than to *Ahazia*, in an *Engliſh* ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by ſome skilful in that language) through the diverſity of certain letters, differ much from that which it moſt reſembleth in our weſtern manner of writing, and little from the other. Now although it be ſo that *Ahazia* himſelf be alſo call'd [e] *Azaria*, and muſt have had three names, if he were the ſame with *Jehoahas*; in which manner *Joas* might alſo have had ſeveral names; yet becauſe I find no other warrant hereof than a bare poſſibility, I will not preſume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the conſideration of ſuch as have more ability to judge, and leiſure to conſider of this point.

† IV.

Upon what reaſons Athalia *might ſeek to deſtroy* Joas, *if he were her own grand-child.*

IF therefore we ſhall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be ſaid that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the paſſions of ambition and zeal to her idolatrous worſhip of *Baalim*, but purſued the accompliſhment of ſome natural deſires, in ſeeking the deſtruction of her grand-child, and the reſt of the blood royal. For whether it were ſo that *Athalia* (as proud and cruel women are not always chaſt) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel*, her ſiſter-in-law, whoſe [f] whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her ſon; or whether ſhe had children by ſome former huſband, before ſhe was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and ſiſter to *Ahab*) certain it is that ſhe had ſons of her own, and thoſe old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to ſettle the crown upon her own children, ſhe did ſeek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if ſhe were his grand-mother, yet ſhe might miſtruſt the intereſt which his mother would have in him, leſt when he came to years it might withdraw him from her devotion. And hereof (beſides that women do commonly better love their daughters huſbands than their ſons wives) there is ſome appearance in the reign of her ſon: for ſhe made him ſpend all his time in idle journies, to no other apparent end, than that ſhe might rule at home; and he living abroad, be eſtranged from his wife, and entertain ſome new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his tutoreſs. But when the ſword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in ſunder all theſe fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to go roundly to work, and do as ſhe did, whereby ſhe thought to make all ſure. Otherwiſe, if (as I could rather think) ſhe were only ſtep-dame to *Joas*, we need not ſeek into the reaſons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cauſe enough to diſpatch him among the firſt.

[a] 2 Kings 10. 13. [b] 2 Chron. 22. 8. [c] 2 Chron. 21. 14. [d] 2 Chron. 24. 1. [e] 2 Chron. 22. 6. [f] Kings 9. 22.

SECT. VI.

A digreſſion, wherein is maintained the liberty of uſing conjecture in hiſtories.

THUS much concerning the perſon of *Joas*, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I conſider the nature of this hiſtory, and the diverſity between it and others, the leſs methinks I need to ſuſpect mine own preſumption, as deſerving blame, for curioſity in matter of doubt, or boldneſs in liberty of conjecture. For all hiſtories do give us information of human counſels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of God's will, by which all things are ordered, they ſpeak only at random, and many times falſly. This we often find in prophane writers, who aſcribe the ill ſucceſs of great undertakings to the neglect of ſome impious rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omiſſion. Hereat we may the leſs wonder, if we conſider the anſwer made by the *Jews* in *Egypt* unto *Jeremy* the prophet, reprehending their idolatry. For, howſoever the written law of God was known unto the people, and his puniſhments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they ſo obſtinately bent unto their own wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cauſe of their affliction. But they told the prophet roundly, that they would worſhip the queen of heaven, as they and their fathers, their kings and their princes had uſed to do; [a] *For then*, ſaid they, *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil:* adding that all manner of miſeries were befallen them, ſince they left off that ſervice of the *Queen of heaven*. So blind is the wiſdom of man, in looking into the counſel of God, which to find out there is no better or other guide than his own written will, not perverted by vain additions.

But this hiſtory of the kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* hath herein a ſingular prerogative above all that have been written by the moſt ſufficient of merely human authors: it ſetteth down expreſsly the true and firſt cauſes of all that happened; not imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-forwardneſs in battle, the ruin of his family to the ſecurity of *Jeroboam* in *Jezreel*, nor the victories of *Hazael* to the great commotions raiſed in *Iſrael*, by the coming in of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the will of God, I mean, to his revealed will: from which, that his hidden purpoſes do not vary, this ſtory, by many great examples, gives moſt notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of ſecond cauſes with their effects, is in theſe books nothing largely deſcribed; nor perhaps exactly in any of thoſe hiſtories that are in theſe points moſt copious. For it was well noted by that worthy gentleman [b] Sir *Philip Sidney*, that hiſtorians do borrow of poets, not only much of their ornament, but ſomewhat of their ſubſtance. Informations are often falſe, records not always true, and notorious actions commonly inſufficient to diſcover the paſſions, which did ſet them firſt on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I ſpeak of the beſt, and in that which was allowed: for to take out of *Livy* every one circumſtance of *Claudius* his journey againſt *Aſdrubal* in *Italy*, fitting all to another buſineſs, or any practice of that kind, is neither hiſtorical nor poetical) to ſearch into the particular humours of princes, and of thoſe which have governed their affections, or the inſtruments by which they wrought, from whence they do collect the moſt likely motives, or impediments of every buſineſs; and ſo figuring, as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciouſly conſider the defects in counſel, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the moſt part, is not enough to give aſſurance, howſoever it may give ſatisfaction. For the heart of man is unſearchable; and princes, howſoever their intents be ſeldom hidden from ſome of thoſe many eyes which pry both into them, and into ſuch as live about them, yet ſometimes either by their own cloſe temper, or by ſome ſubtile miſt, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themſelves lie dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat are converted to another uſe. The induſtry of an hiſtorian having ſo many things to weary it, may well be excuſed, when finding apparent cauſe enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further ſearch; tho' it often fall out, where ſundry occaſions work to the ſame end, that one ſmall matter in a weak mind is more effectual than many that ſeem far greater. So comes it many times to paſs, that great fires, which conſume whole houſes or towns, begin with a few ſtraws that are waſted or not ſeen; when the flame is diſcovered, having faſtned upon ſome wood pile, that catcheth all about it. Queſtionleſs it is, that the war commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, proceeded from a deſire of the *Perſians* to enlarge their empire: howſoever the enterprize of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noiſed abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet [c] *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton deſire of queen *Atoſſa*, to have the *Grecian* dames her bondwomen, did firſt move *Darius* to prepare for this war, before he had received any injury; and when he did not yet ſo much deſire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

I will not here ſtand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more juſtly reprehended by ſome, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and ſecret ſpeech of the queen in bed with her husband, as the cauſe of thoſe great evils following; this I may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every eſtate ſome ſufficient witneſs) that matters of much conſequence, founded in all ſeeming upon ſubſtantial reaſons, have iſſued indeed from ſuch petty trifles, as no hiſtorian would either think upon, or could well ſearch out.

Therefore it was a good anſwer that *Sixtus Quintus* the pope made to a certain friar coming to viſit him in his popedom, as having long before, in his meaner eſtate, been his familiar friend. This poor friar being emboldned by the pope to uſe his old liberty of ſpeech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was poſſible for his holineſs, whom he rather took for a direct honeſt man, than any cunning politician, to attain unto the papacy; in compaſſing of which, all the ſubtilty, ſaid he, of the moſt crafty brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the art of the conclave, and your unaptneſs thereto, the more I needs muſt wonder. Pope *Sixtus*, to ſatisfy the plain-dealing friar, dealt with him again as plainly, ſaying, Hadſt thou lived abroad as I have done, and ſeen by what folly this world is governed, thou wouldſt wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto thoſe exorbitant

[a] Jer. 44. 17, 18. [b] *Sir* Philip Sidney, *in his apology for poetry*. [c] Herod. l. 1.

engines,

engines, by which the courſe of affairs is moved. The pope ſaid true: for the wiſeſt of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more cloſely, and earneſtly, than right reaſon either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that ſupreme governor, of whoſe empire all that is true, which by the poet was ſaid of *Jupiter*:

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventoſum, & urbes, regnaque triſtia,
Divoſque, mortaleſque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-ſwoln ſtreams,
The civil cities, and th'infernal realms,
Who th'hoſt of heaven and the mortal band,
Alone doth govern by his juſt command.

Then ſhall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreſeeth all things, and all things diſpoſeth to his own honour; he neither deceiveth nor can be deceived; but continuing one and the ſame for ever, doth conſtantly govern all creatures by that law which he hath preſcribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the proſperity of the wicked is the way leading to their deſtruction: yea, this broad and headlong paſſage to hell, is not ſo delightful as it ſeemeth at the firſt entrance, but hath growing in it, beſides the poiſons which infect the ſoul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few eſcape, they have only this miſerable advantage of others, that their deſcent was the more ſwift and expedite. But the ſervice of God is the path guiding us to perfect happineſs, and hath in it a true, tho' not compleat felicity, yielding ſuch abundance of joy to the conſcience, as doth eaſily countervail all afflictions whatſoever: tho' indeed thoſe brambles that ſometimes tear the ſkin of ſuch as walk in this bleſſed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at ſuch time as they ſit down to take their eaſe, and make them wiſh themſelves at their journies end, in preſence of their Lord, whom they faithfully ſerve; in whoſe *Preſence is the fulneſs of joy, and at whoſe right hand are pleaſures for evermore*, Pſal. xvi. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and ſcope of all hiſtory, to teach by examples of times paſt, ſuch wiſdom as may guide our deſires and actions, we ſhould not marvel tho' the chronicles of the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, being written by men inſpired with the ſpirit of God, inſtruct us chiefly in that which is moſt requiſite for us to know, as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illuſtrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom*. Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by ſome prophet after the captivity, we may well believe, that the counſel of God therein, and the execution of his righteous will, ſhould have occupied either the whole, or the principal room in that narration. Yet had not the purpoſe of *Darius*, the deſire of his wife, and the buſineſs at *Sardes*, with other occurrents, been the leſs true, tho' they might have been omitted, as the leſs material: but theſe things it had been lawful for any man to gather out of prophane hiſtories, or out of circumſtances otherwiſe appearing, wherein he ſhould not have done injury to the ſacred writings, as long as he had forborn to derogate from the firſt cauſes, by aſcribing to the ſecond more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the buſineſs that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any man of judgment will tax me as either fabulous or preſumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearſeth probabilites as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprive the text, that ſeeketh to illuſtrate, and make good in human reaſon, thoſe things which authority alone, without further circumſtance, ought to have confirmed in every man's belief. And this may ſuffice in defence of the liberty which I have uſed in conjectures, and may hereafter uſe when occaſion ſhall require, as neither unlawful, nor unbeſeeming an hiſtorian.

SECT. VII.

The conſpiracy againſt Athalia.

WHEN *Athalia* had now ſix years and longer worn the crown of *Judah*, and had found neither any foreign enemy, nor domeſtical adverſary to diſturb her poſſeſſion, ſuddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedneſs meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and ſhameful death. For the growth of the young prince began to be ſuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed; and it had been very unfitting that his education ſhould be ſimple, to make him ſeem the child of ſome poor man (as for his ſafety it was requiſite) when his capacity required to have been endued with the ſtomach and qualities meet for a king. All this *Jehoiada* the prieſt conſidered, and withal the great increaſe of impiety, which taking deep root in the court, was likely to ſpread itſelf over all the country, if care were not uſed to weed it up very ſpeedily. Wherefore he aſſociated unto himſelf five of the captains, in whoſe fidelity he had beſt aſſurance, and having taken an oath of them, and ſhewed them the king's ſon, he made a covenant with them, to advance him to the kingdom. Theſe drew in others of the principal men to countenance the action, procuring at the firſt only, that they ſhould repair to *Jeruſalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perſuaſions to win them to the buſineſs: the promiſe of the Lord unto the houſe of *David* was enough to aſſure them, that the action was both lawful, and likely to ſucceed as they deſired.

But in compaſſing their intent, ſome difficulties appeared. For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they ſhould bring their purpoſe to good iſſue; neither were the captains, and other aſſociates of *Jehoiada*, able by cloſe working to draw together ſo many truſty and ſerviceable hands as would ſuffice to manage the buſineſs. To help in this caſe, the prieſt gave order to ſuch of the *Levites* as had finiſhed their courſes in waiting on the divine ſervice at the temple, and were now relieved by others that ſucceeded in their turns, that they ſhould not depart until they knew his farther pleaſure. So by admitting the new comers, and not diſcharging the old, he had, without any noiſe, made up ſuch a number as would be able to deal with the queen's ordinary guard, and that was enough; for if the tyranneſs did not prevail againſt them at the firſt brunt, the favour of the people was like to ſhew itſelf on their ſide who made head againſt her. Theſe *Levites* were placed in the inner court of the temple, about the perſon of the king, who as yet was kept cloſe; the followers of the captains, and other adherents were beſtowed in the outer courts: as for weapons, the temple itſelf had ſtore enough; king *David*,

David had left an armoury to the place, which was now employ'd to the defence of his iſſue.

All things being in a readineſs, and the day come wherein this high deſign was to be put in execution, *Jehoiada* deliver'd unto the captains armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the king's perſon, produc'd him openly, and gave unto him the crown; uſing all ceremonies accuſtomed in ſuch ſolemnities, with great applauſe of the people. Of theſe doings the queen was the laſt that heard any word; which is not ſo ſtrange as it may ſeem; for inſolent natures, by dealing outragiouſly with ſuch as bring them ill tidings, do commonly loſe the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilſt yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the ſuddenneſs, behold it in the ſhape of inevitable miſchief.

All *Jeruſalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to ſee, and the common joy was ſo great, that without apprehenſion of peril, under the windows of the court, were the people running and praiſing the king[a]. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourſe, and noiſe, of folks in the ſtreets, making towards the temple, with much unuſual paſſion in their looks, did preſently conceive, that ſomewhat worthy of her care was happened; tho' what it might be ſhe did not apprehend. Howſoever it were, ſhe meant to uſe her own wiſdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occaſion might happen to require. It may be, that ſhe thought it ſome eſpecial ſolemnity uſed in the divine ſervice, which cauſed this much ado; and hereof the unaccuſtomed number of *Levites*, and of other devout men, about the town, might give ſome preſumption.

Many things argue that ſhe little thought upon her own tragedy; altho' *Joſephus* would make it ſeem otherwiſe. For we find in the text, [b] *She came to the people into the houſe of the Lord* (which was near to her palace) and that when ſhe looked and ſaw the king ſtand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the princes, or great men of the land by him, and the trumpeters proclaiming him, ſhe rent her cloaths, and cry'd, Treaſon, Treaſon. Hereby it appears, that ſhe was quietly going, without any miſtruſt or fear, to take her place, which when ſhe found occupied by another, then ſhe began to afflict herſelf, as one caſt away, and cry'd out in vain upon the treaſon whereby ſhe ſaw that ſhe muſt periſh. But that ſhe came with a guard of armed men to the temple (as *Joſephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, ſhe entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young tyrant, I find no where in ſcripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had ſhe truly known how things went, ſhe would ſurely have gathered her friends about her, and uſed thoſe forces in defence of her crown, by which ſhe got it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that ſhe, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been meer madneſs in her to enter the place alone, when her aſſiſtants were kept out; but if ſhe, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own weapons, could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheleſs take upon her to command the death of the new king, calling a child of ſeven years old a conſpirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom ſhe ſaw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that ſhe was mad in the moſt extreme degree? Certain it is, that the counſel of God would have taken effect, in her deſtruction, had ſhe uſed the moſt likely means to diſappoint it: yet we need not ſo cut her throat with any moral impoſſibilities. It is enough to ſay, that the godly zeal of *Jehoiada* found more eaſy ſucceſs, through her indiſcretion, than otherwiſe could have been expected; ſo that at his appointment ſhe was without more ado carried out of the temple and ſlain; yea ſo, that no blood ſave her own was ſhed in that quarrel; her ſmall train, that ſhe brought along with her, not daring to ſtand in her defence.

SECT. VIII.

The death of Athalia, *with a compariſon of her and* Jezabel.

MOST like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the raſhneſs of her nephew *Jehoram* the *Iſraelite*, who did fooliſhly caſt himſelf into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, only through his eager deſire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet ſhe herſelf, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived ſuch a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a ſuitable death. Theſe two queens were in many points much alike, each of them was daughter, wife, and mother to a king; each of them ruled her husband; was an idolatreſs, and a murdereſs. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: ſo that each of them ſurviving her huſband about eight years, did ſpend the time in ſatisfying her own affections; the one uſing tyranny, as the exerciſe of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaſt body. In the manner of their death, little difference there was, or in thoſe things which may ſeem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the ſudden by conſpirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the treaſon, received ſentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her ſubjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horſes; *Athalia* ſlain at her own horſe-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (tho' not much) the more leiſure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel*, the more indignity, and ſhame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by dogs, as the Lord had threatened by the prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that ſhe was buried, as having not perſecuted and ſlain the Lord's prophets, but ſuffered the prieſts to exerciſe their function; yet of her burial their is no monument; for ſhe was a church-robber. The ſervice of *Baal*, erected by theſe two queens, was deſtroy'd as ſoon as they were gone; and their chaplains, the prieſts of that religion, ſlain. Herein alſo it came to paſs alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the kings who ſlew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the ſame hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who ſeems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* periſh'd in few days after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; ſhe had ſons living after ſhe was queen; of whom,

[a] 2 Chron. 23. 12. [b] 2 Chron. 23. 12, 13. 2 Kings 11. 13, 14.

or

or of any other, that they were ſlain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy conſideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jeruſalem*, when their mother fell, their death would ſurely have follow'd hers as nearly, and been regiſtred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the prieſt of *Baal*. That law by which [a] *God forbad that the children ſhould die for the fathers*, could not have ſaved theſe ungracious imps, whom the clauſe following would have cut off, which commands, that every man ſhall die for his own ſin. Seeing therefore that they had been profeſſors and advancers of that vile and idolatrous worſhip of *Baal*, yea, had robb'd the temple of the Lord, and inrich'd the houſe of *Baal* with the ſpoil of it; likely it is, that they ſhould not have eſcap'd with life, if *Jehoiada* the prieſt could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cauſe enough requiring their death, ſo the ſecurity of the king and his friends, that is, of all the land, crav'd as much, and that very earneſtly. For theſe had been eſteem'd as heirs of their mother's crown, and being reckon'd as her aſſiſtants in that particular buſineſs of robbing the temple, may be thought to have carried a great ſway in other matters, as princes and fellows with their mother in the kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in the wars againſt *Jehu*) abſent from *Jeruſalem*; whereby *Jehoiada* might with the more confidence, adventure to take arms againſt their mother, that was deſolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Joas *and* Amaſia, *with their contemporaries; where ſomewhat of the building of* Carthage.

SECT. I.

Of Joas's *doings whilſt* Jehoiada *the prieſt lived.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietneſs; wherein *Joas* a child of ſeven years old or thereabout, began his reign, which continu'd almoſt forty years. During his minority, he liv'd under the protection of that honourable man *Jehoiada* the prieſt, who did as faithfully govern the kingdom, as he had before carefully preſerv'd the king's life, and reſtor'd him unto the throne of his anceſtors. When he came to man's eſtate, he took by appointment of *Jehoiada* two wives, and begat ſons and daughters, repairing the family of *David* which was almoſt worn out. The firſt act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a protector, was the reparation of the temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, thro' the wickedneſs of ungodly tyrants; and requiſite it was that he ſhould uphold the temple, whom the temple had upheld. This buſineſs he follow'd with ſo earneſt a zeal, that not only the *Levites* were more ſlack than he, but even *Jehoiada* was fain to be quicken'd by his admonition. Money was gather'd for the charges of the work, partly out of the tax impos'd by [b] *Moſes*, partly out of the liberality of the people: who gave ſo freely, that the temple, beſides all reparations, was enrich'd with veſſels of gold and ſilver, and with all other utenſils. The ſacrifices likewiſe were offer'd, as under godly kings they had been, and the ſervice of God was magnificently celebrated.

SECT. II.

The death of Jehoiada, *and apoſtacy of* Joas.

BUT this endured no longer than the life of *Jehoiada* the prieſt: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, died before his country could have ſpared him. He was buried among the kings of *Juda*, as he well deſerv'd, having preſerved the race of them, and reſtor'd the true religion, which the late princes of that houſe, by attempting to eradicate, fail'd but a little of rooting up themſelves, and all their iſſue. Yet this honourable funeral ſeems to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being ſaid, *They buried him in the city of* David. As for the king himſelf, who did owe to him no leſs than his crown and life, he is not likely to have been author of it, ſeeing that he was as eaſily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been diſcharg'd of ſome heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehoiada*, when the princes of *Juda* began to flatter their king, he ſoon forgot, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old counſellor, but alſo the good precepts which he had received from him, yea, and God himſelf, the author of all goodneſs. Theſe princes drew him to the worſhip of idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had ſo infected the country, in 15 or 16 years; that 30 years, or thereabouts, of the reign of *Joas*, wherein the true religion was exerciſed, were not able to clear it from that miſchief. The king himſelf, when once he was entred into theſe courſes, ran on headlong, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to deſpiſe the ſervice of God; and a manifeſt proof of his being now king indeed, that he regarded no longer the four admonitions of devout prieſts. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an actor upon the ſtage, he had ſtriven to expreſs much more lively affection, than they could ſhew, that were indeed religious.

SECT. III.

The cauſes and time of the Syrians *invading* Juda *in the days of* Joas.

BUT God, from whom he was broken looſe, gave him over into the hands of men, that would not eaſily be ſhaken off. *Hazael*, king of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a town of the *Philiſtines*, addreſs'd himſelf towards *Jeruſalem*, whither the little diſtance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an army hearten'd by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition car'd for pretences) it was enough, that the kings of *Juda* had aſſiſted the *Iſraelites*, in their enterpriſes upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want ſome further inſtigation. For if the kingdom of *Juda* had moleſted the *Aramites*, in the time of his predeceſſor, this was throughly recompenſed, by forbearing to ſuccour *Iſrael*, and leaving the ten tribes in their extream miſery, to the fury of *Hazael* himſelf. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* ſhould have gone about to awake a ſleeping dog, and ſtir up againſt himſelf a powerful enemy, before he had aſſured the conqueſt of *Iſrael*, that lay between *Jeruſalem* and his own kingdom, if ſome opportunity had not promiſed ſuch eaſy and good ſucceſs, as

[a] Deut. 24. 16. [b] 2 Chron. 24.

might rather advance, than, any way disturb, his future proceedings against the ten tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sons of *Athalia*, mention'd before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expell'd their countries usually do) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the war between him and *Israel*, but to join all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jehu*'s posterity, who, like a bloody traitor, had utterly destroy'd all the kindred of the queen's, their mother, even the whole house of *Ahab*, to which he was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the kingdom of *Juda*. Howsoever it were, we find it plainly, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore [a] *took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord*, or in his own house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (questionless) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this, for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which, belonging to the living God, remain'd a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the 37th year of *Joas*, which was the 15th of *Jehoahaz*, he made this purchase; but in the same, or the very next year, he died, leaving all that he had unto his son *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prosper'd none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael* is, by some, confounded with that war of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mention'd in the 2d book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledg'd by them that hold the contrary opinion, do forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without bloodshed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battel, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his princes, and hardly escap'd with life: in the one, *Hazael* himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the king of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have then been the son of *Hazael*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first army came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the king of *Juda*; the second was a [b] *small company of men*, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having *a very great army*.

Now concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jehoiada* the priest, because that story is joined unto the restauration of the temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jehoiada* had been afterwards mention'd in that place of the 2d book of *Kings*, or if the apostacy of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had follow'd in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Josias* that godly king, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgments upon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithal, which are join'd together, were used [c] *in the house of the Lord continually, all the days of Jehoiada*; soon after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the 36th or 37th year of this *Joas*'s reign, the king falling away from the God of his father, became a foul idolater.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the suffering of the blessed martyrs ([d] *the death of the saints being precious in the sight of the Lord*) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even, and more strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedness be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not only continue an obstinate idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had striven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villainous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous tyrants should indure to imitate.

SECT. IV.

How Zacharia *was murdered by* Joas.

SUndry prophets having labour'd in vain to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia*, the son of *Jehoiada* the priest, was stirred up at length by the spirit of God to admonish them of their wickedness, and made them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so honourable, and son to a man so exceeding beloved in his life time, and reverenced, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: on the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne unto the king, and the unrecountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have plac'd *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea, tho' he had been otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appears that brings it. But this king *Joas* having already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such prophets as first were sent, did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandman in that parable of our Saviour dealt with the heir of the vineyard; who said, [e] *This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute commander, supposing belike that he was no free prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that man's deserving were, that did so, yea, though God's commandment requir'd it. So they conspired against this holy prophet, and ston'd him to death at the king's appointment; but whether by any form of open law, as was practised upon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I do neither read nor conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes

[a] 2 Kings 12. 18. [b] 2 Chron. 24. 24. [c] 2 Chron. 24. 14. [d] Psal. 115. 15. [e] Luke 20. 14.

it

it probable, that they durſt not call him into publick judgment; though the manner of his death, being ſuch as was commonly, and by order of law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Moſt likely it is, that the king's commandment, by which he ſuffered, took place in ſtead of law: which exerciſe of mere power (as hath been already noted) was nothing ſtrange among the kings of *Juda*.

SECT. V.

How Joas *was ſhamefully beaten by the* Aramites, *and of his death.*

THIS odious murder, committed by an unthankful ſnake upon the man in whoſe boſom he had been foſtered, as of itſelf alone it ſufficed to make the wretched tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory deteſted in all ages; ſo had it the well-deſerved curſe of the bleſſed martyr, to accompany it unto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down ſwiftly and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monſter. It was the laſt year of his reign; the end of his time coming then upon him, when he thought himſelf beginning to live how he liſted, without controulment. When that year was expired, the *Aramites* came into the country, rather as may ſeem to get pillage, than to perform any great action; for they [a] *came with a ſmall company of men*; but God had intended to do more by them than they themſelves did hope for.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloody malice againſt his beſt friend is, in my judgment, proof ſufficient: though otherwiſe his baſe compoſition with *Hazael*, when he might have levied (as his ſon after him did muſter) three hundred thouſand choſen men for the war, doth well enough ſhew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how ſtout of diſpoſition their king was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of rovers, he took a very great army; ſo that wiſe men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making ſhew as if he would fight for his country, and expoſe his perſon to danger of war, when as indeed all was meer oſtentation, and no peril to be feared; he going forth ſo ſtrongly appointed, againſt ſo weak enemies. Thus might wiſe men think, and laugh at him in ſecret, conſidering what ado he made about that, which in all apparent reaſon was (as they ſay) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs, did laugh, not only at this vain-glorious king, but at them that thought their king ſecure, by reaſon of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and king *Joas* met, whether it were by ſome folly of the leaders, or by ſome amazement happening among the ſoldiers, or by whatſoever means it pleaſed God to work, ſo it was, that that great army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the princes were deſtroyed: the princes of *Juda*, at whoſe perſuaſion the king had become a rebel to the King of kings. As for *Joas* himſelf (as *Abulenſis* and others expound the ſtory) he was ſorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and ſhamefully tormented, to wring out of him an exceſſive ranſom.

And ſurely all circumſtances do greatly ſtrengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old tranſlation) ſaith, they exerciſed upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they diſmiſſed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favouredly. Now at that time, *Joas* the ſon of *Jehoahaz* reigned over *Iſrael*, and *Benhadad* the ſon of *Hazael* over the *Syrians* in *Damaſcus*; the one a valiant undertaking prince, raiſed up by God to reſtore the ſtate of his miſerable country; the other inferior every way to his father, of whoſe purchaſes he loſt a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between theſe two princes, promiſing no other event than ſuch as after followed, might have given to the king of *Juda* good cauſe to be bold, and pluck up his ſpirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been againſt him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehenſion of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* king in hope, that by terrifying him with ſome ſhew of war at his doors, it were eaſy to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good ſucceſs hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unexpected) ill ſucceſs, which the *Aramites* found in their following wars againſt the king of *Iſrael*, ſheweth plainly the weakneſs of all earthly might reſiſting the power of the Almighty. For by his ordinance, both the kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty years time of gathering ſtrength, was unable to drive out a ſmall company of enemies; and the kingdom of *Iſrael*, having ſo been trodden down by *Hazael*, that only fifty horſemen, ten chariots, and ten thouſand footmen were left, prevailed againſt his ſon, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found, and therefore I will not inſiſt upon this; though indeed we ſhould not, if we be God's children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Father's honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they liſted, and ſaw that they were not able, being ſo few, to take any poſſeſſion of the country, they departed out of *Juda* loaden with ſpoil, which they ſent to *Damaſcus*, themſelves belike falling upon the ten tribes, where it is to be thought that they ſped not half ſo well. The king of *Juda* being in ill caſe, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the ſons of an *Ammoniteſs*, and of a *Moabiteſs*, whom ſome (becauſe only their mothers names, being ſtrangers, are expreſſed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, leſt (as tyrants uſe) he ſhould revenge his diſaſter upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatſoever elſe it were that animated them to murder their king; the ſcripture tells us plainly, that [b] *for the blood of the children of Jehoiada* this befell him. And the ſame appears to have been uſed as the pretence of their conſpiracy, in excuſe of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Joas*, durſt not puniſh them, till his kingdom was eſtabliſhed; but contrariwiſe, his body was judged unworthy of burial in the ſepulchres of the kings; whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* cauſed the treaſon, wrought againſt the king, to find more approbation than was requiſite among the people, though afterwards it was recompenſed by his ſon, upon the traytors, with well-deſerved death.

[a] 2 Chron. 24. 24.

[b] 2 Chron. 24. 25.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Of the princes living in the time of Joas: *Of the time when* Carthage *was built*; *and of* Dido.

THERE lived with *Joas*, *Mezades* and *Dignetus* in *Athens*; *Eudemus* and *Ariſtomedes* in *Corinth:* about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Alladius*, were kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty-ſeventh king ſucceeding unto *Ophratanes*, began his reign over the *Aſſyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which laſted forty-two years. In the ſixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Seſac*, ſucceeded unto *Cheops* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas* was likewiſe the reign of *Pygmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which city is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, ſome reporting it to be ſeventy years younger than *Rome*, others above four hundred years elder, few or none of them giving any reaſon of their aſſertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: [a] *Joſephus*, who had read the annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight months from the building of *Solomon*'s temple, in the twelfth year of *Hyram* king of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the ſeventh of *Pygmalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Joſephus*) are very perplexed, and ſerve not very well to make clear the total ſum. But whether it were ſo that *Joſephus* did omit, or elſe that he did miſ-write ſome number of the years, which he reckoneth in fractions, as they were divided among the kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pygmalion*; we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whoſe books he gives us the whole ſum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other, than the memory of three or four generations might eaſily reach. This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Solomon*'s temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*, and after the deſtruction of *Troy* two hundred eighty and nine: a time ſo long after the death of *Æneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Auſonius* noteth, who doth honour her ſtatue with this epigram.

[b] *Illa ego ſum Dido vultu quam conſpicis hoſpes,*
Aſſimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis eram, ſed non Maro quam mihi finxit, erat mens,
Vita nec inceſtis læta cupidinibus.
(*Namque nec Æneas vidit me Troius unquam,*
Nec Libyam advenit, claſſibus Iliacis:
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbæ,
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo, caſtos quod pertulit enſes:)
Non furor, aut læſo crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidiſſe juvat: vixi ſine vulnere famæ,
Ulta virum, poſitis mœnibus oppetii.
Invida cur in me ſtimulâſti Muſa Maronem,
Fingeret ut noſtræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis hiſtoricis, lectores, credite de me,
Quam qui furta deûm concubituſque canunt.
Falſidici vates, temerant qui carmine verum,
Humaniſque deos aſſimulant vitiis.

Which in effect is this:

I am that *Dido* which thou here do'ſt ſee,
Cunnningly framed in beauteous imag'ry.
Like this I was, but had not ſuch a ſcul,
As *Maro* feign'd, inceſtuous and foul.
Æneas never with his *Trojan* hoſt
Beheld my face, or landed on this coaſt:
But flying proud *Iarba*'s villany,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealouſy,
I did with weapon chaſt, to ſave my fame,
Make way for death untimely, e're it came.
This was my end; but firſt I built a town,
Reveng'd my husband's death, liv'd with renown.
Why did'ſt thou ſtir up *Virgil*, envious Muſe,
Falſely my name and honour to abuſe?
Readers, believe hiſtorians; not thoſe
Which to the world *Jove*'s thefts and vice expoſe.
Poets are liars, and for verſes ſake
Will make the gods of human crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the firſt *Punic* war, that *Carthage* grew and flouriſhed in wealth and conqueſts, we find in many hiſtories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affairs before that war, excepting thoſe few things that are recorded of their attempts upon the iſle of *Sicily*. We will therefore defer the relation of matters concerning that mighty city, until ſuch time as they ſhall encounter with the eſtate of *Rome*, by which it was finally deſtroyed; and proſecute in the mean while the hiſtory that is now in hand.

SECT. VII.

The beginning of Amazia's *reign. Of* Joas *king of* Iſrael, *and* Eliſha *the prophet.*

AMAZIA, the ſon of *Joas*, being twenty-five years old when his father died, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Juda*, wherein he labour'd ſo to demean himſelf, as his new beginning reign might be leaſt offenſive. The law of *Moſes* he profeſſed to obſerve; which howſoever it had been ſecretly deſpiſed ſince the time of *Jehoram*, by many great perſons of the land, yet had it, by proviſion of good princes, yea and of bad ones (in their beſt times) imitating the good, but eſpecially by the care of holy prieſts, taken ſuch deep root in the people's hearts, that no king might hope to be very plauſible, who did not conform himſelf unto it. And at that preſent time, the ſlaughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the princes, who had withdrawn the late king from the ſervice of God, being ſeconded by the death of the king himſelf, even whilſt that execrable murder, committed by the king upon *Zecharia*, was yet freſh in memory, did ſerve as a notable example of God's juſtice againſt idolaters, both to animate the better ſort of the people in holding the religion of their fathers, and to diſcourage *Amazia* from following the way which led to ſuch an evil end. He therefore, having learn'd of his father the art of diſſimulation, did not only forbear to puniſh the traytors that had ſlain king *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and ſuffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been, in the city of *David*, yet not among the ſepulchres of the kings of *Juda*. Nevertheleſs after this, when (belike) the noiſe of the people having wearied itſelf into ſilence, it was found that the conſpirators (howſoever their deed done was applauded as the handy work of GOD) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor

[a] Joſeph. cont. App. lib. 1. [b] Auſon. Ep. 117.

ſtrong

ſtrong maintainers of their perſons; but reſted ſecure, as having done well, ſeeing it was not ill taken; the king, who perceived his government well eſtabliſhed, called them into queſtion, at ſuch a time, as the heat of mens affections, being well allayed, it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh between their treaſons and God's judgments, which, by their treaſons, had taken plauſible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the law did require) were ſuffered to live; which could not but give contentment to the people, ſeeing that their king did the office of a juſt prince, rather than of a revenging ſon. This being done, and his own life better ſecured, by ſuch exemplary juſtice, againſt the like attempts; *Amazia* carried himſelf outwardly as a prince well affected to religion, and ſo continued in reſt, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amazia* gathered ſtrength in *Judah* by the commodity of a long peace, ſo *Joas* the *Iſraelite*, grew as faſt in power, by following the war hotly againſt the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate prince, yet an idolater, as his predeceſſors had been, worſhipping the calves of *Jeroboam*. For this ſin had God ſo plagued the houſe of *Jehu*, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly conſumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his ſon *Jehoahaz*. But as God's benefits to *Jehu* ſufficed not to withdraw him from this politick idolatry; ſo were the miſeries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the ſame impious courſe: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Iſrael*, condeſcended unto the prayers of this ungodly prince, even then when he and his miſerable ſubjects were obſtinate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters, the ten tribes recovered apace, but the favour of God, which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they ſought; that they had it not, I find in the words of the prophet, ſaying plainly to *Amazia*, [a] *The Lord is not with Iſrael, neither with all the houſe of Ephraim.*

Whether it were ſo, that the great prophet *Eliſha*, who lived in thoſe times, did foretell the proſperity of the *Iſraelites* under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long adverſity, thought it the wiſeſt way to diſcharge himſelf in part of the heavy cares attending thoſe unhappy *Syrian* wars, by laying the burden upon his hopeful ſon; we find, [b] *That in the thirty-ſeventh year of Joas, king of Judah, Joas the ſon of Jehoahaz began to reign over Iſrael in Samaria*, which was in the fifteenth year of his father's reign, and ſome two or three years before his death.

It appears that this young prince, even from the beginning of his rule, did ſo well husband that poor ſtock which he received from his father, of ten chariots, fifty horſemen, and ten thouſand foot, that he might ſeem likely to prove a thriver. Among other circumſtances, the words which he ſpake to *Eliſha* the prophet, argue no leſs. For *Joas* viſiting the prophet, who lay ſick, ſpake unto him thus; [c] *O my father, my father, the chariots of Iſrael, and the horſemen of the ſame*; by which manner of ſpeech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had ſtood his kingdom in more ſtead, than all the horſes and chariots could do.

This prophet, who ſucceeded unto *Elias*, about the firſt year of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Ahab* king of *Iſrael*, died (as ſome have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the nephew of *Jehu*. To ſhew how the ſpirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did reſt upon him; it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raiſe a dead child unto life, as *Elias* had done; but when he himſelf was dead, it pleaſed God that his dead bones ſhould reſtore life unto a carcaſe, which touched them in the grave. In fine, he beſtowed, as a legacy, three victories upon king *Joas*, who thereby did ſet *Iſrael* in a fair way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had uſurped, and weakening the kings of *Damaſcus* in ſuch ſort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

SECT. VIII.

Of Amazia's *war againſt* Edom; *his apoſtacy; and overthrow by* Joas.

THE happy ſucceſs which *Joas* had found in his war againſt the *Aramites*, was ſuch as might kindle in *Amazia* a deſire of undertaking ſome expedition, wherein himſelf might purchaſe the like honour. His kingdom could furniſh three hundred thouſand ſerviceable men for the wars; and his treaſure was ſufficient for the payment of theſe and the hire of many more. Cauſe of war he had very juſt againſt the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grandfather *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed; partly by reaſon of the troubles happening in *Judah*, partly thro' the ſloth and timorouſneſs of his father *Joas*. Yet, foraſmuch as the men of *Judah* had in many years been without all exerciſe of war (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wiſdom to encreaſe his forces, with ſoldiers waged out of *Iſrael*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of ſilver, [d] *an hundred thouſand valiant men*, as the ſcripture telleth us, tho' [e] *Joſephus* diminiſhes the number, ſaying, that they were but twenty thouſand.

This great army, which with ſo much coſt *Amazia* had hired out of *Iſrael*, he was fain to diſmiſs, before he had employed it, being threatned by a prophet with ill ſucceſs, if he ſtrengthned himſelf with the help of thoſe men, whom God (tho' in mercy he gave them victory againſt the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, becauſe they were idolaters. The *Iſraelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diſmiſſion, as an high diſgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Judah* in their return, and ſhewed their malice in the ſlaughter of three thouſand men, and ſome ſpoil, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his own forces, knowing that God would be aſſiſtant to their journey, entered courageouſly into the *Edomites* country; over whom obtaining victory, he ſlew ten thouſand, and took other ten thouſand priſoners, all which he threw from an high rock; holding them, it ſeems, rather as traitors, than as juſt enemies. This victory did not ſeem to reduce *Edom* under the ſubjection of the crown of *Judah*, which might be the cauſe of that ſeverity, which was uſed to the priſoners; the *Edomites* that had eſcaped, refuſing to buy the lives of their friends and kinſmen at ſo dear a rate, as the loſs of their own liberty. Some towns in mount *Seir*, *Amazia* took, as appears by his carrying away the idols thence; but it is like they were the places moſt indefenſible, in that he left no garriſons there, whereby he might another year the better have purſued the conqueſt of the whole country. Howſoever it were, he got both honour

[a] 2 Chron. 25. 7. [b] 2 Kings 13. 10. [c] 2 Kings 13. 14. [d] 2 Chron. 25. 6. [e] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. 9. cap. 10.

by the journey, and gains enough, had he not loſt himſelf.

Among other ſpoils of the *Edomites*, were carried away their gods, which being vanquiſhed and taken priſoners, did deſerve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwiſe, I know not by what ſtrange witchcraft, ſo beſotted this unworthy king *Amazia*, [a] *That he ſet them up to be his gods, and worſhipped them, and burnt incenſe unto them.*

When he was rebuked for this by a prophet ſent from God, he gave a churliſh and threatning anſwer; asking the prophet, Who made him a counſellor, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worſt. If either the coſtly ſtuff whereof theſe idols were made, or the curious workmanſhip and beauty with which they were adorned by artificers, had raviſhed the king's fancy, methinks he ſhould have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as houſhold ornaments and things of pleaſure, than thereby have ſuffered himſelf to be blinded with ſuch unreaſonable devotion towards them. If the ſuperſtitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his imagination; much more ſhould the bad ſervice which they had done to their old clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites* and them. Wherefore it ſeems to me, that the ſame affections carried him from God unto the ſervice of idols, which afterwards moved him to talk ſo roughly to the prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a prophet, and ſent ſuch auxiliary forces as he had gathered out of *Iſrael*; which done, it is ſaid, that he [b] *was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather aſſiſt him by miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his heart's deſire. But with better reaſon he ſhould have limited his deſires by the will of God, whoſe pleaſure it was, that *Eſau*, having broken the yoke of *Jacob* from his neck, accordingly as *Iſaac* had foretold, ſhould no more become his ſervant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to re-conquer all the country of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet ſo, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contented him.

But there is a fooliſh and a wretched pride, wherewith men being tranſported, can ill endure to aſcribe unto God the honour of thoſe actions, in which it hath pleaſed him to uſe their own induſtry, courage or foreſight. Therefore it is commonly ſeen, that they, who entring into battle, are careful to pray for aid from heaven, with due acknowledgment of his power who is the giver of victory; when the field is won, do vaunt of their own exploits: one telling how he got ſuch a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to ſuch a battalion; a third, how he ſeized on the enemies cannon; every one ſtriving to magnify himſelf, whilſt all forget God, as one that had not been preſent in the action. To aſcribe to fortune the effects of another man's virtue, is, I confeſs, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he, which findeth better ſucceſs, than he did, or in reaſon might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the author of his happineſs; ſo he, whoſe mere wiſdom and labour hath brought things to a proſperous iſſue, is doubly bound to ſhew himſelf thankful, both for the victory, and for thoſe virtues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed ſo far from weakneſs is the nature of ſuch thankſgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no virtue being ſo truly heroical, as that by which the ſpirit of man advanceth it ſelf with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which ſenſe it is a brave ſpeech that *Evander* in *Virgil* uſeth to *Æneas*, none but a Chriſtian being capable of the admonition.

Aude hoſpes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this philoſophy *Amaziah* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had ſhewed himſelf a better man of war than any king of *Juda*, ſince the time of *Jeboſhaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people ſhould think him little inferior to *David*: of which honour he ſaw no reaſon why the prophets ſhould rob him, who had made him loſe an hundred talents, and done him no pleaſure, he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was diſtempered with ſuch vain thoughts as theſe (beſides the witneſs of his impiety following) [c] *Joſephus* doth teſtify, ſaying, That he deſpiſed God, and that being puff'd up with his good ſucceſs, of which nevertheleſs he would not acknowledge God to be the author, he commanded *Joas* king of *Iſrael* to become his ſubject, and to let the ten tribes acknowledge him their ſoveraign, as they had done his anceſtors king *David* and king *Solomon*. Some think that his quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Iſraelites*, whom he diſmiſſed in the journey againſt mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the ſenſe of a late wrong had more power to ſtir him up, than the remembrance of an old title forgotten long ſince, and by himſelf neglected thirteen or fourteen years. Nevertheleſs it might ſo be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would alſo call old matters into queſtion; that ſo the kings of *Iſrael* might, at the leaſt, learn to keep their ſubjects from offending *Judah*, for fear of endangering their own crowns. Had *Amazia* deſired only recompence for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he ſhould have had ſome reaſonable anſwer from *Joas*, who was not deſirous to fight with them. But the anſwer which *Joas* returned, likening himſelf to a cedar, and *Amazia* in reſpect of him no better than a thiſtle, ſhews that the challenge was made in inſolent terms, ſtuffed perhaps with ſuch proud compariſon of nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Joſephus* hath written) between a king of ancient race, and one of leſs nobility than virtue.

It is by [d] *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the war of *Troy*, his father had bid him to be valiant, and get victory by God's aſſiſtance, he made anſwer, that by God's aſſiſtance, a coward could get victory, but he would get it alone without ſuch help; after which proud ſpeech, tho' he did many valiant acts, he had ſmall thanks, and finally killing himſelf in a madneſs, whereinto he fell upon diſgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of burial. That *Amaziah* did utter ſuch words, I do not find: but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of ſuch words, he was rewarded with ſucceſs according. The very firſt council wherein this war was concluded, ſerves to prove that he was a wiſe prince indeed at *Jeruſalem*, among his paraſites; but a fool when he had to deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak people, truſting more in the ſite of their country, than the valour of their

[a] 2 Chron. 25. 14. [b] 2 Chron. 25. 11. [c] Joſeph. Ant. l. 9. c. 10. [d] Sophocles in Ajace Lon.

ſoldiers;

ſoldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from ſo poor beginnings had raiſed himſelf to ſuch ſtrength, that he was able to lend his friend an hundred thouſand men, and had all his nation exerciſed, and trained up, in a long victorious war. But as *Amazia* diſcover'd much want of judgment, in undertaking ſuch a match; ſo in proſecuting the buſineſs, when it was ſet on foot, he behaved himſelf as a man of little experience, who having once only tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in war there was nothing elſe to do, than ſend a defiance, fight, and win. *Joas*, on the contrary ſide, having been accuſtom'd to deal with a ſtronger enemy than the king of *Juda*, uſed that celerity, which peradventure had often ſtood him in good ſtead againſt the *Aramite*. He did not ſit waiting till the enemies broke in and waſted his country, but preſented himſelf with an army in *Juda*, ready to bid battel to *Amazia*, and ſave him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly diſcourage thoſe of *Juda*; who (beſides the impreſſion of fear which an invaſion beats into people, not inur'd to the like) having devour'd, in their greedy hopes, the ſpoil of *Iſrael*, fully perſuading themſelves to get as much, and at as eaſy a rate, as in the journey of *Edom*, were ſo far diſappointed of their expectation, that well they might ſuſpect all new aſſurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. Notwithſtanding all this, their king that had ſtomach enough to challenge the patrimony of *Solomon*, thought like another *David*, to win it by the ſword. The iſſue of which fool-hardineſs might eaſily have been foreſeen in human reaſon; comparing together, either the two kings, or the quality of their armies, or the firſt and ominous beginning of the war. But meer human wiſdom, howſoever it might foreſee much, could not have prognoſticated all the miſchief that fell upon *Amazia*. For as ſoon as the two armies came in ſight, God, whoſe help this wretched man had ſo deſpiſed, did (as [a] *Joſephus* reports it) ſtrike ſuch terror and amazement into the men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their king to ſhift for himſelf, which he did ſo ill, that his enemy had ſoon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into moſt abject baſeneſs. That the army which fled, ſuſtained any other loſs than of honour, I neither find in the ſcriptures, nor in *Joſephus*; it being likely that the ſoon beginning of their flight, which made it the more ſhameful, made it alſo the more ſafe. But of the miſchief that follow'd this overthrow, it was God's will that *Amazia* himſelf ſhould ſuſtain the whole diſgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jeruſalem*, where he bad him procure that the gates might be open'd, to let him in and his army; threatning him otherwiſe with preſent death. So much amaz'd was the miſerable captive, with theſe dreadful words, that he durſt do no other, than perſuade the citizens to yield themſelves to the mercy of the conqueror. The town, which afterwards being in weaker ſtate held out two years againſt *Nebuchadnezzer*, was utterly diſmay'd, when the king, that ſhould have given his life to ſave it, uſed all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Jeruſalem* were open'd to *Joas*, with which honour (greater than any king of *Iſrael* had ever obtained) he could not reſt contented, but, the more to deſpight *Amazia* and his people, he cauſed four hundred cubits of the wall to be thrown down, and entred the city in his chariot through that breach, carrying the king before him, as in triumph. This done, he ſack'd the temple, and the king's palace, and ſo, taking hoſtages of *Amazia*, he diſmiſſed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

SECT. IX.

A diſcourſe of the reaſons hindering Joas *from uniting* Juda *to the crown of* Iſrael, *when he had won* Jeruſalem, *and held* Amazia *priſoner. The end of* Joas's *reign.*

WE may juſtly marvel how it came to paſs, that *Joas*, being thus in poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, having the king in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be ſo contented to depart quietly, with a little ſpoil, when he might have ſeiz'd upon the whole kingdom. The reign of *Athalia* had given him cauſe to hope, that the iſſue of *David* might be diſpoſſeſſed of that crown; his own nobility, being the ſon and grandchild of kings, together with the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* think highly of him; who might alſo have prefer'd his form of government before that of their own king's, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when a long ſucceſſion of wicked princes had ſmothered the thanks, which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have enſu'd, upon the union of all the twelve tribes, under one prince, is ſo apparent, that I need not to inſiſt on it. That any meſſage from God forbad the *Iſraelites* (as afterwards in the victory which *Peka* the ſon of *Romelia* got upon *Ahaz*) to turn his preſent advantage to the beſt uſe, we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to reſolve the queſtion, why a prince ſo well exerciſed, as *Joas* had been, in recovering his own, and winning from his enemy, ſhould forſake the poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, and wilfully neglect the poſſibilities, or rather caſt away the full aſſurance of ſo fair a conqueſt, as the kingdom of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been moſt material, I mean the deſire of the vanquiſhed people to accept the *Iſraelite* for their king, it is plainly ſeen, that entring *Jeruſalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own poſterity. For the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him not only into the city, but into the royal throne; and the people's hearts, whom by fair intreaty (eſpecially having ſure means of compulſion) he might have made his own, when they ſaw themſelves betray'd, and baſely given away by him whoſe they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity preſented he did not aim at, becauſe his ambition was otherwiſe and more meanly buſied, in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entring as an enemy, and ſhewing what he could do, by ſpending his anger upon the walls, he had within the city done offices of a friend, and labour'd to ſhew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his covetouſneſs began and ſought to pleaſe it ſelf, with that which is commonly moſt ready to the ſpoiler, yet ſhould be moſt forborn. The treaſure wherewith *Seſac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philiſtines*, men ignorant of the true God and his religion, had quench'd their greedy thirſt, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who, tho' an idolater, yet acknowledg'd alſo and worſhipped the eternal God, whoſe temple was at

[a] Joſ. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

Jeruſalem.

Jeruſalem. Therefore when the people ſaw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the conſecrated veſſels, calling the family of [a] *Obed Edom* (*whoſe children had hereditary charge of the treaſury*) to a ſtrict account, as if they had been officers of his own exchequer, they conſidered him rather as an execrable church-robber, than as a noble prince, an *Iſraelite* and their brother, tho' of another tribe. Thus following that courſe, which the moſt virtuous king of our age (taxing it with the ſame phraſe) hath wiſely avoided; by ſtealing a few apples, he loſt the inheritance of the whole orchard. The people deteſted him, and after the reſpite of a few days, might by comparing themſelves one to one, perceive his ſoldiers to be no better than men of their own mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of ſo great a city. It is not ſo eaſy to hold by force a mighty town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates open'd by unadviſed fear. For when the citizens, not being diſarmed, recover their ſpirits, and begin to underſtand their firſt error; they will think upon every advantage, of place, of proviſions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-ſtones, and rather chooſe by deſperate reſolution, to correct the evils grown out of their former cowardiſe, than ſuffer thoſe miſchiefs to poiſon the body, which in ſuch half-conqueſts, are eaſily taſted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be deſired, than the city of *Florence*, which through the weakneſs of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a prince, was reduced into ſuch hard terms, that it opened the gates unto the *French* king *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly profeſſing himſelf either friend or foe to the ſtate, entered the town with his army, in triumphant manner, himſelf and his horſe armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many inſolencies were therein committed by the *French*, and much argument of quarrel miniſtred, between them and the townſmen: ſo far forth, that the *Florentines*, to preſerve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge ſums of ready money, and the abſolute ſeignory of the ſtate, as conquered by him, who entred the city in arms. But *Peter Caponi*, a principal citizen, catching theſe articles from the king's ſecretary, and tearing them before his face, bid him ſound his trumpets, and they would ring their bells: which peremptory words made the *French* bethink themſelves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thouſand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* ſhould not only depart in peace, but reſtore whatſoever he had of their dominion, and continue their aſſured friend. So dangerous a matter did it ſeem for that brave army, which in few months after won the kingdom of *Naples*, to fight in the ſtreets, againſt the armed multitude of that populous city. It is true, that *Charles* had other buſineſs (and ſo perhaps had *Joas*, as ſhall anon be ſhewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehenſion of imminent danger that made him come to reaſon. In ſuch caſes the firing of houſes uſually draws every citizen to ſave his own, leaving victory to the ſoldier: yet where the people are prepar'd and reſolv'd, women can quench, as faſt as the enemy, having other things to look unto, can ſet on fire. And indeed that commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit, who, upon the uncertain hope of deſtroying a town, forſakes the aſſurance of a good compoſition. Diverſity of circumſtance may alter the caſe: it is enough to ſay, that it might be in *Jeruſalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How ſtrongly ſoever *Joas* might hold himſelf within *Jeruſalem*, he could not eaſily depart from thence, with his booty ſafe, if the army of *Juda*, which had been more terrified than weaken'd in the late encounter, ſhould reinforce itſelf, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wiſely done of him, to take hoſtages for his better ſecurity, his army being upon return, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which cauſes it was the more unapt to fight.

Beſides theſe impediments, within the city and without, ſerving to cool the ambition of *Joas*, and keep it down from aſpiring to the crown of *Juda*; it appears that ſomewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Eliſha* the prophet; who, when this *Joas* had ſmitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he ſhould no oftner ſmite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Iſrael* had againſt *Aram*, are by ſome, and with great probability, referred unto the fifth, ſixth and ſeventh years of *Joas*, after which time, if any loſſes enſuing had blemiſhed the former good ſucceſs, ill might the king of *Iſrael* have likened himſelf to a ſtately cedar, and worſe could he have either lent the *Judean* one hundred thouſand men, or meet him in battel, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thouſand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Eliſha*, that after three victories, *Joas* ſhould find ſome change of fortune, and ſuffer loſs; we muſt needs conclude, that the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this year, it being the laſt of his reign. That this was ſo, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas*'s abſence, gave ſuch a blow to *Iſrael*, as the king at his return was not able to remedy, but rather fell himſelf into new misfortunes, which increaſed the calamity, we may evidently perceive in that which is ſpoken of *Jeroboam*'s ſon. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſaw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Iſrael*, and that having *not decreed to put out the name of Iſrael from under the heaven, he preſerved them by the hand of Jeroboam, the ſon of Joas.* This is enough to prove, that the victorious reign of *Joas* was concluded with a ſad cataſtrophe; the riches of the temple haſtning his miſery and death, as they had done with *Seſac*, *Athalia* and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craſſus*, and other ſacrilegious potentates.

Thus either thro' indignation conceived againſt him, by the people of *Jeruſalem*, and courage which they took to ſet upon him within the walls: or thro' preparation of the army that lay abroad in the country, to bid him battel in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was loſt at the former encounter; or thro' the miſeries daily brought upon his own country, by the *Syrian* in his abſence, if not by all theſe; *Joas* was driven to lay aſide all thought of winning the kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hoſtages for his quiet paſſage, made all haſte homewards, where he found a ſad welcome, and being utterly forſaken of his wonted proſperity, forſook alſo his life in few months after, leaving his kingdom to *Jeroboam* the ſecond, his fortunate and valiant ſon.

§

[a] 1 Chron. 26. 15.

SECT.

SECT. X.

The end of Amazia's *reign and life.*

ANY man is able to gueſs how *Amazia* look'd, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted ſo much of his own great proweſs and skill in arms, threatening to work wonders, and ſet up anew the glorious empire of *David*, was now uncaſed of his lion's hide, and appeared nothing ſo terrible a beaſt as he had been painted. Much argument of ſcoffing at him he had miniſtred unto ſuch as held him in diſlike; which at this time, doubtleſs, were very many: for the ſhame that falls upon an inſolent man ſeldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (beſides that the multitude are always prone to lay the blame upon their governours, even of thoſe calamities which have happened by their own default) there was no child in all *Jeruſalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this miſchief. He had not only challenged a good man of war, being himſelf a daſtard, but when he was beaten and taken by him, had baſely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the city, that with his own eyes he might ſee what ſpoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-ſay. The father of this *Amazia* was a beaſtly man; yet when the *Aramites* took him, and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at ſo dear a rate, as the city and temple of *Jeruſalem*. Had he offered; ſhould they have made his promiſe good? Surely the haſte which they had made, in condeſcending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Iſraelite* (which was eaſy enough) any little while, they ſhould ſoon have been rid of him, ſeeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home with greater ſpeed than he came forth. Then alſo, when having truſſed up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have ſerved to perſuade him to leave his load behind; had not their good king delivered up hoſtages, to ſecure his return, as loth to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy king: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults unto God, that had puniſhed him by all this diſhonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an idolater to the very laſt. For it is ſaid of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, [a] *they wrought treaſon againſt him in Jeruſalem*; a manifeſt proof that he was not reclaimed, unto his life's end. And certainly they, which tell a man in his adverſity of his faults paſſed, ſhall ſooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to ſeek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that prieſts and prophets were leſs welcome to him than ever they had been. On the other ſide, flatterers, and ſuch as were deſirous to put a heart into him, whereof themſelves might always be maſters, wanted not plauſible matter to revive him. For he was not firſt, nor ſecond, of the kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battle. *David* himſelf had abandoned the city, leaving it, before the enemy was in ſight, unto *Abſalom* his rebellious ſon. Many beſides him had received loſſes, wherein the temple bare a part. If *Joas* might ſo eaſily have been kept out; why did their anceſtors let *Seſac* in? *Aſa* was reputed a virtuous prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the temple, and was not blamed, but held excuſable by neceſſity of the ſtate. Belike theſe traducers would recommend no actions but of dead princes; if ſo, he ſhould rather live to puniſh them, than die to pleaſe them. Though wherein had he given them any cauſe of diſpleaſure? It was he indeed that commanded to ſet open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good ſervants ought not to have obeyed their maſter's commandments to his diſadvantage, when they ſaw him not maſter of his own perſon. As his captivity did acquit him from blame, of all things that he did or ſuffered in that condition; ſo was that misfortune itſelf, in true eſtimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loſs. For had he been as haſty to fly as others were, he might have eſcaped as well as others did. But ſeeking to teach the baſe multitude courage, by his royal example, he was ſhamefully betrayed by thoſe in whom he truſted. Unworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when ſpeaking another man's words, being priſoner, he commanded them to yield; having neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bad them ſtand to it, and fight like men. The beſt was, that they muſt needs acknowledge his miſchance, as the occaſion whereby many thouſand lives were ſaved; the enemy having wiſely preferred the ſurpriſe of a lion that was captain, before the chaſe and ſlaughter of an army of ſtags, that followed him.

Theſe or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perſuade him, that it was even ſo indeed. And ſuch excuſes might have ſerved well enough to pleaſe the people, if the king had firſt ſtudied how to pleaſe God. But he that was unwilling to aſcribe unto God the good ſucceſs foretold by a prophet, could eaſily find how to impute this late diſaſter unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it ſeems that he meant to keep himſelf ſafe from her, by ſitting ſtill; for in fifteen years following (ſo long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he ſtirred. As for his ſubjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government; yet we may ſee by his end, that the middle time was ill ſpent among them, increaſing their hatred to his own ruin. He that ſuſpecteth his own worth, or other mens opinions, thinking the leſs regard is had of his perſon, than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly ſpend all the force of his authority, in purchaſing the name of a ſevere man. For the affected ſourneſs of a vain fellow doth many times reſemble the gravity of one that is wiſe: and the fear wherein they live, which are ſubject unto oppreſſion, carries a ſhew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at leaſt it ſerves to dazzle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakneſs of ſuch as have juriſdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well uſing it, men might attain to be ſuch as they ought, they do uſually miſpend, in ſeeking to appear ſuch as they are not. This is a vain and deceivable courſe; procuring, inſtead of the reſpect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous conſequence; eſpecially when an unable ſpirit, being over-perted with ſo high authority, is too paſſionate in the execution of ſuch an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he elſe than ſtrive to make the people think he hated them, when of themſelves they were apt enough to believe that he did not love them? The beſt was, that he had, by revenging his father's death, provided well enough for his own ſecurity: but who ſhould take vengeance

[a] 2 Chron. 25. 27.

(or upon whom?) of ſuch a murther, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himſelf, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in ſhedding the blood of his anointed. Yet as *Amazia*, careleſs of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; ſo his ſubjects, following the ſame ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, roſe up againſt him, with ſuch headlong fury, that being unable to defend himſelf in *Jeruſalem*, he was driven to forſake the City, and fly to *Lachis* for ſafeguard of his life. But ſo extreme was the hatred conceived againſt him, and ſo general, that neither his abſence could allay the rage of it in the capital city, nor his preſence in the country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Queſtionleſs, he choſe the town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other beſt affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands: for when the Conſpirators (who troubled not themſelves about raiſing an army for the matter) ſent purſuers after him, he was abandon'd to death. *Lachis* was the utmoſt city of his dominion weſtward, ſtanding ſomewhat without the border of *Juda*; ſo that he might have made an eaſy eſcape (if he dar'd adventure) into the territory of the *Philiſtins*, or the kingdom of *Iſrael*. Therefore it may ſeem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this town added their own treaſon to the general inſurrection; the murderers could not, at ſo good leiſure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jeruſalem*, where they gave him burial with his Fathers.

SECT. XI.

Of the Interregnum, *or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of* Juda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath already been ſhewed, that the reigns of the kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were ſometimes to be meaſured by compleat years; otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one king is now and then confounded with the laſt years of his father's reign, or the foremoſt of his ſon's. But we are now arrived at a mere vacation, wherein the crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly ſet down in ſcriptures, nor yet remembered by *Joſephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by neceſſary conſequence.

Twice we find it written, that [a] *Amazia king of Juda, lived after the death of Joas king of Iſrael fifteen years*; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteen years compleat, which *Jeroboam* the ſecond (who [b] *in the fifteenth year of Amazia was made king over Iſrael*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the ſucceſſion of *Uzzia*, who is alſo called *Azaria*, unto his father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the ſixteenth of *Jeroboam:* for it is expreſſed, that [c] *Azaria began to reign in the ſeven and twentieth year of Jeroboam*; the ſixteenth year of his life being joined with the firſt of two and fifty that he reigned. So the *Interregnum* of eleven years cannot be divided, without ſome hard means uſed, of interpreting the text otherwiſe than the letter ſounds.

Yet ſome conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought, that in the place laſt of all cited, by the ſeven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we ſhould perhaps underſtand the ſeven and twentieth year of his life; or elſe (becauſe the like words are no-where elſe interpreted in the like ſenſe) that *Azaria* was eleven years under age, that is, five years old, when his father died, and ſo his ſixteenth year might concur with the ſeven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or, that the text itſelf may have ſuffered ſome wrong, by miſwriting twenty-ſeven for ſeventeen years, and ſo, by making the 17th year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be ſalved. Theſe are the conjectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator:* concerning the firſt of which it may ſuffice, that the author himſelf doth eaſily let it paſs as improbable; the laſt is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, we ſhould call the text in queſtion, which could not be ſatisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the ſecond, it may be held with ſome qualification, that *Azaria* began his reign being five years old; but then muſt we add thoſe 11 years which paſſed in his minority, to the 52 that followed his 16th year, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why ſhould we be ſo careful to avoid an *interregnum* in *Juda*, ſeeing that the like neceſſity hath enforced all good writers to acknowledge the like vacancy twice happening within few years, in the kingdom of *Iſrael*? The ſpace of time between *Jeroboam*'s death, and the beginning of *Zachariah*'s reign, and ſuch another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hoſea*, have made it eaſily to be admitted into *Samaria*, which the conſideration of things as they ſtood in *Juda*, when *Amazia* was ſlain, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea altho' the neceſſity of computation were not ſo apparent.

For the publick fury, having ſo far extended it ſelf, as unto the deſtruction of the king's own perſon, was not like to be appeaſed without order taken for obtaining ſome redreſs of thoſe matters, which had cauſed it at the firſt to break forth into ſuch extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to paſs, that they, which had already thrown themſelves into ſuch an horrible treaſon, ſhould afterwards dare to withhold the crown from a prince of that age, which being inveſted in all ornaments of regality, is nevertheleſs expoſed to many injuries, proceeding from headſtrong and forgetful ſubjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have been king but 41 years, after he came out of his non-age, I dare not allow it, becauſe it agrees too harſhly with the text. The beſt opinion were that, which gives unto *Jeroboam* 11 years of reign with his father, before he began to reign ſingle in the 15th of *Amazia*; did it not ſwallow up almoſt the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending they ears of thoſe which reigned in *Iſrael* (by making ſuch of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the ſhorteſt the reigns of princes auling in other nations. But I will not ſtand to diſpute further of this: every man may follow his own opinion, and ſee mine more plainly in the chronological table drawn for theſe purpoſes.

SECT. XII.

Of princes contemporary with Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THE princes living with *Amazia*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were

[a] 2 Chron. 25. 2. & 2 Kings 14. 17. [b] 2 Kings 14. 23. [c] 2 Kings 15. 1.

Joas

Joas and *Jeroboam* in *Iſrael*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon Thelectus*, in whoſe time the *Spartans* won from the *Achaians*, *Gerauthæ*, *Amyclæ*, and ſome other towns.

But more notable than all theſe, was *Aſſyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia* ſucceeded his father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty years, and was ſlain the laſt of the eleven void years which forewent the reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that empire one thouſand two hundred and forty years. A moſt luxurious and effeminate palliard he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes he lived an unhappy life, knowing himſelf to be ſo vile, that he durſt not let any man have a ſight of him; yet ſeen he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruin. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the perſon of his king, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a man diſguiſed in womans attire, and ſtriving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it great ſhame to live under the command of ſo unworthy a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelf and others from ſo baſe ſubjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleſis* or *Beloſus* a *Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the kingdom of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces*, well pleaſed with this prophecy, did promiſe unto *Beloſus* himſelf the government of *Babylon*; and ſo concluding how to handle the buſineſs, one of them ſtirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Perſians* into the quarrel, the other perſuaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themſelves in the ſame cauſe. Theſe four nations armed forty thouſand men againſt *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himſelf, but gathering ſuch forces as he could, out of other nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that war anſwer to the manner of his retiredneſs. For in three battles he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into ſuch fearful terms, that had not *Beloſus* promiſed them conſtantly ſome unexpected ſuccours, they would forthwith have broken up their camp. About the ſame time, an army out of *Bactria* was coming to aſſiſt the king; but *Arbaces* encountering it upon the way, perſuaded ſo ſtrongly by promiſe of liberty, that thoſe forces joined themſelves with his. The ſudden departure of the enemy ſeeming to be a flight, cauſed *Sardanapalus* to feaſt his army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being ſtrengthened with this new ſupply, came upon him by night, and forced his camp, which through over-great ſecurity, was unprepared for reſiſtance.

This overthrow did ſo weaken the king's heart, that leaving his wife's brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he withdrew himſelf into the city of *Niniveh*; which, till new aids that he ſent for ſhould come, he thought eaſily to defend; it having been propheſied, that *Niniveh* ſhould never be taken till the river were enemy to the town. Of the greatneſs and ſtrength of *Niniveh*, enough hath been ſpoken in our diſcourſe of *Ninus*. It was ſo well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battles overthrown the king's army, and ſlain *Salamenus*) was fain to lie two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he ſaw no appearance. It ſeems that he wanted engines and ſkill to force thoſe walls, which were a hundred foot high, and thick enough for three chariots in front to paſs upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the river of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high ſwoln with rains, it not only drown'd a part of the city through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accompliſhment of the old oracle, or ſeeing no means of reſiſtance left, ſhutting up himſelf into his palace, with his wives, eunuchs, and all his treaſures, did ſet the houſe on fire, wherewith he and they were together conſum'd. [a] *Strabo* ſpeaks of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale*, a city of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inſcription, ſhewing that he built that city and *Tharſus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drink and make merry, encouraging others, with verſes well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example, teſtify'd that his nature was more prone to ſenſuality, than to any virtue beſeeming a prince.

There are ſome that faintly report otherwiſe of his end; ſaying that *Arbaces*, when he firſt found him among his concubines, was ſo enrag'd, that ſuddenly he ſlew him with a dagger. But the more general conſent of writers agree with this relation of [b] *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Cteſias* a *Greek* writer, that liv'd in the court of *Perſia*, where the truth might beſt be known.

Concerning the princes which reigned in *Aſſyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, tho' I believe that they were ſometimes (yet not, as *Oroſius* hath it, inceſſantly) buſied, in offenſive or elſe defenſive arms; yet for the moſt part of them I do better truſt [c] *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſaith, that their names were overpaſſed by *Cteſias*, becauſe they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatſoever they did; that which [d] *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath ſaid of them is very true; *Silence and oblivion hath oppreſſed them.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Of UZZIA.

SECT. I.

The proſperity of Uzzia, *and of* Jeroboam *the ſecond, who reigned with him in* Iſrael. *Of the anarchy that was in the ten tribes after the death of* Jeroboam. *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem *and* Pekahia.

UZZIA, who is alſo called *Azaria*, the ſon of *Jotham*, was made king of *Juda*, when he was 16 years old, in the 27th year of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas* king of *Iſrael*. He ſerved the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good ſucceſs in all his enterpriſes. He built *Eloth*, a town that ſtood near to the *Red* ſea, and reſtored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philiſtines*, of whoſe towns he diſmantled ſome, and built others in ſundry parts of their territories. Alſo he got the maſtery over ſome parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his proſperous wars, wherein (as *Joſephus* rehear-

[a] Strab. l. 9. [b] Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7. [c] Diod. l. 2. c. 6. [d] Theophilus Antiochenus, l. 8.

ſeth

ſeth his acts) he began with the *Philiſtines*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His army conſiſted of three hundred and ſeven thouſand men of war, over which were appointed two thouſand ſix hundred captains. For all this multitude the king prepared [a] ſhields, and ſpears, and helmets, and other arms requiſite; following therein happily a courſe quite oppoſite unto that which ſome of his late predeceſſors had held, who thought it better policy to uſe the ſervice of the nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to war *the princes and all the chariots*, 2 *Chron.* xxi. 9.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the atchievements of all that had reign'd in *Juda*, ſince the time of *David*; ſo were his riches and magnificent works equal, if not ſuperiour, to any of theirs that had been kings between him and *Solomon*. For beſides that great conqueſts are wont to repay the charges of war with triple intereſt, he had the skill to uſe, as well as the happineſs to get. He turn'd his lands to the beſt uſe, keeping ploughmen and dreſſers of vines, in grounds convenient for ſuch huſbandry. In others places he had cattel feeding, whereof he might well keep great ſtore, having won ſo much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waſte ground ſerving for paſturage. For defence of his cattel and herdſmen, he built towers in the wilderneſs. He alſo digg'd many ciſterns or ponds. *Joſephus* calls them water-courſes; but in ſuch dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the moſt likely places. If by theſe towers he ſo commanded the water, that none, could without his conſent, relieve themſelves therewith; queſtionleſs he took the only courſe, by which he might ſecurely hold the lordſhip over all the wilderneſs; it being hardly paſſable, by reaſon of the extreme drought, when the few ſprings therein found, are left free to the uſe of travellers.

Beſides all this coſt, and the building both of *Eloth* by the *Red* ſea, and of ſundry towns among the *Philiſtines*; he repaired the wall of *Jeruſalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with towers, whereof ſome were an hundred and fifty cubits high.

The ſtate of *Iſrael* did never ſo flouriſh, as at this time, ſince the diviſion of the twelve tribes into two kingdoms. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the ſouth, ſo (if not more) *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, king of the ten tribes, enlarged his border on the north; where, obtaining many victories againſt the *Syrians*, he won the royal city of *Damaſcus*, and he won *Hamath*, with all the country thereabout [b] *from the entring of Hamath, unto the ſea of the wilderneſs*, that is (as the moſt expound it) unto the vaſt deſarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiſcover'd. So the bounds of *Iſrael* in thoſe parts, were in the time of this *Jeroboam*, the ſame (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of *David*.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived ſo well; for he was an idolater; it was only the compaſſion which the Lord had on *Iſrael*, ſeeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which cauſed him to alter the ſucceſs of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites*, under the feet of thoſe, whom they had ſo cruelly oppreſs'd. The line of *Jehu*, to which God had promiſed the kingdom of [c] *Iſrael unto the fourth generation*, was now not far from the end; and now again it was invited unto repentance, by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the ſin of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, was held ſo precious, that neither the kingdom it ſelf, given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick idolatry; nor the miſery falling upon him and his poſterity, to bring them to a better courſe of religion; nor yet, at the laſt, this great proſperity of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the only giver of victory. Wherefore the promiſe of God, made unto *Jehu*, that his ſons, *unto the fourth generation*, ſhould ſit on the throne of *Iſrael*, was not enlarged; but, being almoſt expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (ſo ſtrange, that we, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly gueſs at the occaſions) foregoing the laſt accompliſhment.

When *Jeroboam*, the ſon of *Joas*, after a victorious reign of 41 years, had ended his life, it ſeems in all reaſon that *Zacharia* his ſon ſhould forthwith have been admitted, to reign in his ſtead; the nobility of that race having gotten ſuch a luſtre by the immediate ſucceſſion of four kings, that any competitor, had the crown paſs'd by election, muſt needs have appear'd baſe; and the virtue of the laſt king, having been ſo great, as might well ſerve to lay the foundation of a new houſe, much more to eſtabliſh the already confirmed right of a family ſo rooted in poſſeſſion. Notwithſtanding all this, two or three and twenty years did paſs before *Zacharia* the ſon of *Jeroboam* was, by uniform conſent, received as king. The true original cauſes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden calves did ſtand: yet ſecond inſtruments of this diſturbance, are likely not to have been wanting, upon which the wiſdom of man was ready to caſt an eye. Probable it is, that the captains of the army (who afterwards ſlew one another, ſo faſt, that in 14 years there reign'd 5 kings) did now by headſtrong violence, rent the kingdom aſunder, holding each what he could, and either deſpiſing or hating ſome qualities in *Zacharia*; until, after many years, wearied with diſſenſion, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they conſented to yield all quietly to the ſon of *Jeroboam*. That this anarchy laſted almoſt 23 years, we find by the difference of time, between the 15th year of *Uzzia*, which was the laſt of *Jeroboam*'s 41ſt (his 27th concurring with the 1ſt of *Uzzia*) and the 38th of the ſame *Uzzia*, in the laſt 6 months whereof, *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are ſome indeed, that by ſuppoſing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father 11 years, do cut off the *interregnum* in *Juda* (before-mentioned) and by the ſame reaſon, abridge this anarchy, that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Iſrael*. Yet they leave it 12 years long; which is time ſufficient to prove that the kingdom of the ten tribes, was no leſs diſtempered, than as is already noted. But I chooſe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other princes reigning abroad in the world, than this doubtful conjecture, which gives to *Jeroboam* 52 years, by adding three quarters of his father's reign unto his own, which was it ſelf indeed ſo long, that he may well ſeem to have begun it very young: for I do not think, that God bleſſed this idolater, both with a longer reign, and with a longer life, than he did his ſervant *David*.

Thus much being ſpoken of the time, wherein the throne of *Iſrael* was void, before the reign of *Zacharia*; little may ſuffice to be ſaid of his reign it ſelf, which laſted but a little while. Six months

[a] 2 Chron. 26. 14. [b] 2 Kings 14. 25, 28. [c] 2 Kings 10. 13.

only

only was he king; in which time he declared himſelf a worſhipper of the golden calves; which was enough to juſtify the judgment of God, whereby he was ſlain. He was the laſt of *Jehu*'s houſe, being (inclufively) the firſt of that line; which may have been ſome cauſe of the troubles impeaching his orderly ſucceſſion: the prophecy having determined that race in the 4th generation. But (beſides that God's promiſe was extended unto the utmoſt) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as has been given to *Jehu*, for the ſlaughter of *Jehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahab*'s houſe.

Zacharia having been 6 months a king, was then ſlain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, [a] *the ſpace of a month in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I do not find; ſave only that he was a traitor, and the ſon of one *Jabeſh*, whereby his father got no honour. It ſeems that he was one of thoſe, who in time of faction had laboured for himſelf; and now, when all other competitors were ſitten down, thought eaſily to prevail againſt that king, in whoſe perſon the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifeſt it is, that *Sallum* had a ſtrong party: for *Tiphſah* or *Thapſa*, and the coaſt thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem*, his enemy and ſupplanter, then lay, refuſed to admit, as king in his ſtead, the man that murthered him. Yet at the end of one month, *Sallum* received the reward of his treaſon, and was ſlain by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

Menahem the ſon of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* 10 years. In oppoſition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhuman; for he not only deſtroy'd *Tiphſah*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he rip'd up all their women with child, becauſe they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been uſed in revenge of *Zacharia*'s death, it is like that he would have been as earneſt, in procuring unto him his father's crown when it was firſt due. But in performing that office, there was uſed ſuch long deliberation, that we may plainly diſcover ambition, diſdain, and other private paſſions, to have been the cauſes of this beaſtly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it ſeems) in the beginning of his reign, *Pul*, king of *Aſſyria*, came againſt the land of *Iſrael*; whom this new king appeaſed, with a thouſand talents of ſilver, levied upon all the ſubſtantial men in his country. With this money the *Iſraelite* purchaſed not only the peace of his kingdom, but his own eſtabliſhment therein: ſome factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) ſought to uſe his help, in depoſing this ill-beloved king. [b] *Joſephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his tyranny ended with his life: and *Pekahia*, his ſon, occupied his room.

Of this *Pekahia* the ſtory is ſhort: for he reigned only two years; at the end whereof he was ſlain by *Peka*, the ſon of *Remalia*, whoſe treaſon was rewarded with the crown of *Iſrael*, as, in time coming another man's treaſon againſt himſelf ſhall be. There needs no more to be ſaid of *Menahem*, and his ſon, ſave that they were, both of them, idolaters; and the ſon (as we find in [c] *Joſephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Aſſyrian* king, who firſt opened unto thoſe northern nations the way into *Palæſtina*; it will ſhortly follow, in order of the ſtory, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Beloſus* (called alſo *Beleſes*, and by ſome, *Phul Belochus*) who joined with *Arbaces* the *Median*, againſt *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were ſome other man. At the preſent it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia*'s life, who outlived the happineſs wherein we left him.

SECT. II.

The end of Uzzia's *reign and life.*

AS the zeal of *Jehoiada*, that godly prieſt, was the means to preſerve the lineage of *David*, in the perſon of *Joas*; ſo it appears, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up, and advance him to the crown of *Juda*, when the hatred borne to his father *Amazia*, had endangered his ſucceſſion. For it is ſaid of *Uzzia*, That [d] *he ſought God in the days of Zacharia (which underſtood the viſions of God) and when he ſought the Lord, God made him proſper.*

[e] *But, when he was ſtrong, his heart was lifted up to his deſtruction: for he tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord his God: and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incenſe, upon the altar of incenſe.* Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by medling in the prieſts office, whoſe power had in every extremity been ſo helpful to the kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude, and civil policy, ſhould have held back *Uzzia* from incroaching thereupon; yea, tho' the law of God had been ſilent in this caſe, and not forbidden it. Howſoever the king forgot his duty, the prieſts remembred theirs, and God forgot not to aſſiſt them. *Azaria* the high prieſt interrupted the king's purpoſe, and gave him to underſtand, how little to his honour it would prove, that he took upon him the office of the ſons of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourſcore other prieſts, valiant men, but their valour was ſhew'd, only in aſſiſting the high prieſt, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the king's preſumption. This was enough, the reſt God himſelf perform'd. We find in *Joſephus*, *l.* 9. *c.* 11. that the king had apparell'd himſelf in prieſtly habit, and that he threaten'd *Azaria* and his companions, to puniſh them with death, unleſs they would be quiet. *Joſephus* indeed enlargeth the ſtory, by inſerting a great earth-quake, which did tear down half an hill, that rouled four furlongs, till it reſted againſt another hill, ſtopping up the high-ways, and ſpoiling the king's garden in the paſſage. With this earthquake, he ſaith, that the roof of the temple did cleave, and that a ſun-beam did light upon the king's face, which was preſently infected with leproſy. All this may have been true; and ſome there are who think that this earthquake is the ſame, which is mention'd by the prophet *Amos*; wherein they do much miſreckon the times. For the earthquake ſpoken of by *Amos*, was in the days of *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*, who died 37 years before *Uzzia*; ſo that *Jotham* the ſon of *Uzzia*, which ſupplied his father's place in government of the land, ſhould, by this account, have been then unborn: for he was but 25 years old, when he began to reign as king. Therefore thus far only we have aſſurance; that *while Uzzia, was wroth with the prieſts, the leproſy roſe up in his forehead, before the prieſts*, 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 20. Hereupon he was cauſed, in all haſte, to depart the place, and to live in a houſe by himſelf, until he died; the rule over the king's houſe, and over all the land, being committed to *Jotham*, his ſon and ſucceſſor. *Jotham* took not upon himſelf the ſtyle of a king, till his father was dead; whom they buried in the ſame field wherein his anceſtors lay interred, yet in a monument apart from the reſt, becauſe he was a leper.

[a] 2 Kings 15. 13. [b] Joſ. Ant. l. 9. c. 11. [c] Joſ. ibid. [d] 2 Chron. 26. 5. [e] 2 Chron. 26. 16.

SECT. III.

Of the prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; *and of princes then ruling in* Egypt, *and in ſome other countries.*

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the firſt of the leſſer prophets, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadia* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed ſet down, when *Joel* or *Obadia* did propheſy: but if the prophets, whoſe times are not expreſſed, ought to be ranged (according to St. *Jerome*'s rule) with the next before them; then muſt theſe two be judged contemporary with *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who lived under king *Uzzia*. To enquire which of theſe five was the moſt ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at leaſt, a ſuperfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath ſo painfully been ſought, without reprehenſion; how can he be taxed, which offers to ſearch out the antiquity of theſe holy prophets? It ſeems to me, that the firſt of theſe, in order of time, was the prophet *Jonas*, who foretold the great victories of *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*; and therefore is likely to have propheſied in the days of *Joas*, whilſt the affliction of *Iſrael* was *exceeding bitter*, the [a] text it ſelf intimating no leſs: by which conſequence, he was elder than the other prophets, whoſe works are now extant. But his prophecies, that concerned the kingdom of *Iſrael*, are now loſt. That which remaineth of him, ſeems, not without reaſon, unto ſome very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whoſe days *Nineveh* was firſt of all deſtroyed. This prophet rather taught Chriſt by his ſufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the reſt are found expreſs promiſes of the *Meſſias*.

In the reign of *Uzzia* likewiſe it was, that *Iſaiah*, the firſt of the four great prophets, began to ſee his viſions. This difference of greater and leſſer prophets, is taken from the volumes which they have left written (as [b] St. *Auguſtine* gives reaſon of the diſtinction) becauſe the greater have written larger books. The prophet *Iſaiah* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing; or of his nobility (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the ſon of *Amos* the prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellency, both of his ſtyle, and argument, wherein he ſo plainly fortelleth the birth, miracles, paſſion, and whole hiſtory of our Saviour, with the calling of the *Gentiles*, that he might as well be called an evangeliſt, as a prophet; having written in ſuch wiſe, that (as [c] *Jerome* ſaith) *One would think he did not fortel of things to come, but compile an hiſtory of matters already paſt.*

Bocchoris was king of *Egypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reaſon) was current, when *Uzzia* took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Judah*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Aſychis* followed in the kingdom of *Egypt*, unto him ſucceeded *Anyſis*; and theſe two occupied that crown ſix years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Ethiopian*, became king of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten firſt ran along with the laſt of *Uzzia*'s reign and life. Of theſe and other *Egyptian* kings, more ſhall be ſpoken, when their affairs ſhall come to be intermedled with the buſineſs of *Judah*.

In *Athens*, the two laſt years of *Ariphron*'s twenty, the ſeven and twentieth of *Theſpeius*, the twentieth of *Agamneſtor*, and the three firſt of *Æſchylus*'s three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of *Uzzia*: as likewiſe did in *Alba* the laſt ſeven of *Sylvius Aventinus*'s ſeven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Sylvius Procas*, and two and twenty the firſt of *Sylvius Amulius*. In *Media*, *Arbaces* began his new kingdom, in the firſt of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his ſon *Soſarmus* ſucceeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diviſion of the *Aſſyrian* empire between him and others, when they had oppreſſed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to uſe more particular diſcourſe, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the ſtory of the *Aſſyrian* kings, who have already found the way into *Palæſtina*, and are not likely to forget it.

SECT. IV.

Of the Aſſyrian *kings deſcending from* Phul: *and whether* Phul *and* Beloſus *were one perſon; or heads of ſundry families, that reigned apart in* Nineveh *and* Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been ſhewed of *Sardanapalus*'s death, it is apparent that the chief therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the reſt of the confederates did not only ſubmit themſelves in that war, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority ſentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The firſt example of this his power, was ſhewn upon *Beloſus* the *Babylonian*, by whoſe eſpecial advice and help, *Arbaces* himſelf was become ſo great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exerciſed in ſo tyrannical a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the princes that had aſſiſted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Beloſus*, he uſed the counſel of his other captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace; allowing him to hold, not only the city and province of *Babylon*, but alſo thoſe treaſures, for embezzeling whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the reſt of his partakers, and made them rulers of provinces; retaining (as it appears) only the ſoveraignty to himſelf, which to uſe immoderately he did naturally abhor. He is ſaid, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* againſt *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the empire to their nation. And to make good this his promiſe, he deſtroyed the city of *Nineveh*; permitting the citizens nevertheleſs to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other nations that joined with him, as the *Perſians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his ſide, by the allurement of liberty; which he himſelf ſo greatly loved, that by ſlackning too much the reins of his own ſoveraignty, he did more harm to the general eſtate of *Media*, than the pleaſure of the freedom which it enjoyed could recompenſe. For both the territory of that country was pared narrower by *Salmanaſſar* (or perhaps by ſome of his progenitors) whom we find, in the ſcriptures, to have held ſome towns of the *Medes*; and the civil adminiſtration was ſo diſorderly, that the people themſelves were glad to ſee that reformation, which *Deioces*, the fifth of *Arbaces*'s line, did make in that government, by reducing them into ſtricter terms of obedience.

How the force of the *Aſſyrians* grew to be ſuch, as might in fourſcore years, if not ſooner, both extend it ſelf unto the conqueſt of *Iſrael*, and tear away

[a] Chron. 14. 25, 26. [b] Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 19. [c] Hier. in præf. ſuper Eſaiam.

ſome

ſome part of *Media*, is a queſtion hardly to be anſwered; not only in regard of the deſtruction of *Nineveh*, and ſubverſion of the *Aſſyrian* kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may ſeem at that time to have kept the *Aſſyrians* under their ſubjection, when the reſt of the provinces were ſet at liberty; but, in conſideration of the kings themſelves, who reigned afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineveh*, are confounded by ſome, and diſtinguiſhed by others; whereby their hiſtory is made uncertain.

I will firſt therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it ſtands: then, producing the objections made againſt it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Joſeph Scaliger*, with thoſe learned that ſubſcribe thereunto, and the judgment of others that were more ancient writers, or have followed the ancients in this doubtful caſe. Neither ſhall it be needful to ſet down apart the ſeveral authorities and arguments of ſundry men, adding ſomewhat of weight or of clearneſs one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole ſubſtance of each diſcourſe: which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine own, but merely led by thoſe reaſons, which upon examination of each part, ſeemed to me moſt forcible, tho' to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath paſſed as current, is this: That *Beloſus* was the ſame king, who firſt, of the *Aſſyrians*, entred *Palæſtina* with an army; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the ſcriptures, and by *Annius*'s authors, with ſuch as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is ſaid, that he was a ſkilful aſtrologer, ſubtil and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by compoſition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Aſſyria*: finally, that he reigned eight and forty years, and then dying, left the kingdom to *Teglat Phalaſar* his ſon, in whoſe poſterity it continued ſome few deſcents, till the houſe of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius*'s *Metaſthenes* were ſufficient proof, could not be gainſaid: for that author, ſuch as he is, is peremptory herein. But howſoever *Annius*'s authors deſerve to be ſuſpected, it ſtands with no reaſon, that we ſhould conclude all to be falſe which they affirm. They, who maintain this tradition, juſtify it by divers good allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumſtances found in all authors, and repugnant unto no hiſtory at all. For it is manifeſt by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Beloſus* were partners in the action againſt *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joined with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewiſe other captains were with governments: but that any third perſon was ſo eminent, as to have *Aſſyria* itſelf, the chief country of the empire, beſtowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the leaſt appearance is found in any hiſtory. And certainly it ſtood with little reaſon, that the *Aſſyrians* ſhould be committed unto a peculiar king at ſuch time as it was not thought meet to truſt them in their own walls and houſes. Rather it is apparent, that the deſtruction of *Nineveh* by *Arbaces*, and the tranſplantation of the citizens, was held a needful policy, becauſe thereby the people of that nation might be kept down, from aſpiring to recover the ſoveraignty, which elſe they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the ſeat of the empire.

Upon ſuch conſiderations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, deſtroy *Carthage*, and diſſolve the corporation, or body politick, of the citizens of *Capua*; becauſe thoſe two towns were capable of the empire: a matter eſteemed over-dangerous even to [a] *Rome* itſelf, that was miſtreſs of them both. This being ſo, how can it be thought, that the *Aſſyrians* in three or four years had erected their kingdom anew, under one *Pul*? or what muſt this *Pul* have been (of whoſe deſerving, or intermedling, or indeed of whoſe very name, we find no mention in the war againſt *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principal part of the empire fell, either by general conſent in diviſion of the provinces, or by his own power and purchaſe very ſoon after? Surely he was none other than *Beloſus*; whoſe near neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wiſe enough to play his own game) both to get *Aſſyria* to himſelf, and to impeach any other man that ſhould have attempted to ſeize upon it. The province of *Babylon*, which *Beloſus* held, being, as [b] *Herodotus* reports, in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Perſian* empire, was able to furniſh him with all that was requiſite for ſuch a buſineſs: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and ſilver that had been in the palace of *Nineveh*. And queſtionleſs to reſtore ſuch a city as *Nineveh*, was an enterprize fit for none to take in hand, except he had ſuch means as *Beloſus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Beloſus*, is likely to have wanted.

Beſides all this, had *Pul* been a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus*, and lord of *Aſſyria*, which lay beyond the countries of *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, it would not have been an eaſy matter for him, to paſs quite thro' another man's kingdom with an army, ſeeking booty afar off in *Iſrael*: the only action by which the name of *Phul* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the ſcriptures call *Pul*, or *Phul*, was the ſame whom prophane writers have called *Beloſus*, *Beleſes*, and *Beleſtis*, in like manner as [c] *Joſephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the ſcriptures called never otherwiſe than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the ſon of *Aſtyages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name (that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this ſcruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Paleſtina*: ſo that *Beloſus*, having ſettled his affairs in *Aſſyria* towards the eaſt and north, might with good leiſure encroach upon the countries that lay on the other ſide of his kingdom, to the ſouth and weſt. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumſtance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Iſrael*, was none other than *Beloſus*. For the prince of the *Arabians*, who joined with *Arbaces*, and brought no ſmall part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, merely for the love of *Beloſus*. The friendſhip of theſe *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to thoſe that were to paſs over *Euphrates* with an army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Beloſus*, that held good correſpondence with them, and whoſe moſt fruitful province adjoining to their barren quarters, might yearly do them ineſtimable pleaſures, was not only like to have quiet paſſage thro' their borders, but their utmoſt aſſiſtance; yea, it ſtands with good reaſon, that they, who loved not *Iſrael*, ſhould, for their own behoof, have given him intelligence of the deſtruction

[a] Tull. contra Rullum, Or. 2. [b] Herod. l. 1. [c] Joſeph. Ant. l. 10. cap. 12.

and

and civil broils among the ten tribes; whereby, as this *Phul* got a thouſand talents, ſo it ſeems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavy neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, ſetting up a new king in *Damaſco*, and clearing the coaſt of *Arabia* (from the ſea of the wilderneſs to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* garriſons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the nations divided by *Euphrates* hold together in ſo good terms of friendſhip: it was ancient conſanguinity; the memory whereof was available to the *Syrians*, in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the ſuccour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damaſco*. So *Beloſus* had good reaſon to look into thoſe parts; what a king, reigning ſo far off as *Nineveh*, ſhould have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his kingdom had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to ſhew.

But concerning this laſt argument of the buſineſs, which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palæſtina*, it may be doubted, leſt it ſhould ſeem to have ill coherence with that which hath been ſaid of the long anarchy that was in the ten tribes. For if the crown of *Iſrael* were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Beloſus* was either unwilling to ſtir, or unable to take the advantage when it was faireſt, and firſt diſcovered. This might have compelled thoſe, who alone were not ſtrong enough, to ſeek after help from ſome prince that lay further off; and ſo the opinion of thoſe that diſtinguiſh *Phul* from *Beloſus*, would be ſomewhat confirmed. On the other ſide, if we ſay, that *Beloſus* did paſs the river of *Euphrates*, as ſoon as he found likelihood of making a proſperous journey; then may it ſeem that the *interregnum* in *Iſrael* was not ſo long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leiſure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been loſt.

For anſwer hereunto, we are to conſider what *Oroſius* and *Euſebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arſaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, tho' it be held an error of *Oroſius*, where he ſuppoſeth that the occupying of *Babylonia*, by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Euſebius* do concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did reſtrain the ambition, which by his abſence grew bold, and by his death regardful only of itſelf. Now, tho' ſome have conjectured that all *Aſſyria* was given to *Beloſus* (as an overplus, beſides the province of *Babylon*, which was his by plain bargain made afore-hand) in regard of his high deſervings; yet the opinion more commonly received is, that he did only encroach upon that province by little and little, whilſt *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly got it all himſelf. Seeing therefore, that there paſſed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem*'s reign, manifeſt it is, that the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, and ſetling of that country, was work enough to hold *Beloſus* occupied, beſides the reſtauration of *Nineveh*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to ſee it finiſhed in his own days. So that this argument may rather ſerve to prove that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were one perſon; foraſmuch as the journey of *Phul* againſt *Iſrael* was not made until *Beloſus* could find leiſure; and the time of advantage which *Beloſus* did let ſlip, argued his buſineſs in ſome other quarter, namely in that province of which *Phul* is call'd king. Briefly, it may be ſaid, that he who conquered *Aſſyria*, and performed ſomewhat upon a country ſo far diſtant as *Palæſtina*, was likely to have been at leaſt named in ſome hiſtory, or if not himſelf, yet his country to have been ſpoken of for thoſe victories: but we neither hear of *Phul* in any prophane author, neither doth any writer, ſacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatſoever of the *Aſſyrians*, done in thoſe times; whereas of *Beloſus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we find good record.

Surely that great ſlaughter of ſo many thouſand *Aſſyrians*, in the quarrel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate war, which overwhelmed the whole country, not ending but with the ruin and utter deſolation of *Nineveh*, muſt needs have ſo weaken'd the ſtate of *Aſſyria*, that it could not in thirty years ſpace be able to invade *Palæſtina*, which the ancient kings, reigning in *Nineveh*, had in all their greatneſs forborn to attempt. Yet theſe afflictions, diſabling that country, did help to enable *Beroſus* to ſubdue it; who having once extended his dominions to the borders of *Media*, and being (eſpecially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interpoſition of that country, ſecure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike nations on that ſide, might very well turn ſouthward, and try his fortune in thoſe kingdoms, whereinto civil diſſenſion of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damaſco*, friends and couſins to the *Chaldeans* and *Meſopotamians*, did invite him. For theſe, and the other before-alledged reaſons, it may be concluded, that what is ſaid of *Phul* in the ſcriptures ought to be underſtood of *Beloſus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaſhaſht*, and *Ahaſhueroſh*, with the like, are thought or known to be meant the ſame, whom prophane hiſtorians, by names better known in their own countries, have called *Nabopollaſſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: eſpecially conſidering, that hereby we ſhall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble ourſelves and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themſelves eaſily follow. For it is a matter of no great conſequence to know the truth of this point (conſidering it apart from that which depends thereon) whether *Phul* were *Beloſus*, or ſome other man: the whole race of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* kings, wherein are found thoſe famous princes, *Nabonaſſar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollaſſar* (famous for the aſtronomical obſervations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Beloſus* or *Beleſis* were that *Phul* which invaded *Iſrael*; if he and his poſterity reigned both in *Nineveh* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aſar*, from whom *Salmanaſar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Aſar-haddon* deſcended; then it is manifeſt, that we muſt ſeek *Nabonaſſar*, the *Babylonian* king, among theſe princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanaſar*, who is known to have reigned in thoſe years, which *Ptolomy* the mathematician hath aſſigned unto *Nabonaſſar*. As for *Merodach*, who ſupplanted *Aſar-haddon*, manifeſt it is, that he and his ſucceſſors were of another houſe. This is the ſcope and end of all his diſputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be ſatisfied with ſuch conjectures. They lay hold upon the concluſion, and by ſhaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premiſſes, upon which it is inferred. For (ſay they) if *Nabonaſſar*, that

that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanaſſar*, or any of thoſe other *Aſſyrian* kings, then is it manifeſt, that the races were diſtinct, and that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were ſeveral kings. This conſequence is ſo plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonaſſar* was a diſtinct perſon from *Salmanaſſar*, are brought ſuch arguments as would ſtagger the reſolution of him that had ſworn to hold the contrary. For firſt, *Nabonaſſar* was king of *Babylon*, and not of *Aſſyria*. This is proved by his name, which is merely *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the firſt part of *Salmanaſſar*'s name, is proper to the *Aſſyrians*. It is likewiſe proved by the aſtronomical obſervations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Aſſyrians*, do ſhew that *Nabonaſſar*, from whom *Ptolemy* draws that *epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Aſſyrian*. Thirdly, and more ſtrongly, it is confirmed by the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Merodac-ken-pad*, but more briefly, in [a] *Eſay*'s prophecy, *Merodac*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodac Baladan*, the ſon of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach*, the ſon of *Baladan*, king of *Babel*, were the ſon of *Nabonaſſar*, then was *Nabonaſſar* none other than *Baladan* king of *Babel*, and not *Salmanaſſar* king of *Aſſyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of theſe two names, *Nabonaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar*, which in *Greek* or *Latin* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanaſſar* carried captive ſome part of the ten tribes, it may well be granted, that in the province of *Babylon Salmanaſſar* had gotten ſomewhat, yet will it not follow that he was king of *Babylon* itſelf. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the ſixth year of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanaſſar* took *Samaria*; therefore, if *Salmanaſſar* were king of *Babylon*, then muſt we ſay that he and *Merodach*, yea and *Nabonaſſar*, were all one man. Theſe are the arguments of that noble and learned writer *Joſeph Scaliger*, who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofs from matter of more neceſſary inference.

Touching all that was ſaid before of *Phul Beloſus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were not ſundry kings; *Joſeph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have ſpent their labour to ſo little purpoſe. Honeſt and painful men he confeſſeth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their readers, had they not by mentioning *Annius*'s authors given ſuch offence, that men refuſed thereupon to read their books and chronologies. A ſhort anſwer.

For mine own part, howſoever I believe nothing that *Annius*'s *Beroſus*, *Metaſthenes*, and others of that ſtamp affirm, in reſpect of their bare authority; yet am I not ſo ſqueamiſh, but that I can well enough digeſt a good book, tho' I find the names of one or two of theſe good fellows alledged in it: I have ſomewhat (peradventure too often) already ſpoken my mind of *Annius*'s authors; nevertheleſs, I may ſay here again, that where other hiſtories are ſilent, or ſpeak not enough, there may we without ſhame borrow of theſe, as much as agrees with that little which elſewhere we find, and ſerveth to explain or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are thoſe honeſt and painful men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I miſtake him not, good ſilly fellows) who ſet down the *Aſſyrian* kings from *Pul* forwards, as lords alſo of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Beloſus*, and *Salmanaſſar* for *Nabonaſſar*, ſuch writers as a man ſhould be aſhamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, tho' diſliking him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not ſo ſlight a chronologer, that he ſhould be laughed out of doors, with the name of an honeſt-meaning fellow.

But I will not make compariſons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and ſee whether they be of ſuch force, as cannot either be reſiſted or avoided. It will eaſily be granted, that *Nabonaſſar* was king of *Babylon*; that he was not king of *Aſſyria*, ſome men doubt whether *Scaliger*'s reaſons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonaſſar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanaſſar* an *Aſſyrian*; yet what hinders us from believing, that one man in two languages might be called by two ſeveral names? That aſtronomy flouriſhed among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonaſſar* either an aſtrologer, or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himſelf calls them, [b] *Prophetas neſcio quos, qui Nabonaſſarum aſtronomum fuiſſe in ſomnis viderunt*; *Prophets I know not who, that in their ſleep have dreamt of* Nabonaſſar, *that he was an aſtrologer.*

Whether *Nabonaſſar* were an aſtrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative. But as his being lord over the *Chaldeans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their ſciences; ſo doth it not prove him, not to have been alſo king of *Aſſyria*. The emperor *Charles* the fifth, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his ſon, king of *Spain*, and lords of the *Netherlands*, had men far more learned in all ſciences, and particularly in the mathematicks, among their ſubjects of the *Low Countries*, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, poſterity will not uſe this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanaſſar* or *Nabonaſſar* did uſe the *Aſſyrian* ſoldiers, and *Babylonian* ſcholars: but it ſeems, that he and his poſterity, by giving themſelves wholly to the more warlike nation, loſt the richer, out of which they firſt iſſued; as likewiſe king *Philip* loſt partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard, all the *Netherlands*, by ſuch a courſe. As for the two unanſwerable arguments (as *Scaliger* terms them, being methinks none other than anſwers to ſomewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary ſide) one of them which is drawn from the unlike ſound and writing of thoſe names, *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will diſpute; for it is not likeneſs of ſound, but agreement of time, and many circumſtances elſe, that muſt take away the diſtinction of perſons: the other likewiſe may be granted; which is, that *Salmanaſſar* might be lord of ſome places in the province of *Babylon*, yet not king of *Babylon* itſelf: this indeed might be ſo, and it might be otherwiſe. Hitherto there is nothing ſave conjecture againſt conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the prophet *Eſay*, concerning *Merodach* the ſon of *Baladan*; and in that which is ſaid of this *Merodach*, or *Mardokenpadus*, his being the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, and his beginning to reign in the ſixth year of *Hezekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be anſwered in haſte. I will therefore de-

[a] Eſay 39. 1. [b] Scalig. Canon. l. 3.

fer the handling of theſe objections, until I meet with their ſubject in its proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekiah*, wherein *Merodach* lived and was king. Yet that I may not leave too great a ſcruple in the mind of the reader, thus far will I here ſatisfy him; that how ſtrong ſoever this argument may ſeem, *Scaliger* himſelf did live to retract it, ingenuouſly confeſſing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the ſon of *Nabonaſſar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us conſider in what ſort they have faſhioned their ſtory, who taking *Pul* to be a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus* or *Beleſtis*, have in like ſort, as was neceſſary, diſtinguiſhed their offſpring, making that of *Pul* to fail in *Aſarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I muſt firſt confeſs my want of books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into ſome ſuch order, as might preſent unto us the body of this hiſtory in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have ſeen, that ſince *Joſeph Scaliger* delivered his opinion have written in favour of ſome one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Calviſius* himſelf, who hath abridged *Scaliger*'s learned work, *De emendatione temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Beloſus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulaſſar* did reign (perhaps becauſe he found it not expreſſed in *Scaliger*) but is content to ſet down *Baladan*, for the ſame perſon with *Nabonaſſar*, which *Scaliger* himſelf revoked. In this caſe therefore I muſt lay down the plot of theſe divided kingdoms, in ſuch ſort as I find it contrived by *Auguſtinus Torniellus*; who only of all that I have ſeen, ſets down the ſucceſſion, continuance, and acts, of thoſe that reigned in *Aſſyria* after *Sardanapalus*, diſtinguiſhing them from *Beloſus* and his poſterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a regular clerk of the congregation of St. *Paul*, whoſe annals were printed the laſt year; he appears to me a man of curious induſtry, ſound judgment, and free ſpirit; yet many times, and, I take it, wilfully, forgetful of thanking, or mentioning thoſe proteſtant writers, by whoſe books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inſerting ſomewhat of theirs. But in this buſineſs he hath openly profeſſed to follow *Scaliger*, whoſe help, without wrong or diſhonour to himſelf, he hath both uſed and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not ſpare to do right unto *Torniellus*; but confeſs my ſelf to have received benefit by his writing; and wiſh that his annals had ſooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in ſome things, ſo would he have inſtructed and embolden'd me to write more fully and leſs timorouſly in other things, which now I have not leiſure to reviſe. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared leſt it had over-haſtily paſſed out of my hand, and been expos'd to other mens conſtructions) of the four kings that invaded the valley of *Siddim*, and were ſlain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring, as I have done, to ſay, [a] that they may probably be thought to have been ſome petty lords; the contrary opinion of all writers notwithſtanding. But now let us conſider how he hath ordered theſe laſt *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* kings.

After the deſtruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the moſt mighty, ſought to get all to himſelf, but was oppos'd by *Beloſus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerful man in *Aſſyria*, ſided with *Beloſus*, and they two prevailed ſo far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to ſhare the empire with them, making ſuch a diviſion thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* empire, between *Octavian*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the reſt, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himſelf ſoveraign lord of all, and placed the ſeat of his empire in *Media*, appointing *Beloſus* his lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Aſſyria*. But in ſhort ſpace, that is, in four years, it came to paſs, by the juſt judgment of God, that *Phul* and *Beloſus* rebelled againſt *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done againſt *Sardanapalus*, and inſtead of being his viceroys, made themſelves abſolute kings. And to this latter opinion, *Torniellus* himſelf leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in profane hiſtories. Why he did make and publiſh the former ſuppoſition, reſolving to hold the latter, I ſhall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to gueſs. Having thus deviſed, how *Phul* and *Beloſus* might, at the firſt, attain to be kings, he orders their time, and their ſucceſſors in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglat-phalaſar* (whoſe name, and the names of other princes, I write diverſly, according as the authors whom I have in hand are pleaſed to diverſify them) ſucceeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanaſſar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned ſeven: and when he was ſlain, *Aſarhaddon* his ſon ten years; in whom that line failed.

The ſame time that *Phul* took upon him as king of *Aſſyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for ſo it had been more likely) *Beloſus* uſurped the kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threeſcore and eight years; at the leaſt threeſcore and eight years did paſs, before *Nabonaſſar* followed him in the poſſeſſion.

To *Nabonaſſar*, whom, with *Scaliger*, he thinks to be *Baladan*, are aſſigned ſix and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*; four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and laſtly, one and twenty to *Nabolaſſar*, the father of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who is like to offer matter of further diſputation.

Concerning the original of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* kingdoms, I may truly ſay, that the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Beloſus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly reſembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different ways, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Aſſyria* (for how *Beloſus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other hiſtorians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the ſudden king of *Aſſyria*; or to give him ſo noble a province, as would, of it ſelf, invite him to accept the name and power of a king, was a thing moſt unlikely to have happened, unleſs his deſerts (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to ſo high a reward. And for this cauſe (as I take it) hath he deviſed the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of ſo great a ſhare in the empire. If this were a true or probable ſuppoſition, then would a new doubt ariſe, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgetten by all hiſtorians? yea, why

[a] Chap. 1. Section 13.

this

this diviſion itſelf, and the civil wars that cauſed it, were never heard of. Queſtionleſs the interverting of ſome treaſures by *Beloſus*, with his judgment, condemnation, and pardon following, were matters of far leſs note. Therefore I do not ſee, how one of the two inconveniencies can this way be avoided; but that either we muſt confeſs the dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits, or elſe his merits, and name withal, to have been ſtrangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the conjecture inferring ſuch a ſequel, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Beloſus* againſt *Arbaces*, it was almoſt impoſſible for the *Aſſyrians* to recover ſuch ſtrength in four years, as might ſerve to hold out in rebellion: for *Beloſus* it was needleſs to rebel, conſidering, that *Arbaces* did not ſeek to moleſt him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were under his own government, to do what they liſted.

But it is now fit that we peruſe the catalogue of theſe kings: not paſſing thro' them all (for ſome will require a large diſcourſe in their own times) but ſpeaking of their order and time in general. If it be ſo unlawful to think, that ſome of *Annius*'s tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other authors as well as in his) may be true, eſpecially ſuch, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood, why then is it ſaid, that *Phul* did reign in *Aſſyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painful and judicious writers have found this number of years, to agree fitly with the courſe of things in hiſtory: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the puniſhment of *Annius*'s forgery (as queſtionleſs he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth or probability, he be not believed for his own ſake; tho' for our own ſakes we make uſe of his boldneſs, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing elſe being offered) we are unwilling ourſelves to be authors of new, tho' not improbable conjectures. Herein we ſhall have this commodity, that we may without bluſhing alter a little, to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, againſt whom we ſhall be ſure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of *Theglathphalaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar* did reach, by *Annius*'s meaſure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and ſeventeen the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and ſeven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own computation; uſing the liberty whereof I ſpake laſt: for that any author, ſave our good *Metaſthenes*, or thoſe that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of theſe did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Aſarhaddon*, *Torniellus* gives the ſame length of reign, which is found in *Metaſthenes*. I think there are not many, that will arrogate ſo much unto themſelves, as may very well be allowed unto a man ſo judicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet could I wiſh, that he had forborn to condemn the followers of *Annius*, in this buſineſs, wherein he himſelf hath choſen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to ſay, as elſe he muſt have done, almoſt nothing.

The like liberty we find that he hath uſed in meaſuring the reigns of the *Chaldeans*; filling up all the ſpace between the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonaſſar*, with the threeſcore and eight years of *Beloſus*. In this reſpect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Beloſus* might have begun his reign ſomewhat later than *Phul*: for 68 years would ſeem a long time for him to hold a kingdom, that was no young man when he took poſſeſſion of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by ſhortening his reign, ſeeing his life reacheth to the end of ſuch a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver. Indeed, 48 years had been ſomewhat of the moſt, conſidering that he ſeems by the ſtory to have been little leſs, at ſuch time as he join'd with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of 20 years did well deſerve that note (which *Torniellus* adviſedly gives) that if his reign extended not ſo far, then the reign of ſuch as came after him, occupied the middle time unto *Nabonaſſar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldneſs of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modeſty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calviſius*, in forbearing to ſet down as warrantable, ſuch things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by antiquity, muſt be deſcribed in hiſtory, as geographers in their maps deſcribe thoſe countries, whereof as yet there is made no true diſcovery, that is, either by leaving ſome part blank, or by inſerting the land of pigmies, rocks of load-ſtone, with head-lands, bays, great rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, tho' many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from diſtance of place, allows not ſuch liberty to a deſcriber, as that which ariſeth from the remedileſs oblivion of conſuming time. For it is true that the poet ſaith;

——*Neque fervidis*
Pars incluſa caloribus
Mundi, nec boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque ſole nives,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora navitæ.

Nor ſouthern heat, nor northern ſnow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The ſubject regions can fence,
And keep the greedy merchant thence.
The ſubtil ſhipmen way will find,
Storm never ſo the ſeas with wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in maps, do ſerve only to miſlead ſuch diſcoverers as raſhly believe them; drawing upon the publiſhers, either ſome angry curſes, or well deſerved ſcorn; but to keep their own credit, they cannot ſerve always. To which purpoſe I remember a pretty jeſt of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spaniſh* gentleman, who had been employ'd by his king in planting a colony upon the ſtreights of *Magellan*: for when I ask'd him, being then my priſoner, ſome queſtion about an iſland in thoſe ſtreights, which methought might have done either benefit or diſpleaſure to his enterpriſe, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters Wives Iſland*; ſaying, that whilſt the fellow drew that map, his wife ſitting by, deſired him to put in one country for her; that ſhe, in imagination, might have an iſland of her own. But in filling up the blanks of old hiſtories, we need not be ſo ſcrupulous. For it is not to be fear'd, that time ſhould run backward, and by reſtoring the things themſelves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: what if ſome good copy of an ancient author could be found, ſhewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of theſe uncertainties? would it be more ſhame to have believed in the mean while,

Annius

Annius or *Torniellus*, than to have believed nothing. Here I will not ſay, that the credit, which we give to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of thoſe authors whoſe names he pretendeth. Let it ſuffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather truſt *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his aſſertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approv'd hiſtories than their conjecture, as in this point it ſeems to me; it having moreover gotten ſome credit, by the approbation of many, and thoſe not meanly learned.

To end this tedious diſputation; I hold it a ſure courſe in examination of ſuch opinions, as have once gotten the credit of being general, ſo to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them deſirous to put all the ſenators of the city to death. He lock'd the ſenators up within the ſtate-houſe, and offered their lives to the people's mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them ſhould periſh, until the commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was haſty; for as faſt as every name was read, all the town cried, Let him die: but the execution required more leiſure; for in ſubſtituting another, ſome notorious vice of the perſon, or baſeneſs of his condition, or inſufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: ſo that finding the worſe and leſs choice, the further and the more that they ſought, it was finally agreed, that the old ſhould be kept for lack of better.

SECT. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

AFter this diviſion of the *Aſſyrian* empire, follows the inſtauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the ſame king *Uzzia*, and in his 51ſt year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that theſe games were eſtabliſhed by *Iphitus*, in the firſt of *Jotham:* yet is not that opinion ſo general, but that authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting thoſe things unto the ſacred hiſtory, which are found in prophane authors, we ſhould not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to thoſe works of time, which had no reference to their affairs; it is enough, that ſetting in due order theſe beginnings of accounts, we join them to matters of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, where occaſion requires.

Theſe *Olympian* games and exerciſes of activity, were firſt inſtituted by *Hercules*, who meaſured the length of the race by his own foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the ſtature and likely ſtrength of *Hercules*'s body. They took name, not from the mountain *Olympus*, but from the city *Olympia*, otherwiſe *Piſa*, near unto *Elis*; where alſo *Jupiter*'s temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the world, was known by the name of the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. Theſe games were exerciſed from every fourth year compleat, in the plains of *Elis*, a city of *Peloponneſus*, near the river *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, theſe meetings[a] were diſcontinued for many years, till *Iphitus* by advice from the oracle of *Apollo*, re-eſtabliſhed them, *Lycurgus* the law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodoſius* the emperor, according to *Cedrenus:* others think that they were diſſolved under *Conſtantine* the Great.

From this inſtitution, *Varro* accounted the *Grecian* times, and their ſtories, to be certain: but reckon'd all before either doubtful, or fabulous: and yet [b] *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the 55th *Olympiad*, as *Euſebius* out of *Diodore*, *Caſtor*, *Polybius*, and others have gathered, in whoſe time the ſeven wiſe *Grecians* flouriſhed. For *Solon* had ſpeech with *Crœſus*, and *Crœſus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of theſe *Olympiads*, namely to ſet them in the true year of the world, and the reign of ſuch and ſuch kings: but ſeeing they all differ in the firſt account, that is, of the world's year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril againſt *Julian*, and *Didymus*, begin the *Olympiads* the 49th of *Oſias* or *Azariah*.

[c] *Euſebius*, who is contrary to himſelf in this reckoning, accounts with thoſe that find the firſt *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundred and ſixth year after *Troy*, yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

[d] *Eratoſthenes* placeth the firſt *Olympiad* four hundred and ſeven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that paſſed between; to whom *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The diſtance between the deſtruction of *Troy*, and the firſt *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratoſthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the deſcent of *Hercules*'s poſterity into *Peloponneſus*, were fourſcore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threeſcore years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus*'s government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty-nine; and thence to the firſt *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight years. In this account the firſt year of the firſt *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were, to ſeek the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbring the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date far more uncertain. Let it ſuffice, that by knowing the inſtauration of theſe games, to have been in the four hundred and eighth year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that city, ſetting that, and other accidents, which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads*, muſt needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good uſe, we have the enſuing years, unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided, by the ſame *Eratoſthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the paſſage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundred fourſcore and ſeventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* war, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lyſander*, ſeven and twenty; to the battel of *Leuctra*, thirty-four; to the death of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole ſum ariſeth to four hundred fifty-three years; which number he otherwiſe alſo collecteth, and it is allowed by the moſt.

Now for placing the inſtitution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, we have arguments, grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus*'s reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as alſo upon the aſtronomical calculation of ſundry eclipſes of the ſun, as

[a] Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 1. ex Plut. Plut. *out of* Hermippus. [b] Plin. l. 36. c. 4. [c] Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. [d] Eratoſth. apud Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 1.

of

of that which happened when *Xerxes* ſet out of *Sardis* with his army to invade *Greece*; and of divers others.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reign as king, before he was lord of the great monarcy, began the firſt year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years; they who give him but twenty-nine years of reign (following *Herodotus*, rather than [a] *Tully*, *Juſtin*, *Euſebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* ſet by all good writers, in the firſt year of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexander*'s death, ſerves well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obſervations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, we ſhall find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as king, or (taking the word monarch to ſignify a lord of many kingdoms) as a great monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the 1ſt year of the 55th *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Perſian* empire, which was in the 3d of the 112th *Olympiad*, we find 230 years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus*'s monarchy, which laſted but 7 years, we find compleat 207 years, which was the continuance of the *Perſian* empire.

Now therefore ſeeing that the firſt year of *Cyrus*'s monarchy (which was the laſt of the 16th *Olympiad*, and the 240th year from the inſtitution of thoſe games by *Iphitus*) followed the laſt of the 70 years, of the captivity of *Juda*, and deſolation of the land of *Iſrael*; manifeſt it is, that we muſt reckon back thoſe 70 years, and 170 years more, the laſt which paſſed under the kings of *Juda*, to find the firſt of theſe *Olympiads*; which by this account is the 51ſt of *Uzzia*, as we have already noted.

The eclipſes whereof we made mention, ſerve well to the ſame purpoſe. For example's ſake, that which was ſeen when *Xerxes* muſtered his army at *Sardis*, in the 267th year of *Nabonaſſar*, being the laſt of the 74th *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*; whence we have a fair way thro' the 70 years, unto the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and ſo upwards thro' the reigns of the laſt kings of *Juda*, to the 51ſt year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may ſuffice, concerning the time wherein theſe *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great ſolemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourſe of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a ſuperfluous labour. It is enough to ſay, that all bodily exerciſes, or the moſt of them, were therein practiſed; as running, wreſtling, fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the maſtery in thoſe feats, whereof there was good uſe, but in running of chariots, fighting with whorl-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exerciſes, that ſerved only for oſtentation. Thither alſo repaired orators, poets, muſicians, and all that thought themſelves excellent in any laudable quality, to make trial of their skill. Yea, the very cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them ſhould get the honour, of having play'd the beſt part.

The *Eleans* were preſidents of thoſe games; whoſe juſtice, in pronouncing without partiality who did beſt, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the victors, they were none other than garlands of palm, or olive, without any other commodity following, than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held ſo much, that when *Diagoras* had ſeen his three ſons crowned for their ſeveral victories in thoſe games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere, Diagoras, non enim in cœlum aſcenſurus es*; that is, Die, *Diagoras*, for thou ſhalt not climb up to heaven: as if there could be no greater happineſs on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like ſenſe [b] *Horace* ſpeaks of theſe victors, calling them,

Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma cœleſtes.

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an *Elean* garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the people, or the ſongs of poets, that ſo highly extolled them, which had won theſe *Olympian* prizes; but even grave hiſtorians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as [c] *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they eſteemed it almoſt as great an honour, to have won the victory at running or wreſtling in thoſe games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for ſome famous victory, or conqueſt of a province.

That theſe *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the moon, and upon the fifteenth day of the month *Hecatombæon*, which doth anſwer to our *June*; and what means they uſed to make the month begin with the new moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I have ſhew'd in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their games, whom I ſhall meet in more ſerious employments, when the *Perſian* quarrels draw the body of this hiſtory into the coaſts of *Ionia* and *Helleſpont*.

SECT. VI.

Of Jotham *and his contemporaries.*

Jotham the ſon of *Uzzia*, when he was twenty five years old, and in the ſecond of [d] *Pekah* king of *Iſrael*, was anointed king in *Jeruſalem*, his father yet living. He built an exceeding high gate to the temple of threeſcore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: beſides divers cities in the hills of *Juda*, and in the foreſts, towers, and palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute, to wit, of ſilver an hundred talents, and of wheat and barly two thouſand meaſures: he reigned twenty-ſix years: of whom *Joſephus* gives this teſtimony. *Ejuſmodi vero princeps hic fuit, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus deſideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus ſuis adeo juſte præfuerit, urbem ipſam tantæ ſibi curæ eſſe paſſus ſit, & tantopere auxerit, ut univerſum regnum hoſtibus quidem minime contemnendum, domeſticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus felix, fauſtum & fortunatum ſua virtute effecerit*; This was ſuch a prince, as a man could find no kind of virtue wanting in him: he worſhipped God ſo religiouſly, he governed his men ſo righteouſly, he was ſo provident for the city, and did ſo greatly amplify it, that by his virtue and proweſs he made his whole kingdom not contemptible to his enemies, but to his ſervants, inhabitants and citizens, proſperous and happy.

[a] Tull. de Div. l. 1. Juſt. l. 1. Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. & de Dem. Evang. l. 8. c. 2. [b] Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode 2.
[c] Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco. [d] 2 Kings 15. 33.

This is all that I find of *Jotham:* his reign was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himſelf was devout and virtuous.

Auchomenes about this time ſucceeded *Phelesteus* in *Corinth:* after whom, the *Corinthians* erected magiſtrates, which governed from year to year. And yet *Pauſanias* in his ſecond book, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, that *Corinth* was governed by kings of the race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypſelus*, who drove them out.

[a] *Teglathphalaſſar*, or *Tiglathpeleſer*, the ſon of *Phul*, the ſecond of the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Iſrael*, while *Pekah* (who murder'd his maſter *Pekaiah*) was king thereof. In which expedition he took moſt of the cities of *Nephthali* and *Galilee*, with thoſe of *Gilead*, over *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metaſthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* finds, that with his ſon *Salmanaſſar* he reigned yet two years longer: which years I would not aſcribe to the ſon, becauſe the *æra* of *Nabonaſſar* begins with his ſingle reign, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulaſſar* himſelf, who therewith reigned ſeven and twenty years.

Æſchylus, the ſon of *Agamneſtor*, about the ſame time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled five and twenty years. *Alcamenes* governed *Sparta:* after whom the eſtate changed, according to *Euſebius:* but therein ſurely *Euſebius* is miſtaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pauſanias*, and others, witneſs the contrary. [b] *Pauſanias* affirmeth, that *Polydorus*, a prince of eminent virtues, ſucceeded his father, and reigned threeſcore years, and out-lived the *Meſſeniac* war: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the ſon of *Nicander*, his royal companion.

At this time lived *Nahum* the prophet, who foretold the deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* empire, and of the city of *Nineveh*; which ſucceeded (ſaith *Joſephus*) an hundred and fifteen years after. The cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media Soſarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the ſecond and third kings of thoſe parts.

SECT. VII.

Of Achaz *and his contemporaries.*

AHAS, or *Achaz*, ſucceeded unto *Jotham* in the [c] ſeventeenth year of *Pekah*, the ſon of *Remalia:* the ſame being alſo the laſt year of his father's reign, who began in the ſecond of the ſame *Pekah*, and reigned ſixteen, but not compleat years. This *Ahaz* was an idolater, exceeding all his predeceſſors. He made molten images for *Baalim*, and burnt his ſon for ſacrifice before the idol *Moloch*, or *Saturn*, which was repreſented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a calf, ſet up not far from *Jeruſalem*, in a valley ſhadowed with woods, called *Gehinnon*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is uſed for hell. The children offer'd were incloſed within the carcaſs of this idol, and as the fire increaſed, ſo the ſacrificers, with a noiſe of cymbals and other inſtruments, filled the air, to the end the pitiful cries of the children might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, and deviliſh oblation [d] *Jeremy* the prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which St. *Jerome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible ſin was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomy*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was alſo practiſed elſewhere, and by many nations remote from *Judea*, divers authors witneſs; as *Virgil* in the ſecond of his *Æneids* —— *Sanguine placâſtis, &c.* and *Silius* —— *Poſcere cæde deos.* *Saturn* is ſaid to have brought this cuſtom into *Italy*, beſides the caſting of many ſouls into the river of *Tiber*, inſtead of which *Hercules* commanded that the waxen images of men ſhould be thrown in and drowned. The devil alſo taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of butchery, inſomuch that when their city was beſieged and in diſtreſs, the prieſt made them believe, that becauſe they had ſpared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saturn* had ſtirred up and ſtrengthened their enemies againſt them: whereupon they preſently cauſed two hundred of the nobleſt youths of their city to be ſlain, and offered to *Saturn* or *Satan*, to appeaſe him: who beſides theſe fore-named nations had inſtructed the [e] *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Meſſena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Maſſagets*, and others, in theſe his ſervices: further, as if he were not content to deſtroy the ſouls of many nations in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa* (as [f] *Acoſta* writeth) the *Mexicans*, and other people of *America*, were brought by the devil under this fearful ſervitude, in which he alſo holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickedneſs of this king *Ahaz*, God ſtirred up *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah* the ſon of *Remalia*, king of *Iſrael*, againſt him, who invaded *Judæa*, and beſieged *Jeruſalem*, but enter'd it not.

The king of *Syria*, *Rezin*, poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Elah* by the *Red* ſea, and caſt the *Jews* out of it; and *Pekah* ſlaughter'd in one day [g] an hundred and twenty thouſand *Judeans*, of the ableſt of the kingdom; at which time *Maaſeiah* the ſon of *Achaz* was alſo ſlain by *Zichri*, with *Azricham* the governour of his houſe, and *Elcanah* the ſecond perſon unto the king. Beſides all this, two hundred thouſand priſoners of women and children, the *Iſraelites* led away to *Samaria:* but by the counſel of the prophet *Oded* they were returned and delivered back again.

As *Iſrael* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the north, ſo the *Edomites* and the *Philiſtines*, who evermore attended the ruin of *Judæa*, enter'd upon them from the ſouth; and took *Bethſemes*, *Ajalon*, *Gadereth*, *Socho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, [h] ſlew many people, and carried away many priſoners. Whereupon, when *Achaz* ſaw himſelf environed on all ſides, and that his idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he ſent to the *Aſſyrian Tiglathpileſer*, to deſire ſome aid from him againſt the *Iſraelites* and *Aramites*, preſenting him with the ſilver and gold both of the [i] temple and king's houſe.

Tiglathpileſer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that roſe in *Palæſtina*. His father having lately made himſelf, from a provincial lieutenant, king of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judæa*, invited by *Menahem* king of *Iſrael*. Wherefore now the ſon willingly hearkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himſelf, he was content to aſſign ſome other time for going through with this enterpriſe: becauſe (as I have ſaid before) he was not firmly ſettled at home, and the *Syrian* kings lay directly in his way, who were yet ſtrong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the treaſures of *Jeruſalem*, prepared his army, firſt invaded the territory of *Damaſcus*, won the city, and killed *Rezin*, the laſt of the race of

[a] 2 Kings 15. [b] Pauſ. l. 3. [c] 2 Kings 16. 1. 2 Chron. 28. [d] c. 7. 19---32. [e] Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 6. Dion. l. 2. Diod. l. 20. [f] Acoſt. de Hiſt. nat. & mor. Ind. [g] 2 Chron. 28. 6. [h] 2 Chron. 28. [i] 2 Kings 16.

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the *Adads*, who began with *David*, and ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damaſcus Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a pattern of the altar, ſent it to *Uriah* the prieſt, commanding the like to be made at *Jeruſalem*, whereon at his return he burnt ſacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the mean while *Tiglath* poſſeſs'd all *Baſan*, and the reſt beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſeh*. And then paſſing the river, he maſter'd the cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the kingdom of *Iſrael*, and made them his vaſſals. And notwithſtanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the ſpoil of *Iſrael*, he poſſeſs'd himſelf of the greater part of *Juda*, and as it ſeemeth enforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the ſecond of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Aſhur*, or rebelled againſt him, and therefore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and borne theſe miſeries, in the end of the ſixteenth year of his reign he died; but was not buried in the ſepulchres of the kings of *Juda*.

With *Achaz* lived *Medidus*, the third prince in *Media*, who governed forty years, ſaith [a] *Euſebius*: *Diodorus* and *Cteſias* find *Anticarmus* inſtead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Soſarmus*'s ſucceſſor, to whom they give fifty years.

Tiglath Phileſer held the kingdom of *Aſſyria*, all the reign of *Achaz*; yet ſo, that *Salmanaſſar* his ſon may ſeem to have reigned with him ſome part of the time. For we find that *Achaz* did [b] *ſend unto the kings of Aſhur to help him*. The *Geneva* note ſays, that theſe kings of *Aſhur* were *Tiglath Pileſer*, and thoſe kings that were under his dominion. But that he or his father had hitherto made ſuch conqueſts, as might give him the lordſhip over other kings, I do neither find any hiſtory, nor circumſtance that proveth. Wherefore I think that theſe kings of *Aſhur* were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanaſſar* his ſon, who reigned with his father, as hath been ſaid before: tho' how long he reigned with his father, it be hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to [c] *Plutarch*. *Euſebius* makes their beginning far later, namely in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of theſe *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the firſt, *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then joint kings. Theſe *Ephori*, choſen every year, were comptrollers as well of their ſenators as of their kings, nothing being done without their advice and conſent. For (ſaith *Cicero*) they were oppoſed againſt their kings, as the *Roman* tribunes againſt the conſuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Æſchylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever ſince the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*. *Alcamenon*, the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or governours of the *Athenians* (ſo called of *Medon*, who followed *Codrus*) ſucceeded his father *Æſchylus*, and was the laſt of their governours: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed firſt from kings (after *Codrus*) to governours for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a magiſtrate whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of burgomaſter, or governour of their city, for ten years.

This alteration *Pauſanias* in his fourth book begins in the firſt year of the eighth *Olympiad*. *Euſebius* and *Halicarnaſſæus* in the firſt of the ſeventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the firſt of theſe began his ten years rule.

The kingdom of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred years by the *Sylvii*, of the race of *Æneas*, took end in the ſame *Ahaz*'s time: the foundation of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the ſame king. *Codoman* builds it the eleventh of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth (as I think he ſhould) others ſomewhat later, and in the reign of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and others, ſquare the time of the foundation to the third year of the ſixth *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Solinus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, to the firſt year of the ſeventh: who ſeem not only to me, but to many very learned chronologers, to have kept herein the beſt account.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the antiquities of Italy, *and foundation of* Rome *in the time of* Ahaz.

SECT. I.

Of the old inhabitants, and of the name of Italy.

AND here to ſpeak of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what nations poſſeſſed it before the arrival of *Æneas*, the place may ſeem to invite us: the rather becauſe much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of thoſe elder plantations. *Italy*, before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers names; as firſt *Heſperia*, then *Auſonia*, the one name ariſing of the ſeat, the other of the *Auſones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was alſo *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom [d] *Halicarnaſſæus* thinks to have been the firſt that brought a colony of *Arcadians* into that land. Afterwards it was called *Italy*, of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* ſpeaks thus.

Eſt locus Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ:
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a land which *Greeks Heſperia* name,
Ancient, and ſtrong, of much fertility.
Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,
That by late ages of poſterity,
'Tis from a captain's name call'd *Italy*.

Who this captain or king may have been, it is very uncertain. For *Virgil* ſpeaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued ſo long upon the whole country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the firſt accepted without good cauſe. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the firſt planters of this noble country, *Reineccius* hath made a very painful ſearch, and not improbable conjecture. And firſt of all he grounds upon that of [e] *Halicarnaſſæus*, who ſpeaks of a colony which the *Eleans* did lead into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it: Secondly, upon that of [f] *Juſtin*, who ſaith, that *Brunduſium* was a colony of the *Etolians*: Thirdly, upon that of [g] *Strabo*, who affirms the ſame of *Temeſa*, or *Tempſa*, a city of the *Brutii* in *Italy*: Laſtly, upon the authority of [h] *Pliny*, who ſhews that the *Italians* did inhabit only one region of the land, whence afterwards the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is ſaid of the *Eleans* and *Etolians*, who (as he ſhews) had one original; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia* differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, ſave that

[a] Euſeb. in Chron. [b] 2 Kings 28. 16. [c] Plut. in vita Sol. [d] Halicar. l. 1. [e] Halicar. l. 1. [f] Juſtin. l. 12. [g] Strabo. l. 6. [h] Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

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the firſt letter is caſt away, which in the *Greek* words is common, and the letter [*o*] is changed into [*a*]: which change is found in the name of *Ethalia*, an iſland near *Italy*, peopled by the *Etholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Eolic* dialect; of which dialect (being almoſt proper to the *Etolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latins*, as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priſcian* the grammarian teach. Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the apoſtate, who called the *Greeks* couſins of the *Latins*. Alſo the common original of the *Greeks* and *Latins* from *Javan*; and the fable of *Janus*, whoſe image had two faces, looking eaſt and weſt, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was ſtamped on coins, with a ſhip on the other ſide; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greeks* and *Latins*: who ſailing over the *Ionian* ſea, that lies between *Ætolia* and the weſtern parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belong'd both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Beroſus*, who called *Cethim Italus*; tho' it may ſeem ſtrengthned by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilſt he abode in *Italy* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments, in my valuation greater and ſtronger, eaſily diſproved. For they, who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moſes*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the ſon of *Javan*, and nephew of *Japheth*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the country, not long before the war of *Troy*.

Likewiſe *Virgil*, who ſpeaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus*'s marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italy*; but calleth *Electra* and her ſiſter *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the mountain *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the kings of the *Aborigines*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one perſon.

As for the authority of *Beroſus* in this caſe, we need the leſs to regard it, for that *Reineccius* himſelf, whoſe conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Beroſus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verſes of *Virgil* laſt rehearſed, wherein he would not have ſaid, —— *nunc fama minores Italiam dixiſſe*, *Ducis de nomine*, *gentem*, had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the country. But ſeeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few years before the war of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a colony of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the ſame with the *Etolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus* and *Pauſanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: and ſeeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* kings, it were no great boldneſs to ſay, that *Italus* was commander of theſe *Eleans*. For tho' I remember not, that I have read of any ſuch *Greek* as was named *Italus*, yet the name of *Ætolus*, written in *Greek Aitolos*, was very famous both among the *Etolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being ſon of a king of *Elis*, and founder of the *Etolian* kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name *Italus* from *Ætolus* than *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgil*'s authority ſtand well with the collections of *Reineccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a captain, and from the nation of which he and his people were.

SECT. II.

Of the Aborigines, *and other inhabitants of* Latium, *and of the reaſon of the names of* Latini *and* Latium.

IN *Italy* the *Latins* and *Hetrurians* were moſt famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greateſt part of it under their ſubjection; and the *Latins*, by the virtue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, ſubduing all *Italy*, and in few ages whatſoever nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the weſtern parts of *Aſia*, and north of *Africk*.

The region called *Latium*, was firſt inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Varro*, and *Reineccius*, following them, think to have been *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other ſignifications that are ſtrained) imports as much as original, or native of the place, which they poſſeſſed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have always uſurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the moon, becauſe indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* enforced to forſake their ſeats, ſo oft as other *Greeks* were, who dwelt without that half-iſland, neither had the *Arcadians* ſo unſure a dwelling as the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, becauſe their country was leſs fruitful in land, mountainous and hard of acceſs, and they themſelves (as in ſuch places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of theſe therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, ſtyle themſelves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new ſeat, or their neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians* who dwelt ſomewhat far from ſea, and are always noted as unapt men to prove good mariners, ſhould have been authors of new diſcoveries, were a queſtion not eaſy to be anſwered, were it not ſo, that both fruitfulneſs of children, in which thoſe ages abounded, enforceth a ſuperfluous company to ſeek another ſeat, and that ſome expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as eſpecially that of *Evander*, into the ſame parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelaſgi*, an ancient nation, who ſometimes gave name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long ſince dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glory ſuch in *Italy*, as could long ſuſtain the name of their own tribe; for they were in ſhort ſpace accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Auſones*, *Aurunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following diſturb the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturn* was brought to ſome civility, and he therefore canonized as a God.

This *Saturn* St. *Auguſtine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others term him *Stercutius*, and ſay, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturn*, becauſe he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is queſtionleſs a fable. For as in heatheniſh ſuperſtition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many Gods of whom one fled from another; ſo in the truth of hiſtory, it is well known, that no king reigning in thoſe parts was ſo mighty, that it ſhould be hard to find one country or another, wherein a man might be ſafe from his purſuit. And yet, as moſt [a] fables and poetical fictions were occaſioned by ſome ancient truth, which either by

[a] *See* lib. 1. cap. 6. ſect. 1. & ſeq.

ambiguity

ambiguity of ſpeech or ſome alluſion, they did maimedly and darkly expreſs (for ſo they feigned a paſſage over a river in hell, becauſe death is a paſſage to another life, and becauſe this paſſage is hateful, lamentable, and painful, therefore they named the river *Styx* of hate, *Cocytus* of lamentation, and *Acheron* of pain; ſo alſo becauſe men are ſtony-hearted, and becauſe the *Greek* λαοὶ people, and λᾶες ſtones, are near in ſound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Deucalion* ſtones converted into men, as at other times men into ſtones) in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturn*'s hiding himſelf, was ſome alluſion to that old opinion of the wiſeſt of the heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in *Acts* xvii. 23. whence alſo [a] *Iſaiah* of the true God ſays, *Tu Deus abdens te.* For it cannot be in vain that the word *Saturnus* ſhould alſo have this very ſignification, if it be derived (as ſome think) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: howbeit I deny not, but that the original of this word *Latium*, ought rather to be ſought elſewhere.

Reineccius doth conjecture that the *Cetean*, who deſcended of *Cethim*, the ſon of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For theſe *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their war. *Strabo* interpeting the place of *Homer*, calls them ſubjects to the crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reineccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Aſia:* viz. *in agro Elaitico*; in the *Elaitian* territory, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a city which the *Eolians* held in *Aſia*, called *Elæa*, or *Elaia*, *Pauſanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidæmis*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamis*, which name laſt rehearſed hath a very near ſound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greek* letter [*D*] having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to [*T H*] differing only in the ſtrength or weakneſs of utterance, which is found between many *Engliſh* words written with the ſame letters. Wherefore that theſe *Ceteans* being deſcended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the ſon of *Javan*, who was progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the city and region which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elæites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, conſidering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Etolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Eolic* tribe, are found the names of the mountain *Elæus*, the haven *Eleas*, the people *Elaitæ*, the cities *Elæus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*, of which laſt it were ſomewhat harſh in the *Latin* tongue to call the inhabitants by any other name than *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetæi* and *Arcadians* had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and ſimilitude of names, they might nevertheleſs differ in ſound and pronunciation of one and the ſame word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom ſome (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus:* in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a prince that founded the city *Elateia*) be named of the *Ceteans*, *Latinus*. *Reineccius* purſuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Euripylus*, lord of the *Ceteans*, being the ſon of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* king of *Arcadia*, was ſlain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* war: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (fearing what evil might befal themſelves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* ſhould go ill) paſſed into that part of *Italy*, where the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reineccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was firſt *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*; that this name of *Elatus* may have been taken or impoſed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more eaſy to be thought, for that there were then two families, the one of *Aphidus*, the other of *Elatus*, who were ſons of *Arcas* king of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the country: and between theſe two families the ſucceſſion in that kingdom did paſs, almoſt interchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* war it fell into the hand of *Hippothous* of the race of *Elatus*, in whoſe poſterity it continued until the laſt. Again, the name *Latinus* having a derivative ſound, agrees the better with the ſuppoſition of ſuch an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reineccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leſs reproof, conſidering that it is not eaſy to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among theſe diſagreeing authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

SECT. III.

Of the ancient kings of the Latins *until* Æneas's *coming.*

THE kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus* and *Latinus*. Of *Saturn* there is nothing remembred, ſave what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be appliable to this man, it is for him to judge who ſhall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks*, called by them Κρόνος, or ſome other, ſtyled *Saturn* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have been the ſame: but the names [b] *Sterces* and *Stercutius* (for it may be this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the ſoil which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) do rather make him ſeem ſome other man.

Of *Picus* it is ſaid that he was a good horſeman. The fable of his being changed into a bird, which we call a *Pye*, may well ſeem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill he had in ſoothſaying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of fowls. *Faunus* the ſon of *Picus* reigned after his father. He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having by miſchance ſlain his father *Echemus* king of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waſte grounds on which *Rome* was afterwards built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the ſiſter of *Faunus*, was alſo his wife, as all hiſtorians agree; ſhe was held a propheteſs, and highly commended for her chaſtity; which praiſe in her muſt needs have been much blemiſhed by her marriage, itſelf being merely inceſtuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his ſiſter any child, neither do we read of any other wife which he had, ſave only that *Virgil*, *Æneid.* 7. gives unto him *Latinus* as his ſon, by a nymph called *Marica*.

[a] Iſaiah 45. 15. [b] Ezekiel *often calls the idols of the heathen* Deos ſtercoreos: *and hence it may be, that in the evangeliſt we read of* Belzebub, Belzebul, *which is interpreted* Dominus Stercoreus: *and it may be that after that* Saturn *became the name of an idol, it pleaſed God that in a like ſenſe this name* Stercutius *ſhould ſtick unto him.*

But who this *Marica* was it is not found, ſave only that her abode was about the river *Liris* near *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the ſon of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. [a] *Suidas* takes notice only of the ſecond, of whom he ſaith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people, anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his ſurname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reineccius*, the difference conſiſting almoſt in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the ſon of *Hercules*, whereas *Reineccius* makes him his nephew, by a ſon of the ſame name. This *Latinus* having obtained the ſucceſſion in that kingdom after *Faunus*, did promiſe his only daughter and heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the ſon of *Venilia*, who was ſiſter to *Amata*, *Latinus*'s wife.

But when *Æneas* arrived in thoſe parts with fifteen ſhips, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the veſſels then uſed, about one thouſand and two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would ſtand beſt with his aſſurance, to make alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himſelf had heard of in the war of *Troy*, gave his daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*; who incenſed herewith, ſought to avenge himſelf by war, which was ſoon ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the wife of *Latinus*, it is very certain, that were ſhe an *Italian*, ſhe could not have born a daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Æneas*; unleſs we ſhould wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the father, than to his ſon, who ſerved in the laſt year of the *Trojan* war. But *Reineccius* holds her an *Aſiatick*, and thinks withal that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnaſſæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a ſurname, it may ſeem by *Varro*, who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be derived from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which ſignifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the high prieſt called every virgin, whom he took to ſerve as a nun of *Veſta*; wherefore it is the more eaſily to be thought a ſurname, howſoever *Virgil* diſcourſe of her and *Venilia* her ſiſter.

Lavinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Æneas*, the kingdom of *Latium*, or the greateſt part of that country, was eſtabliſhed in that race: wherein it continued until it was over-grown by the might and greatneſs of the *Romans*.

SECT. IV.

Of Æneas, *and of the kings and governors of* Alba.

ÆNEAS himſelf being of the royal blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his wife *Creuſa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a ſon called *Aſcanius*; whoſe ſurname was *Julus*, having before the ruin of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been ſurnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* was dead, his wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and, fearing the power of this *Aſcanius*, fled into the woods, where ſhe was delivered of a ſon, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and ſurnamed *Poſthumus*, becauſe he was born after his father's funeral. This flight of *Lavinia* was ſo evil taken by the people, that *Aſcanius* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and uſing her as a queen, did foſter her young ſon, his half-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occaſions of diſagreement, or delighted with the ſituation of the place; *Aſcanius* leaving to his mother-in-law the city of *Lavinium*, which *Æneas* had built, and called after his new wife's name, founded the city *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to ſome, eight and twenty years: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his deceaſe, there aroſe contention between *Sylvius* the ſon of *Æneas*, and *Julus* the ſon of *Aſcanius*, about the kingdom: but the people inclining to the ſon of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the prieſthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the kingdom to *Sylvius Poſthumus*, whoſe poſterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reign of the *Alban* kings, with the continuance of each man's reign, I find thus ſet down.

1. *Sylvius Poſthumus*	29	years.
2. *Sylvius Æneas*	31	
3. *Sylvius Latinus*	50	
4. *Sylvius Alba*	39	
5. *Sylvius Atis*	26	
6. *Sylvius Capys*	28	
7. *Sylvius Capetus*	13	
8. *Sylvius Tiberinus*	8	
9. *Sylvius Agrippa*	41	
10. *Sylvius Alladius*	19	
11. *Sylvius Aventinus*	37	
12. *Sylvius Procas*	23	
13. *Sylvius Amulius*	44	

Sylvius Numitor.
Ilia, alſo called *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.
Romulus, *Remus*.

The moſt of theſe kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many towns in the borders of *Latium*: who ſtanding much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Priſci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* ſome think that the river *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*. The mountain *Aventinus* had name, as many write, from *Aventinus* king of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwiſe. *Julius*, the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Euſebius* as father of another *Julius*, and grandfather of *Julius Proculus*; who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder ſon of *Procas*, was deprived of his kingdom by his brother *Amulius*; by whom alſo his ſon *Ægeſthus* was ſlain, and *Ilia* his daughter made a nun of *Veſta*, that thereby the iſſue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But ſhe conceived two ſons, either by her uncle *Amulius*, as ſome think; or by *Mars*, as the poets feign; or perhaps by ſome man of war. Both the children their uncle commanded to be drown'd, and the mother buried quick, according to the law; which ſo ordained, when the veſtal virgins broke their chaſtity. Whether it was ſo, that the mother was pardon'd at the entreaty of *Antho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or puniſhed as the law required (for authors herein

[a] Suidas *in the word* Latini.

do

do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preſerved, who afterwards revenged the cruelty of their uncle, with the ſlaughter of him and all his, and reſtored *Numitor* their grand-father to the kingdom: wherein how long he reigned I find not, neither is it greatly material to know; foraſmuch as the eſtates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were preſently eclipſed by the ſwift increaſe of *Rome*; upon which the computation of time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the kingdom of *Alba* ceaſed; for *Numitor* left no male iſſue. *Romulus* choſe rather to live in *Rome*; and of the line of *Sylvius* none elſe remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by magiſtrates; of whom only two dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the days of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, king of the *Romans*, making war upon *Rome*, died in the camp; and *Metius Suffetius*, the ſucceſſor of *Cluilius*, who ſurrender'd the eſtate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both ſignories to the ſucceſs of three men on each ſide, who decided the quarrel by combat: in which the three brethren *Horatii*, the champions of the *Romans*, prevailed againſt the *Curiatii*, champions of the *Albanes*. After this combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hoſtilius* with the *Albane* forces againſt the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his companies out of the battle, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to ſuch an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with; *Tullus*, who notwithſtanding this falſhood obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel death, cauſing him to be tied to two chariots, and ſo torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* deſtroyed, and the citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free denizens, the noble families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Cæſar* being deſcended, not only gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten pedigree, in full aſſembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free eſtate of the people; but by his rare induſtry, valour, and judgment, obtained the ſoveraignty of the *Roman* empire (much by him enlarged) to himſelf and his poſterity; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* race, was ſo revived, that ſeldom, if ever, any one family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

SECT. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, *and of* Romulus's *birth and death.*

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* kingdom, I may here beſt ſhew the beginnings, which (though ſomewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the laſt that reigned in *Alba*. For how not only the bordering people, but all nations between *Euphrates* and the ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth beaſt, it is not to be deſcribed in one place, having been the work of many ages; whereof I now do handle only the firſt, as incident unto the diſcourſe preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius Cato*, *Calphurnius Piſo*, *Sempronius*, and others, ſeek to derive the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus*, *Marſylus*, and many others of equal credit, give the *Grecians* for their anceſtors: and as [a] *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth book; *Cæcilius rerum Romanarum ſcriptor eo argumento colligit, Romam a Græcis eſſe conditam, quod Romani, Græco ritu, antiquo inſtituto Herculi rem ſacram faciunt; matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani; Cæcilius* (ſaith he) *a* Roman *hiſtoriographer, doth by this argument gather, that* Rome *was built by the* Greeks, *becauſe the* Romans, *after* Greekiſh *faſhion, by ancient ordinance do ſacrifice to* Hercules: *the* Romans *alſo worſhip the mother of* Evander.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembers many founders of that city: as *Romanus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*; *Romus* the ſon of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from *Troy*, or that one *Romas*, a tyrant of the *Latines*, who drove the *Tuſcans* out of that country, built it. *Solinus* beſtows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, ſaying, That it was before-times called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive lady, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others ſay, that it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*: witneſs St. *Auguſtine* in his third book *de Civitate Dei*. But *Livy* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his conforts, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* citizen vaunting of their original, anſwered in theſe verſes:

Attamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas,
Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
*Aut paſtor fuit, aut * illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet tho' thou fetch thy pedigree ſo far;
Thy firſt progenitor, whoe'er he were,
Some ſhepherd was, or elſe, that I'll forbear.

* *Meaning either a ſhepherd or a thief.*

Now of *Romulus*'s begetting, of his education and preſervation, it is ſaid, that he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* was ſuppoſed to be his father; that he was nurs'd by a wolf, found and taken away by *Fauſtula*, a ſhepherd's wife. The ſame unnatural nurſing had *Cyrus*; the ſame incredible foſtering had *Semiramis*; the one by a bitch, the other by birds. But, as *Plutarch* ſaith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it ſeemeth to me, that he might have two purpoſes; the one, to deſtroy her, becauſe ſhe was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriouſly held the kingdom; the other to ſatisfy his appetite, becauſe ſhe was fair and goodly. For ſhe being made a nun of the goddeſs *Veſta*, it was death in her by the law to break her chaſtity. I alſo find in [b] *Fauchet*'s *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Merovée*, king of the *Francs*, was begotten by a monſter of the ſea: but *Fauchet* ſays, *Let them believe it that liſt: Il le croira qui voudra:* alſo of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: but to anſwer theſe imaginations in general, it is true, that in thoſe times, when the world was full of this barbarous idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were kings, or paſſions of the mind, or as there were of vices and virtues; then did many women, greatly born, cover ſuch ſlips as they made, by proteſting to be forced by more than human power: ſo did *Oenone* confeſs to *Paris*, that ſhe had been raviſhed by *Apollo*. And *Anchiſes* boaſted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by ſome man of war or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battle, according to the ſenſe of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a ſtrong wit, and by ſuch a one as had thoſe properties aſcribed to *Apollo*. The mother of *Merovée* might fancy a ſea captain, to be gotten with young

[a] Strabo l. 5. fol. 159.

[b] Fauchet, fol. 114.

by

by ſuch an one: as the daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a baſtard, and begotten upon ſome fair harlot, called for her beauty *Venus*, and was therefore the child of luſt, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurs'd by a wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the curteſans in thoſe days were called wolfs, *Quæ nunc* (ſaith *Halicarnaſſæus*) *honeſtiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur*; *which are now by an honeſter name called friends*. It is alſo written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world by his father *Mars*, in a great ſtorm of thunder and lightning: ſo was it ſaid that *Æneas* vaniſhed away by the river *Numicus*; but thereof *Livy* alſo ſpeaketh modeſtly; for he rehearſeth the other opinion, that the ſtorm was the fury of the ſenators, but ſeemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many authors agree that there was an unnatural darkneſs, both at his birth and at his death, and that he might be ſlain by thunder and lightning, it is not unlikely. For the emperor *Anaſtaſius* was ſlain with lightning; ſo was *Strabo*, the father of *Pompey*, ſlain with a thunderbolt: ſo *Carus* the emperor (who ſucceeded *Probus*) whilſt he lodged with his army upon the river *Tigris*, was there ſlain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the ſame kind might end him that begat him; for he was begotten by a man of war, and by violence deſtroyed. And that he died by violence (which deſtiny followed moſt of the *Roman* emperors) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the ſeventh king after him: who when he had murder'd his father-in-law, commanded that he ſhould not be buried, for (ſaid he) *Romulus* himſelf died, and was not buried. But let *Halicarnaſſæus* end this diſpute: whoſe words are theſe. *They* (ſaith he) *who draw neareſt to the truth, ſay that he was ſlain by his own citizens; and that his cruelty in puniſhments of offenders, together with his arrogancy, were the cauſe of his ſlaughter. For it is reported that both when his mother was vaniſhed, whether by ſome man, or by a God, the whole body of the ſun was eclipſed, and all the earth covered with darkneſs like unto night, and that the ſame did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*; whoſe life, hiſtorified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (beſides what is here already ſpoken of him) the conqueſt of a few miles, which had ſoon been forgotten, if the *Roman* greatneſs built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very ſtrong of body, patient of travel, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the uſe of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which cauſed him to ſlay his brother, and neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius* his companion in the kingdom, that he himſelf might be lord alone in thoſe narrow territories. He reigned ſeven and thirty years, firſt alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death ſingle, till he was ſlain, as is already ſhewed: after which time the ſoveraignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more prieſt-like than king-like: wherein *Rome* itſelf in her latter times hath ſomewhat reſembled this king. For having long been ſole governeſs, till *Conſtantinople* ſhared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greek* emperor was cruſhed by foreign enemies, and the *Latines* deſpoiled of imperial power, ſhe fell into the ſubjection of a prelate, ſwelling by degrees from the ſheep-hook to the ſword, and therewith victorious to exceſſive magnificence, from whence by the ſame degrees it fell, being driven from luxury to defenſive arms; and therein having been unfortunate, at length betakes herſelf again to the croſier's ſtaff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place, by occaſion of the ſtory of the times of king *Ahaz*, during whoſe reign in *Jewry*, the foundations of this famous city were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezekia, *and his contemporaries.*

SECT. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolemies, Nabonaſſar, Nabopolaſſar, *and* Mardocempadus, *with the hiſtory of the bible.*

AS the firſt year of *Ahaz*'s reign was confounded with the laſt of his father *Jotham*, ſo was the latter end of his ſixteen years taken up in the three firſt of *Ezekias* his ſon. This appears by the reign of *Hoſea* over *Iſrael*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz*'s fourteenth. But the third of *Hoſea* was the firſt of *Ezekia*; ſo it follows, that *Ezekia* began to reign in his father's fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hoſea*, the ſame being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almoſt ſpent when *Ezekia* began, and ſo the fifteenth year of *Ahaz* may have been concurrent, for the moſt part, with the firſt of *Ezekia*.

By ſuppoſing that *Hoſea* began his kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Ahaz* was almoſt compleat, ſome would find the means how to disjoin the firſt of *Hezekia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year *Ahaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But ſeeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezekia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the firſt year.

[a] In the fourteenth of *Ezekia*, *Sennacherib* invading *Juda*, and the countries adjoining, loſt his army by a miraculous ſtroke from heaven, fled home, and was ſlain. The year following it was that God added fifteen years to the life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the ſame year was that miracle ſeen of the ſun's going back; of which wonder (as I hear) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for his skill in aſtronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which anſwered unto the twenty-fifth of *April*, in the *Julian* year, being then *Thurſday*. I have not ſeen any works of *Scultet*, but ſurely to find a motion ſo irregular and miraculous, it is neceſſary that he produce ſome record of obſervation made at ſuch a time. Howſoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezekia* is agreed upon; and therefore we may not alter the firſt. As for that ſaying, which is uſual in the like caſes, that [b] *Ahaz ſlept with his fathers, and Ezekia his ſon reigned in his ſtead*, it doth no more prove that *Ezekia* reigned not with his father, than the like ſaying doth infer the like at the death of *Jehoſhaphat*, and ſucceſſion of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the ſon to reign whilſt his father liv'd, we have already ſaid enough.

Of this godly king *Ezekias*, we find, that his very beginning teſtified his devotion and zeal.

[a] 2 Kings 19. 35. [b] 2 Chron. 28. 27.

For

For whether it were ſo that his unfortunate and ungracious father (who had out-worn his reputation) gave way to his ſon's proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the firſt year and firſt month of his reign, wherein [a] *Ezekias* opened the doors of the temple, were to be underſtood as the beginning of his ſole government; we plainly find it to have been his firſt work, that he open'd the doors of the houſe of the Lord, which *Achaz* had ſhut up, cleanſed the city and kingdom of the idols, reſtored the [b] prieſts to their offices and eſtates, commanded the ſacrifices to be offered which had been for many years neglected, and broke down the braſen [c] ſerpent of *Moſes*, becauſe the people burnt incenſe before it, and he called it *Nehuſhtan*, which ſignifieth a lump of braſs. He did alſo celebrate the paſſover with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Iſraelites* of the ten tribes: many there were even out of thoſe tribes, that came up to *Jeruſalem*, to this feaſt. But the general multitude of *Iſrael* did laugh the meſſengers of *Ezekiah* to ſcorn.

It was not long ere they that ſcorned to ſolemnize the memorial of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* ſervitude, fell into a new ſervitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezekiah*'s reign, *Salmanaſſar* the ſon of *Tiglath*, the ſon of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hoſea* king of *Iſrael* had practiſed with *Soe* king of *Egypt*, againſt him: invaded *Iſrael*, beſieged *Samaria*, and in the 3d year (after the inhabitants had endured all ſorts of miſeries) forced it and carried thence the ten idolatrous tribes into *Aſſyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his ſon of the ſame name, and *Anna* his wife, were ſent to *Nineveh*, in whoſe ſeats and places the *Aſſyrians* ſent ſtrangers of other nations, and among them many of the ancient enemies of the *Iſraelites*, as thoſe of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, beſides *Babylonians*: whoſe places and nations I have formerly deſcribed in the treatiſe of the *Holy Land*.

Theſe latter *Aſſyrian* kings, and the *Perſians*, which follow'd them, are the firſt, of whom we find mention made both in prophane and ſacred books. Theſe therefore ſerve moſt aptly to join the times of the old world (whereof none but the prophets have written otherwiſe than fabulouſly) with the ages following that were better known, and deſcribed in courſe of hiſtory. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and ſome other *Perſians*, we find in the Bible the ſame names by which other authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanaſſar*, with other *Aſſyrian*, *Chaldean* kings, diverſity of name hath bred queſtion of the perſons. Therefore, whereas the ſcriptures do ſpeak of *Salmanaſſar*, king of *Aſſur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz*, and *Ezekiah*, king of *Judah*, and *Hoſea* king of *Iſrael*, whom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolemy* makes mention of *Nabonaſſar*, ſpeaking preciſely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to ſhew, that *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* were one and the ſame man. The like reaſon alſo requireth, that it be ſhewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he was the ſame, whom *Ptolemy* calleth *Nabopolaſſar*.

Of both theſe points *Bucholerus* hath well collected ſufficient proof from the exact calculations of ſundry good mathematicians. For by them it appears that between *Nabonaſſar* and the birth of Chriſt, there paſſed 746 years: at which diſtance of time the reign of *Salmanaſſar* was. One great proof hereof is this, which the ſame *Bucholerus* alledgeth out of *Eraſmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* tables. *Mardocempadus* king of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolemy*, ſpeaking of three eclipſes of the moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the ſame whom the ſcriptures call *Merodach*, who ſent embaſſadors to *Hezekiah* king of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, between *Merodach* and *Salmanaſſar*, we ſhall find it the ſame which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonaſſar*. Likewiſe *Functius* doth ſhew, that whereas from the deſtruction of *Samaria*, to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, in the nineenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the ſcriptures, the diſtance of 133 years: the ſelf-ſame diſtance of time is found in *Ptolemy*, between *Nabonaſſar* and *Nabopolaſſar*. For, whereas *Ptolemy* ſeems to differ from this account, making *Nabonaſſar* more ancient by an hundred and forty years, than the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, we are to underſtand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth year of his reign; ſo that the ſeven foregoing years added to theſe one hundred thirty-three, make the accounts of the ſcripture fall even with that of *Ptolemy*. *Ptolemy*'s computation is, that from the firſt of *Nabonaſſar* to the fifth of *Nabopolaſſar*, there paſſed one hundred twenty-ſeven years. Now if we add to theſe one hundred twenty-ſeven, the thirteen enſuing of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s years, before the city and temple were deſtroy'd, we have the ſum of one hundred and forty years. In ſo plain a caſe more proofs are needleſs, tho' many are brought, of which this may ſerve for all, that *Ptolemy* placeth the firſt of *Nabopolaſſar* one hundred twenty-two years after the the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, which agreeth exactly with the ſcriptures. To theſe notes are added the conſent of all mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more ſure than the authority of any hiſtory; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas hiſtorians and mathematical obſervations do ſo throughly concur.

Yet foraſmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth reſt unanſwer'd, whereby he proved *Baladan* the father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonaſſar*, I will not ſpare to loſe a word or two in giving the reader ſatisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obſervations of the heavenly bodies, which *Ptolemy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonaſſar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the ſecond year of whoſe reign, is, according to [d] *Ptolemy* concurrent in part with the twenty-ſeventh of *Nabonaſſar*. For the ſecond of three ancient eclipſes which he calculates, being in the ſecond year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonaſſar* twenty-ſeven years, ſeventeen days, and eleven hours: the account from *Nabonaſſar*, beginning at high noon the firſt day of the *Egyptian* month *Thot*, then anſwering to the twenty-ſixth of *February*; and this eclipſe being fifty minutes before midnight, on the eighteenth day of that month, when the firſt day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; ſo that the difference of time between the two kings *Nabonaſſar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolemy*, according to the *Egyptian* years. But how does this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the ſon of *Nabonaſſar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next ſucceſſor, or any way of his lineage? It was enough to ſatisfy me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himſelf did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the ne-

a 2 Chron. 29. 3. b 2 Chron. 30. c 2 Kings 18. d Ptol. Almag. l. 4. c. 8.

phew, than the ſon of *Baladan*, or *Nabonaſſar*. For if he might be either the nephew, or the ſon, he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But becauſe our countryman *Lidyate* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calviſius*, who hath drawn into form of chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, do hold up the ſame aſſertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonaſſar*: I have taken the pains to ſearch, as far as my leiſure and diligence could reach, after any ſentence that might prove the kindred or ſucceſſion of theſe two. Yet I cannot find in the *Almageſt* (for the ſcriptures are either ſilent in this point, or adverſe to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this buſineſs) any ſentence more nearly proving the ſucceſſion of *Merodach* to *Nabonaſſar*, than the place now laſt rehearſed: which makes no more, to ſhew that the one of theſe was father to the other, than (that I may uſe a like example) the as near ſucceſſion of *William* the *Conqueror* declares him to have been ſon or grand-child to *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. This conſider'd, we may ſafely go on with our account from *Nabonaſſar*, taking him for *Salmanaſſar*; and not fearing, that the readers will be driven from our book, when they find ſomething in it, agreeing with *Annius*, foraſmuch as theſe kings mention'd in ſcripture, reign'd in *Babylon*, and *Aſſyria*, in thoſe very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolemy* are aſſigned to *Beloſus*, *Nabonaſſar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the reſt: no good hiſtory naming any others, that reigned there in thoſe ages, and all aſtronomical obſervations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to theſe, or numbred from them.

SECT. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judea *from* Sennacherib.

WHEN *Salmanaſſar* was dead, and his ſon *Sennacherib* in poſſeſſion of the empire, in the fourteenth year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him ſuch tribute as was agreed on at ſuch time as *Tiglath*, the grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and father of *Salmanaſſar*, invited by *Ahaz*, invaded *Rezen* king of *Damaſcus*, and delivered him from the dangerous war which *Iſrael* had undertaken againſt him. This tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, having (as it ſeems) a purpoſe to invade *Egypt*, ſent one part of his army to lie before *Jeruſalem*. Now tho' *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchaſed his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty talents of gold, wherewith he preſented *Sennacherib*, now ſet down before *Lachis* in *Judea*; yet under the colour of better aſſurance, and to force the [a] king of *Judea* to deliver hoſtages, the *Aſſyrian* environed *Jeruſalem* with a groſs army, and having his ſword in his hand, thought it the fitteſt time to write his own conditions.

Ezechias directed his three greateſt counſellors, to parly with *Rabſaces*, over the wall, and to receive his demands: who uſed three principal arguments to perſuade the people to yield themſelves to his maſter *Sennacherib*. For though the chancellor, ſteward, and ſecretary, ſent by *Ezechias*, deſired *Rabſaces* to ſpeak unto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Jewiſh*, yet he with a more loud voice directed his ſpeech to the multitude in their own language. And for the firſt, he made them know, That if they continued obſtinate, and adhered to their king, that they would, in a ſhort time, be enforc'd to eat their own dung, and drink their own urine: Secondly, He altogether diſabled the king of *Egypt*, from whom the *Judeans* hoped for ſuccour, and compared him to a [b] broken ſtaff, on which whoſoever leaneth pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, That the Gods who ſhould help them, *Hezekiah* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by ſome) the brazen ſerpent, which had been preſerved ever ſince *Moſes*'s time: and withal he bade them remember the Gods of other nations: whom, notwithſtanding any power of theirs, his maſter had conquered and thrown down; and for God himſelf, in whom they truſted, he perſuaded them by no means to rely on him; for he would deceive them. But finding the people ſilent (for ſo the king had commanded them) after a while, when he had underſtood that the king of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerful army, he himſelf left the *Aſſyrian* forces in charge to others, and ſought *Sennacherib* at *Lebnah* in *Judea*, either to inform him of their reſolution in *Jeruſalem*, or to confer with him concerning the army of *Terhaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this, there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly adviſ'd, and partly threatned to ſubmit himſelf: uſing the ſame blaſphemous outrage againſt the all-powerful God, as before. But *Ezechias*, ſending thoſe counſellors to the prophet *Iſaiah*, which had lately been ſent to *Rabſaces*, received from him comfort, and aſſurance, that this heathen idolater ſhould not prevail; againſt whom the king alſo beſought aid from almighty God, repeating the moſt inſolent and blaſphemous parts of *Sennacherib*'s letter, before the altar of God in the temple, confeſſing this part thereof to be true, [c] *That the king of Aſhur had deſtroyed the nations and their lands, and had ſet fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the work of mens hands, even wood and ſtone*, &c.

The reaſon that moved *Sennacherib* to deſire to poſſeſs himſelf in haſte of *Jeruſalem*, was that he might thereinto have retreated his army, which was departed, as it ſeemeth, from the ſiege of *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, for fear of *Terhaca*: and tho' the ſcriptures are ſilent of that enterprize (which in theſe books of the *Kings*, and of the *Chronicles*, ſpeak but of the affairs of *Jews* in effect) yet the ancient *Beroſus*, and out of him *Joſephus* and St. *Jerome*, together with *Herodotus* remember it as followeth. [d] *Herodotus* calleth *Sennacherib* king of *Arabia* and *Aſſyria*: which he might juſtly do, becauſe *Tiglath* his grandfather held a great part thereof, which he wreſted from *Pekah* king of *Iſrael*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the reſt of *Arabia Petræa* adjoining: the ſame *Herodotus* alſo maketh *Sethon* king of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcan*'s prieſt, and reporteth that the reaſon of *Sennacherib*'s return from *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, which he alſo beſieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of rats had in one night eaten in ſunder the bow-ſtrings of his archers, and ſpoiled the reſt of their weapons in that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Terhaca*, remembred by [e] *Joſephus* and *Beroſus*, was the more urgent. St. *Jerome* upon *Iſaiah* xxxvii. out of the ſame *Beroſus*, as alſo in part out of [f] *Herodotus*, whom *Joſephus* citeth ſomewhat otherwiſe than his words lie, reports *Sennacherib*'s retreat in theſe words. *Pugnâſſe autem Sennacherib regem Aſſyriorum contra Ægyptos, &*

[a] 2 Kings 18. 21. [b] 2 Kings 18. 21. [c] 2 Kings 19. [d] Herod. l. 2. p. 69. [e] Joſeph. Ant. l. 10. c. 1. [f] Herod. Euterp. l. 2.

obſediſſe

obſediſſe Peluſium, jamque extructis aggeribus, urbi capiendæ, veniſſe Taracham regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jeruſalem centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Aſſyrii peſtilentia corruiſſe narrat Herodotus: & pleniſſime Beroſus Chaldaicæ ſcriptor hiſtoriæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda eſt; That *Sennacherib* king of the *Aſſyrians* fought againſt the *Egyptians*, and beſieged *Peluſium*, and that when his mounts were built for taking of the city, *Tarbacas* king of the *Ethiopians* came to help them, and that in one night near *Jeruſalem* one hundred and eighty-five thouſand of the *Aſſyrian* army periſhed by peſtilence. Of theſe things (ſaith *Jerome*) [a] *Herodotus* reports: and more at large *Beroſus* a writer of *Chaldean* ſtory, whoſe credit is to be taken from their own books. Out of *Iſaiah* it is gathered, that this deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* army was in this manner. [b] *Thou ſhalt be viſited of the Lord of hoſts with thunder and ſhaking, and a great noiſe, a whirlwind and a tempeſt, and a flame of devouring fire.* But [c] *Joſephus* hath it more largely out of the ſame *Beroſus*, an authority (becauſe ſo well agreeing with the ſcriptures) not to be omitted, *Sennacheribus autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, oſtendit ibi exercitum, quem ſub Rabſacis Imperio reliquerat, peſte divinitus immiſſa deletum, prima nocte poſteaquam urbem oppugnare cœperat, abſumptis cum ducibus & tribunis, centum octoginta quinque millibus militum, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis ſollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum ſuum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo poſt per inſidias ſeniorum, e filiis ſuis, Adramelechi, &* [d] *Selennari, vitam amiſit: occiſus in ipſo templo quod dicitur Araſci*; *quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulſis & in Armeniam fugientibus, Aſaracoldas minor filius in regnum ſucceſſit*; Sennacherib (ſaith *Joſephus*) returning from the *Egyptian* war, found there his army, which he had left under the command of *Rabſaces*, deſtroyed by a peſtilence ſent from God, the firſt night that he had begun to aſſault the town: one hundred fourſcore and five thouſand of the ſoldiers being conſumed with their captains and colonels. With which deſtruction being terrified, and withal afraid what might become of the reſt of his army, he made great marches into his kingdom, to his royal city, which is called *Ninus*, where ſhortly after by the treaſon of two of the eldeſt of his ſons, *Adramelech*, and *Selennar* or *Sharezer*, he loſt his life in the temple dedicated to *Araſces*, or *Neſroch*: whom he eſpecially worſhipped. Theſe his ſons being for their parricide chaſed away by the people: and flying into [e] *Armenia*, *Aſaracoldas* his younger ſon ſucceeded in the kingdom. Who in in the beginning of his reign ſent new troops out of *Aſſyria* and *Samaria*, to fortify the colony therein planted by his grandfather *Salmanaſſar*. What this *Neſroch* was, it is uncertain: *Jerome* in his *Hebrew* traditions hath ſomewhat of him, but nothing poſitively. It is certain, that *Venus Urania* was worſhipped by the *Aſſyrians*; and ſo was *Jupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Euſebius*, and *Cyrillus* witneſs. Many fancies there are, what cauſe his ſons had to murder him; but the moſt likely is, that he had formerly diſinherited thoſe two, and conferred the empire on *Aſſarhaddon*. *Tobit* tells us, That it was fifty-five days after *Sennacherib*'s return, ere he was murdered by his ſons; during which time he ſlew great numbers of the *Iſraelites* in *Nineveh*, till the moſt juſt God turned the ſword againſt his own breaſt.

SECT. III.

Of Ezechias's *ſickneſs and recovery; and of the* Babylonian *king that congratulated him.*

AFTER this marvellous delivery, *Ezechias* ſickned, and was told by *Iſaiah*, that he muſt die: but after that he had beſought God with tears for his delivery, *Iſaiah*, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the ſpirit of God to promiſe him recovery after three days, and a prolongation of his life for fifteen years. But *Ezechias*, ſomewhat doubtful of this exceeding grace, prayeth a [f] ſign to confirm him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Iſaiah*, the ſhadow of the ſun caſt itſelf the contrary way, and went back ten degrees upon the dial of *Achaz*. The cauſe that moved *Ezechias* to lament (ſaith St. *Jerome*) was, becauſe he had as yet no ſon, and then in deſpair that the *Meſſias* ſhould come out of the houſe of *David*, or at leaſt of his ſeed. His diſeaſe ſeemeth to be the peſtilence, by the medicine given him by the prophet, to wit, a maſs of figs, laid to the botch or ſore.

This wonder when the wiſe men of *Chaldæa* had told to *Merodach*, king of *Babylon*, the firſt of that houſe, he ſent to *Ezechias*, to be informed of the cauſe: at which time *Ezechias* ſhewed him all the treaſure he had, both in the court and in the kingdom: for which he was reprehended by the prophet *Iſaiah*, who told him; [g] *The days are at hand, that all that is in thine houſe, and whatſoever thy fathers have laid up in ſtore to this day, ſhall be carried into Babel*; nothing ſhall be left, ſaith the Lord. It may ſeem ſtrange, how *Ezekia* ſhould have got any treaſure worth the ſhewing: for *Sennacherib* had robbed him of all the year before. But the ſpoil of the ſame *Sennacherib*'s camp repaid all with advantage, and made *Ezekia* richer upon the ſudden than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was a ſtrong temptation to boaſting. After this time *Ezekia* had reſt, and ſpending without noiſe that addition which God had made unto his life, he died, having reigned nine and twenty years. One only offenſive war he made, which was againſt the *Philiſtines* with good ſucceſs. Among his other acts (ſhortly remembred in *Eccleſiaſticus* xlviii.) he deviſed to bring water to *Jeruſalem*.

In two reſpects they ſay that he offended God: the one, that he rejoiced too much at the deſtruction and lamentable end of his enemy; the other, that he ſo much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to ſhew them to ſtrangers. But the reaſon which moved *Ezekias* (ſpeaking humanly) to entertain the ambaſſadors of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was becauſe he came to viſit him, and brought him a preſent, congratulating the recovery of his health; as alſo in that *Merodach* had weakened the houſe of *Sennacherib* his fearful enemy. For *Merodach*, who was commander and lieutenant under *Sennacherib* in *Babylon*, uſurp'd that ſtate himſelf, in the laſt year of that king, and held it by ſtrong hand againſt his ſon *Aſſarhaddon*; who was not only ſimple, but impaired in ſtrength, by the moleſtation of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* eſpied, and remembring, that their anceſtor *Phul Belochus* had ſet his own maſter *Sardanapalus* beſide the cuſhion, thought it as lawful for himſelf to take the opportunity which this king's weak-

[a] *To wit in part; for* Herodotus *mentioneth nothing, neither of* Tarhaca *nor of* Jeruſalem, *nor of the army there.* [b] Iſa. 29. 6.
[c] Joſeph. Ant. l. 10. c. 1. [d] Selennar *otherwiſe* Sharezer, *who ſlew him as he was praying to* Niſroe *his god,* 2 Kings 19. 37. Eſd. 1. c. 4. 2. [e] 2 Kings 19. 37. Eſd. 1. c. 4. 2. [f] 2 Kings 20. [g] Iſa. 39.

neſs

neſs did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make uſe of the other's wickedneſs: and ſo, finding himſelf beloved of the *Babylonians*, and ſufficiently powerful, he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed. The aſſertion of this hiſtory is made by the ſame arguments that were uſed in maintaining the common opinion of writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearſe. So of this new race, which cut aſunder the line of *Ninus*, there were only five kings.

Phul Belochus,	who reigned	48	years.
Tiglath Philaſſar,		27	
Salmanaſſar,		10	
Sennacherib,		7	
Aſſarhaddon,		10	

But foraſmuch as the laſt year of *Salmanaſſar* was alſo the firſt of *Sennacherib* his ſon, we reckon the time, wherein the houſe of *Phul* held the *Aſſyrian* kingdom, to have been an hundred and one years; of which, the laſt five and twenty were ſpent with *Ezekia*, under *Salmanaſſar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Aſſarhaddon*.

SECT. IV.

The kings that were in Media *during the reign of* Ezekia: *Of the difference found between ſundry authors, in rehearſing the* Median *kings. Other contemporaries of* Ezekia: *Of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the kings deſcended from* Hercules.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were ſo, that variety of names, by which theſe kings were called in ſeveral hiſtories, hath cauſed them to ſeem more than indeed they were; or whether the ſons reigning with the fathers, have cauſed not only the names of kings, but the length of time, wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion; or whether the copies themſelves, of *Cteſias* and *Annius*'s *Metaſthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of theſe two authors is over-highly commended of truſtineſs; ſo it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diverſly reported of theſe *Median* kings, that follow *Arbaces*: Therefore it need not ſeem ſtrange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile ſo great a difference, as is found in thoſe writers that vary from *Euſebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here ſet down the roll of kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as ſundry authors have delivered it.

Annius's *Metaſthenes* orders them and their reigns thus.

Arbaces,	who reigned	28	years.
Mandanes,		50	
Soſarmon,		30	
Articarmin,		50	
Arbianes,		22	
Artæus,		40	
Attines,		22	
Aſtybarus, with his ſon *Apanda*,		20	
Apanda alone,		30	
Darius, with *Cyrus*,		36	

Diodorus Siculus following *Cteſias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metaſthenes* follow *Diodore*, with ſome little variation, that he might not ſeem a borrower) placeth them thus.

Arbaces,	who reigned	28	years.
Mandanes,		50	
Soſarmus,		30	
Artycas,		50	
Arbianes,		22	
Arſæus,		40	
Artynes,		22	
Artabanus,		40	
Aſtyabara, *Aſtyages*.	The continuance of theſe two he doth not mention.		

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence to reconcile theſe catalogues, and to make them alſo agree with *Euſebius*. But foraſmuch as it ſeems to me an impoſſible matter, to attain unto the truth of theſe forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Cteſias* and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Euſebius*, who lived in an age better furniſhed than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus*'s *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The kings of *Media*, according to *Euſebius*, reigned in this order.

Arbaces,	who reigned	28	years.
Soſarmus,		30	
Medidus,		40	
Cardiceas,		15	
Dejoces,		54	
Phraortes,		24	
Cyaxares,		32	
Aſtyages,		38	

Theſe names, and this courſe of ſucceſſion I retain; but add unto theſe *Cyaxares*, the ſon of *Aſtyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and ſometimes follow *Herodotus*, in ſetting down the length of a king's reign, otherwiſe than *Euſebius* hath it: of which variations I will render my reaſons in due place.

The twenty-nine years of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four firſt that were choſen governours of *Athens* for ten years; that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippomes*. Touching the firſt of theſe I hear nothing, ſave that *Rome* was built in his firſt year; of which perhaps himſelf did not hear. Of the ſecond and third I find only the names. The fourth made himſelf known by a ſtrange example of juſtice, or rather of cruelty, that he ſhewed upon his own daughter. For he finding that ſhe had offended in unchaſtity, cauſed her to be lock'd up with an horſe, giving to neither of them any food; ſo that the horſe conſtrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy woman.

In *Rome*, the firſt king, and founder of that city, *Romulus*, did reign both before and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules*, the laſt king, ruled in the ſame age.

This region was firſt called *Mæonia*. *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe ſuch authority as we find. This kingdom was afterwards, by the appointment of an oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus*, the ſon of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of theſe *Heraclidæ* continued reigning fifty-five years (in which two and twenty generations paſſed) the ſon continually ſucceeding the father. *Candaules*, the ſon of *Myrſus*, was the laſt of his race, who doated ſo much upon the beauty of his own wife, that he could not be content to enjoy

enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges*, the ſon of *Daſcylus*, to behold her naked body; and placed the unwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing to bedward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and underſtanding the matter, took it in ſuch high diſdain, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the king's folly with treaſon. So *Gyges*, being brought again into the ſame chamber by the queen, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his wife, but with the kingdom of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty-eight years, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys* reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadyattes*, twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty-ſeven; and finally *Crœſus*, the ſon of *Halyattes*, fourteen years; who loſt the kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perſia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* kings, whom *Crœſus*, his progenitor, diſpoſſeſs'd, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there ſprang many other kings, which governed ſeveral countries very long; as in *Aſia*, the *Myſians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedemonians*, *Meſſenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*; as likewiſe from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracuſans*: beſides many great and famous, tho' private families.

But of the *Heraclidæ*, that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubed myſelf to take notice in the time of their ſeveral reigns; for little is found of them beſides the bare names, and the folly of this laſt king *Candaules*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the kings that reigned in Egypt, *between the deliverance of* Iſrael *from thence, and the reign of* Ezekia *in* Juda, *when* Egypt *and* Juda *made a league againſt the* Aſſyrians.

SECT. I.

That many names of Egyptian *kings, found in hiſtory, are like to have belonged only to viceroys. An example proving this out of* William *of* Tyre's Hiſtory of the Holy War.

THE emulation and quarrels ariſing in theſe times, between the mighty kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, do require our pains, in collecting the moſt memorable things in *Egypt*, and ſetting down briefly the ſtate of that country, which had continued long a flouriſhing region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Aſſyria* for the maſtery. Of *Cham*, the ſon of *Noah*, who firſt planted that country, and of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient kings that reigned there until the *Iſraelites* were thence delivered, more hath been ſaid already than I can ſtand to; though I hold it no ſhame to fail in ſuch conjectures. That which I have delivered, in ſpeaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian Dynaſties*, muſt here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, that the great number of kings, which are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt*, were none other than viceroys or ſtewards, ſuch as *Joſeph* was, and ſuch as were the ſoldans in latter ages. Therefore, I will not only forbear to ſeek after thoſe, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of *Egyptian* prieſts, delivering them by number, without rehearſing their names; but will ſave the labour of marſhalling them in order, whoſe names only are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumſtances, proving them to have been kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not ſeem before-hand to lay an imaginary ground, whereupon after I may build what I liſt; it were not amiſs, to give unto the reader ſuch ſatisfaction in this point, as apparent reaſon and truth of hiſtory doth afford. Firſt therefore, we ought not to believe thoſe numbers of generations, which the lying prieſts have reckoned up, to magnify their antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham*, our Saviour Chriſt was removed only forty-two deſcents, which makes it evident, that in far ſhorter time, namely before the *Perſian* empire, there could not have paſſed away twice as many ſucceſſions in *Egypt*; eſpecially conſidering, that many of theſe, whoſe continuance is expreſſed, have reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we ſhould ſquare the number of the *Egyptian* kings, in ſome even proportion, to thoſe which did bear rule in other countries. As for the reſt, whoſe names we find ſcattered here and there, any man that will take the pains to read the nineteenth book of the holy war, written by *William* archbiſhop of *Tyre*, may eaſily perſuade himſelf, that it is not hard to find names enough of ſuch as might be thought to have reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than regents or viceroys. Yet will I here inſert, as briefly as I can, ſome things making to that purpoſe, for the pleaſure and information of ſuch as will not trouble themſelves with turning over many authors.

When *Elhadech* the caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerful and a ſubtil man, made himſelf ſoldan, by force and cunning chaſing away *Sanar*, an *Arabian*, who was ſoldan before and after him. This *Dargan* miniſter'd matter of quarrel to *Almaricke* king of *Jeruſalem*; and ſuſtained, with little loſs, an invaſion which *Almaricke* made upon *Egypt*. Hereupon he grew ſo inſolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former ſoldan hoped to make his party good againſt him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Egypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* ſueth to *Noradine*, king of *Damaſco*, for aid, who ſends an army of his *Turks*, under the command of *Syracon*, againſt the ſoldan *Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victory was *Dargan*'s, but he enjoyed it not: for in few days after he was ſlain by treaſon, whereby *Sanar* did recover his dignity: which to eſtabliſh, he ſlew all the kindred and friends of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great city of *Cairo*.

To all theſe doings, the caliph *Elhadech* gave little regard; for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the adminiſtration of the kingdom, whilſt he might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleaſure. But new troubles preſently ariſe, which (one would think) do nearly touch the caliph himſelf. *Syracon* with his *Turks*, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They ſeize upon the town of *Belbeis*, which they fortify, and there attend the arrival of more company from *Damaſco*, for the conqueſt of all *Egypt*. The ſoldan perceives their intent, and finds himſelf not ſtrong enough to expell them, much leſs to repell the *Turkiſh* army, that was likely to ſecond them. He therefore ſends meſſengers to king *Almaricke*, of *Jeruſalem*, whom with large promiſes he gets to bring him aid, and ſo drives out the *Turks*. Of all this trouble the great caliph hears nothing, or not ſo much as

ſhould make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater miſchief ariſeth, concerning the caliph *Elhadeth* particularly, in his own title. *Syracon*, captain of the *Turks*, that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the caliph of *Baldach* (who was oppoſite to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet*, that falſe prophet, the ſoveraignty over all that were of the *Saracen* law) and tells him the weakneſs of the *Egyptian*, with his own ability of doing ſervice in thoſe parts, offering his beſt means for the extirpation of the ſchiſmatical caliph, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the weſtern parts under the ſubjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the eaſtern provinces are up in arms; and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, deſcendeth into *Egypt*. The noiſe of this great expedition ſo affrighteth king *Almaricke*, that with all his forces he haſteth into *Egypt*; well knowing how nearly it concerned him and his kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from joining all under one head. *Sanar* the ſoldan, perceiving the faithful care of the Chriſtians his friends, welcomes them, and beſtirs himſelf in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drove the enemies out of the country. But this victory was not ſo ſoon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which moſt concerns our preſent purpoſe) that of ſo deſperate a danger, the caliph as yet ſeems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been king in title only, who meddled ſo little in the government? The ſoldan, finding that the Chriſtians (without whoſe help all was loſt) could not well ſtay, ſo long as his neceſſities required, makes large offers to king *Almaricke*, upon condition that he ſhould abide by it. He promiſeth a great tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a tribute; the *Saracens*, perhaps, called it a penſion) which the kings of *Jeruſalem* ſhould receive out of *Egypt*, for this behoveful aſſiſtance. But the Chriſtians underſtanding that the ſoldan (how much ſoever he took upon him) was ſubject to an higher lord, would make no bargain of ſuch importance with any other than the caliph himſelf. Hereupon *Hugh*, earl of *Cæſarea*, and a knight of the *Templars*, are ſent unto *Elhadech*, to ratify the Covenants. Now ſhall we ſee the greatneſs of the caliph and his eſtate.

Theſe embaſſadors were conveyed by the ſoldan to *Cairo*; where arriving at the palace, they found it guarded by great troops of ſoldiers. The firſt entrance was through dark porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which, with all diligence, did reverence unto the ſoldan, as he paſſed along. Through theſe ſtreights the warders led them, into goodly open courts, of ſuch beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of embaſſadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they ſaw goodly marble pillars, gilded beams, all wrought over with emboſſed works, curious pavements, fiſh-ponds of marble with clear waters, and many ſorts of ſtrange birds, unknown in thoſe parts of the world, as coming perhaps from the *Eaſt-Indies*, which then were undiſcovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the caliph's eunuchs conveyed them into other courts within theſe, as far excelling the former, as the former did ſurpaſs ordinary houſes. It were tedious perhaps to rehearſe how, the further they enter'd, the more high ſtate they found, and cauſe of marvel; ſuffice it, that the good archbiſhop, who wrote theſe things, was never held a vain author. Finally, they were brought into the caliph's own lodgings, which were yet more ſtately, and better guarded, where entring the preſence, the ſoldan, having twice proſtrated himſelf, did the third time caſt off his ſword that he wore about his neck, and throw himſelf on the ground, before the curtain, behind which the caliph ſat. Preſently the traverſe, wrought with gold and pearls, was open'd, and the caliph himſelf diſcover'd ſitting with great majeſty on a throne of gold, having few of his moſt inward ſervants and eunuchs about him. When the ſoldan had humbly kiſs'd his maſter's feet, he briefly told the cauſe of his coming, the danger wherein the land ſtood, and the offers that he had made unto king *Almaricke*, deſiring the caliph himſelf to ratify them, in preſence of the embaſſadors. The caliph anſwered, that he would throughly perform all which was promiſed. But this contented not the embaſſadors: they would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians*, that ſtood by, thought an impudent requeſt. Yet his greatneſs condeſcended at length, after much deliberation, at the earneſt requeſt of the ſoldan, to reach out his hand. When the earl of *Cæſarea* ſaw that the caliph gave his hand, neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, truth ſeeks no holes to hide it ſelf; princes, that will hold covenant, muſt deal openly, nakedly, and ſincerely; give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we ſhall truſt you, for we will make no bargain with your glove. Much ado there was about this: for it ſeem'd againſt the majeſty of ſuch a prince to yield ſo far. But, when it would none otherwiſe be, with a ſmiling chear (tho' to the great grief of his ſervants) he vouchſafed to let the earl take him by the bare hand; and ſo rehearſing the covenants, word by word, as the earl ſpoke them, he ratified all; diſmiſſing finally the embaſſadors, with ſuch rewards as teſtify'd his greatneſs.

In this caliph and his ſoldan, we may diſcern the image of the ancient *Pharaoh* and his viceroy: we ſee a prince of great eſtate, ſitting in his palace, and not vexing himſelf with the great preparations made againſt him, which terrify his neighbour countries: we ſee his viceroy, in the mean ſeaſon, uſing all royal power; making war and peace, entertaining and repelling armies of ſtrangers; yea, making the land of *Egypt* tributary to a foreign prince. What greater authority was given to *Joſeph*, when *Pharaoh* ſaid unto him, *Thou ſhalt be over mine houſe, and at thy word ſhall all my people be armed, only in the kings throne will I be above thee; behold, I have ſet thee over all the land of Egypt?*

I do not commend this form of government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine author, where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, ever ſince *Joſeph*'s time, have felt the burthen of that ſervitude, which he brought upon them, when he bought them, and their lands, for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgment good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* kings, in taking their eaſe, and ruling by a viceroy, to be part of the ancient cuſtoms, practiſed by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolemæus Lagi*, and his ſon *Philadelphus*, founder and eſtabliſher of that race) were given, all of them, wholly to pleaſe their own appetites, leaving the charge of the kingdom to women, eunuchs, and other miniſters of their deſires. The pleaſures, which that country afforded, were indeed ſufficient to invite the kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awful regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their princes, gave them ſecurity, whereby they might the better truſt

their

their officers with ſo ample commiſſion. But of this matter I will not ſtand longer to diſpute. It is enough to have ſhew'd, that the great and almoſt abſolute power of the viceroy's governing *Egypt*, is ſet down by *Moſes*, and that a lively example of the ſame is found in *William* of *Tyre*; who liv'd in the ſame age; was, in few years after, chancellor of the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; and had full diſcourſe with *Hugh* earl of *Cæſarea*, touching all theſe matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* have honour'd with that ſtyle; but reſt contented with a catalogue of ſuch, as we find by circumſtance likely to have reigned in that country; after whom it follows that we ſhould make enquiry.

SECT. II.

Of Acherres; *whether he were* Uchoreus *that was the eighth from* Oſymandyas. *Of* Oſymandyas *and his tomb.*

IN this buſineſs I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Euſebius* from both of them; and late writers, that have ſought to gather the truth out of theſe and others, find no one with whom they can agree. In this caſe *Annius* would do good ſervice, if a man could truſt him. But it is enough to be beholden to him, when others do either ſay nothing, or that which may juſtly be ſuſpected. I will therefore hold my ſelf contented, with the pleaſure that he hath done me, in ſaying ſomewhat of *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Orus*, and thoſe antiquaries remov'd ſo far out of ſight: as for the kings following the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, it ſhall ſuffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Euſebius*, have not been ſilent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken pains to range into ſome good order the names that are extant in theſe, or elſe found ſcattering in others.

From the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, unto the reign of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the ſame that the *Greeks* call *Proteus*) there is little or no diſagreement about the *Egyptian* kings. Wherefore I ſet down the ſame which are found in *Euſebius*, and give to every one the ſame length of reign.

Acherres was the firſt of theſe, who ſucceeded unto *Chenchres*, that periſhed in the *Red* ſea. This king ſeems to *Reineccius* to be the ſame whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great king, named *Oſymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is ſaid to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures) was the great *Oſymandyas*; or elſe that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the diſtance between them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Oſymandyas* to have been the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the ſecond his daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Joſephus*) doth omit his name, and inſert his wife's, into the catalogue of kings, becauſe he was king in his wife's right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to ſignify in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greek* word elſe doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging alſo to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the reſt had. I will not vex my brains in the unprofitable ſearch of this and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Oſymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument; the moſt thereof in figures, which I think the *Egyptians* did fabulouſly expound. For whereas there was pourtray'd a great army, with the ſiege of a town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the conqueror; all this, the *Egyptians* ſaid to denote the conqueſt of *Bactria* made by that king: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of work, which *Diodore* ſo particularly deſcribes, to have been erected for a common place of burial, to the ancient kings and queens of *Egypt*, and to their vice-roys; whilſt yet they were not ſo ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, ſtriving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many ſtatues therein placed, by the wars, the judgment-ſeat, the receiving of tribute, the offering ſacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cattel and food; all which were there curiouſly wrought, ſhewing the ſeveral offices of a governour. On the tomb of *Oſymandyas* was this inſcription: *I am* Oſymandyas *king of kings*; *if any deſire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed ſome of my works.* Let them, that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But ſince by thoſe words, *Or where I lie*, it ſhould ſeem that he lay not there interred; we may lawfully ſuſpect that it was *Joſeph* whoſe body was preſerved among the *Hebrews*, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty monument might king *Orus*, who out-liv'd him, erect in honour of his high deſerts, among the royal ſepulchres. To which purpoſe, the plenty of cattel, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name *Oſymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; ſeeing *Joſeph* had one new name given to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occaſions, have another, to his encreaſe of honour. As for that ſtyle, *King of kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkiſh Baſſaes* are called, that is, Great above the great.

Now altho' it be ſo, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of *Joſeph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whoſe viceroy *Joſeph* was) yet will I hereby ſeek, neither to fortify mine own conjecture, as touching *Joſeph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres*'s being *Uchoreus*. For it might well be, that *Memphis* was built by ſome ſuch king, as was *Gehoar*, lieutenant unto the [a] caliph *Elcain*, who having to his maſter's uſe conquer'd *Egypt*, and many other countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great city of *Cairo* (corruptly ſo pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious miſtreſs, tho' he himſelf were a *Dalmatian* ſlave.

SECT. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameſſes, *and* Amenophis. *Of* Myris, *and the lake that bears his name.*

WHEN *Acherres* had reign'd 8 years, *Cherres* ſucceeded, and held the kingdom 15 years: then reigned *Armeus* 5 years, and after him *Rameſſes* 68. Of *Armeus* and *Rameſſes* is that hiſtory underſtood by *Euſebius*, which is common among the *Greeks*, under the names of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtain'd the kingdom of *Argos*: that he

[a] John Leo Hiſt. Afric. l. 1. & l. 8.

had

had 50 daughters, whom, upon ſeeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brother's 50 ſons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that only *Hypermneſtra*, one of his daughters, did ſave her husband *Lynceus*, and ſuffer'd him to eſcape; finally, that for this fact, all the bloody ſiſters, when they died, were enjoin'd this fooliſh puniſhment in hell, to fill a leaking veſſel with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Ramaſſes Ægyptus*, is more than *Reineccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can eaſily believe, that he, which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch quality as the ſoldan *Sanar*, of whom we ſpoke before; ſo do I not find how in ſo ſhort a reign, as 5 years, a work of that labour could be finiſh'd, which was required unto the lake of *Myris*, and the monuments therein; whereof his own ſepulchre and his wife's being ſome part, it is manifeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other kings, whoſe age is uncertain, and of whoſe reigns we have no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great works are not enough to prove them of the houſe of *Pharaoh*, ſeeing that greater deeds, or more abſolute, than were thoſe of *Joſeph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the country tributary; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet down the length of their reigns, whom we find to have followed one another in order of ſucceſſion: but in rehearſing the great acts which were perform'd, I will not ſtand to examine, whether they that did them were kings or no.

The lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand ſix hundred furlongs in compaſs, and fifty fathoms deep. It ſerved to receive the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow being too great, was harmful to the country; and to ſupply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not riſe high enough. In opening the ſluices of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters; were ſpent fifty talents; but the lake it ſelf defray'd that coſt; ſeeing the tribute impoſed upon fiſh taken therein, was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his wife to buy ſweet ointments, and other ornaments for her body. In the midſt of it was left an iſland, wherein were the ſepulchres of *Myris* and his wife, and over each of them a pyramid, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in thrones. I find not the deſcription of this lake in maps, anſwerable to the report of hiſtorians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inſerting one *Armeſis* (whom *Euſebius* omits) that ſhould have reign'd one year and odd months of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameſſes*, his ſon *Amenophis* held the kingdom 40 years. Some give him only 19 years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the king that was drowned in the *Red* ſea: whereof I have already ſpoken in the firſt book.

SECT. IV.

Of the kings that reigned in the Dynaſty of the Larthes.

Ethoſis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his father *Amenophis*, fifty-five years. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that ancient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the world was not ſuch in theſe times, that ſo great an expedition, as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could have been either eaſily performed, or forgotten in the countries through which he paſſed, had it now been performed, as any man will perceive if he look upon my chronological table, and conſider who liv'd with this *Zethus*. With this king began the *Dynaſty* of the *Larthes*; which *Reineccius* conjectures to have had the ſame ſignification, wherein the old kings of *Hetruria*, were called *Lartes* (the *Hetrurians* being iſſued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have ſignified as much as *Imperator* or *General*. The wars in which theſe kings were generals, I take to have been againſt the *Ethiopians*: for ſure I am, that they troubled not the country of *Paleſtina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the deſart ſands, on the other hand, to ſeek matter of conqueſt, in the poor countries of *Africa*. But theſe generals (if the *Larthes* were ſuch) were not many. Five only had that title; and the laſt of theſe took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the firſt; in ſuch ſort as the *Roman* emperors were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the moſt unſuitable conditions of *Heliogabalus* made his ſucceſſors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the *Dynaſties* (as appears by this particular) took name from the kings; that the kings alſo did adminiſter the government themſelves; and that therefore I am deceived in aſcribing ſo much unto the viceroys. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe *Larthes*, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authority of the regents, or viceroys, might be great enough, though ſome few kings took the conduct of armies into their own hands. For ſo we find in *John Leo*, *l.* 8. that the ſoldan of *Egypt* (after ſuch time as the ſoldan *Saladine*, murdering the caliph, got the ſoveraignty to himſelf) had under him a viceroy, ſtyled *Eddaguadare*, who had authority to place, or diſplace any magiſtrates, or officers; and that this man's family was almoſt as great as the ſoldan's own. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cabir*, or lord-general of the ſoldan's forces, who had the charge of defending the land, and might, as he thought good, ſpend of the ſoldan's treaſure. So might the office of the viceroys continue, tho' the kings themſelves, taking the charge, or title of generals, upon them, did ſomewhat abridge the greatneſs of that ſecond place. As for the names of the *Dynaſties*, it ſkills not whence they were drawn; whether from their country, as thoſe of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*, or from ſome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many think, that the ſeventeenth *Dynaſty* was called of the ſhepherds, becauſe *Joſeph* governed in part thereof; or from the kings themſelves that reigned; as this was ſaid to be of the *Larthes* or *Generals*. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius*'s *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or *Generals*, yet was it not without kings, foraſmuch as *Vaphres* and *Seſac* reign'd therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the buſineſs we left.

Ramſes

Ramſes was king after *Zethus*, or *Sethoſis*, threeſcore and ſix years. He is miſtaken for that ſecond *Seſoſtris*, of whom I have ſpoken in the firſt books. I find nothing worth rehearſal of this *Ramſes*, or *Amenophis*, and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter ſix and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by theſe as hereditary.

Thuoris, the laſt of the *Larthes*, reigned only ſeven years; yet is he thought to have been that *Proteus* of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, ſaying, that he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the ſack of *Troy*, reſtored her to *Menelaus*. I need ſay no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris*'s reign, laſted not ſo long as from the rape of *Helen* to her reſtitution.

This *Proteus* or *Getes* (as he is named by ſome) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greek* writers in this buſineſs, or in other ſuch matters, may ſeem to be under-officers: for ſuch only are like to have had their reſidency about *Pharos*, and the ſea-coaſt, where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is ſaid, that he could fortel things to come, and that he could change himſelf into all ſhapes: whereby is ſignified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a proverb. The poets feigned him a ſea-god, and keeper of *Neptune*'s ſeal-fiſhes, for belike he was ſome under-officer to the admiral, having charge of the fiſhing about the iſle of *Pharos*, as was ſaid before.

Remphes, the ſon of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next king by *Diodore*, as alſo by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramſinitus*, and tells a long tale, fit to pleaſe children, of his covetouſneſs, and how his treaſure-houſe was robb'd by a cunning thief, that at laſt married his daughter. But of this a man may believe what he liſt. How long this king reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reign at all.

SECT. V.

Of Egyptian *kings whoſe names are found ſcattering in ſundry authors, their times being not recorded. The kings of* Egypt, *according to* Cedrenus. *Of* Vaphres *and* Seſac.

MANY other names of *Egyptian* kings are found ſcattered here and there; as *Tonepherſobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the ſame that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Evenes*, noted by occaſion of a great phyſician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the ſame *Suidas*, for his great juſtice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his empire extended to the ocean ſea; that he gave name to the iſle of *Thule*, which ſome take to be *Iſeland*; and that he conſulted with the devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, deſiring to know, who before him had been, or after him ſhould be ſo mighty as himſelf. The anſwer or confeſſion of the devil was remarkable; which I find engliſhed in the tranſlation of *Pleſſis*'s work, *Of the trueneſs of Chriſtian religion.* The *Greek* verſes are ſomewhat otherwiſe, and much more imperfect in thoſe copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the ſenſe is all one; which is this:

Firſt *God*, and next *The Word*, and then *The Sprit*,
Which three be *One*, and join in *One* all three:
Whoſe force is endleſs. Get thee hence frail wight,
The man of life unknown excelleth thee.

I ſhould have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found ſomewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of invocation which *Thulis* uſed, and that clauſe, of his giving name to the iſland: tho' in this laſt point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as alſo *Cedrenus* is, or, at leaſt, ſeems to me, in giving to this king ſuch profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Geneſis*, is alone enough to breed ſuſpicion of ſome impoſture: but the frierly ſtuff that he alledgeth out of it, is ſuch as would ſerve to diſcredit himſelf, were it not otherwiſe apparent, that he was a man both devout, and of good judgment, in matters that fell within his compaſs. I will here ſet down the liſt of old *Egyptian* kings delivered by him, and leave the cenſure to others.

The firſt king of *Egypt* that he ſets down is *Mizraim*, the ſon of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedigree thus: *Nimrod*, the ſon of *Chus*, was alſo called *Orion*; and further, took upon him the name of the planet *Saturn*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own lineage, and by her three ſons; *Picus*, ſurnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chaſing his father out of *Aſſyria* into *Italy*, reigned in his ſtead thirty years, and then gave up that kingdom to *Juno*, his ſiſter and wife, and to *Belus* his ſon: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the kingdom, and married his own mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy*, to viſit his old father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forthwith reſigned the kingdom to him. *Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* threeſcore and two years, had threeſcore and ten wives or concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lies buried in the iſle of *Crete*. The principal of *Jupiter*'s ſons were *Faunus*, *Perſeus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the planet *Mercury*: he reigned in *Italy* after his father five and thirty years: and then (finding that all his brethren conſpired againſt him) he went into *Egypt* with abundance of treaſure; where, after the death of *Mizraim*, he got the kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercury*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt* four years and a half. Then *Sol* the ſon of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order *Soſis*, *Oſiris*, *Orus* and *Thules* of whom we ſpake before: the length of their ſeveral reigns is not ſet down. After *Thules* was the great *Seſoſtris* king twenty years. His ſucceſſor was *Pharaoh*, called *Narecho*, that held the crown fifty years, with which there paſſed from him the ſurname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long poſterity.

Theſe reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to ſet down as I find them: let their credit reſt upon the author.

Others yet we find, that are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curioſity, in the ſearch made after theſe already rehearſed, than of negligence, in omitting ſuch as might have been added.

Vaphres, the father-in-law to *Solomon*; and *Seſac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into fair way, but not far. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the ſcriptures; but we are beholden to [a] *Clemens*

[a] Clem. Strom. l. 1. Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Alexandrinus and *Euſebius* for it. Theſe give us not the length of his reign, but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Solomon*. He came into *Paleſtina* with an army, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, [a] *Solomon*'s wife: tho' for her ſake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Seſac* his ſon did favour the enemies of *Solomon*, who kept ſo many wives and concubines, beſides this *Egyptian* princeſs. In the life of *Reboboam* all hath been written that I find of *Seſac*, excepting the length of his reign, which muſt have been ſix and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Euſebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynaſty*.

Now foraſmuch as it would ſerve to no great purpoſe, that we knew the length of *Seſac*'s reign, and of theirs that followed him, unleſs therewithal we knew the beginning of *Seſac*, upon which the reſt have dependance, this courſe I take. From the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, king of *Juda*, in which *Pharaoh Neco* was ſlain, I reckon upwards the years of the ſame *Neco*, and of his predeceſſors, unto the beginning of *Seſac*: by which account the firſt year of *Seſac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Solomon*'s reign, and the twenty-ſixth of *Seſac* with the fifth of *Reboboam*: wherein *Seſac* ſpoiled the temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his ſacrilege no longer, than *Joas* the *Iſraelite* and *Craſſus* the *Roman* did; who, after him, ſpoiled the temple of *Jeruſalem*.

To fill up the time between *Seſac* and *Necho*, I have rather taken thoſe kings that I find in the *Greek* hiſtorians, than them which are in *Euſebius*'s catalogue. For of theſe that are delivered by *Euſebius*, we find no name nor act recorded elſewhere, ſave only of *Bocchoris*, who is remember'd by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others; much being ſpoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a king. Hereunto I may add, that the ſucceſſion is often interrupted, in *Euſebius*, by *Ethiopians*, which got the kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwiſe it appears by the prophet *Eſay*, that the counſellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flouriſhing continuance of that houſe, inſomuch that they ſaid of *Pharaoh*, [b] *I am the ſon of the wiſe, I am the ſon of the ancient king*. But that, which overthrows the reckoning of *Euſebius*, is the good agreement of it with his miſtaken times of the kings of *Juda*. For tho' it pleaſe him well to ſee how the reigns of *Joſias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all; the reign of *Joſias* being miſplaced. This error grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Iſrael*: by which occaſion *Joram*, king of *Iſrael*, is made to reign three years after *Ahazia* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanaſſar*, before *Hezekia* was king: and in a word, all, or moſt of the kings have their beginnings placed in ſome other year of their collaterals, than the ſcriptures have determined.

SECT. VI.

Of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other kings recited by* Herodotus, *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned between the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezekia.

FOllowing therefore the *Greek* hiſtorians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chembis*, firſt in the rank of thoſe that were kings after *Seſac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greateſt of the three pyramids, which was accounted one of this world's wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the ſhape, in that it reſembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom upwards, narrower and narrower, to the top. This of *Chemmis*, being four-ſquare, had a baſe of ſeven acres every way, and was above ſix acres high. It was of a very hard and durable ſtone, which had laſted, when *Diodore* ſaw it, about a thouſand years, without complaining of any injury that it had ſuffered by weather in ſo long a ſpace. From the reign of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, wherein *Diodore* lived are, are indeed a thouſand years; which gives the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other pyramids, late writers teſtify, that they have ſeen them yet ſtanding.

After *Chemmis*, [c] *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his ſon *Chabreus* ſucceeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. Theſe are ſaid to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been ſon to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years, *Cephrenes* fifty-ſix. Theſe were, as *Chemmis* had been, builders of pyramids, whereby they purchaſed great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themſelves in erecting the firſt. Theſe pyramids were ordained to be tombs for thoſe that had raiſed them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is ſaid to have caſt out their bodies, and to have called their monuments by the name of an herdſman, that kept his beaſts thereabouts. It may be, [d] that the robbing them of their honour, and entitling a poor fellow to their works, was held to be the caſting out of their bodies: otherwiſe it is hard to conceive, how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like ſlavery laid upon them by the younger brother, or ſon, ſhould have power or leiſure to take ſuch revenge upon his predeceſſor. To the like malice may be aſcribed the tale deviſed againſt *Cheops*'s daughter; that her father, wanting money, did proſtitute her, and that ſhe, getting of every man that accompanied her one ſtone, did build with them a fourth pyramis, that ſtood in the midſt of the other three. Belike ſhe was an inſolent lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her ſake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raiſing a monument, with the ſuperfluity of her father's proviſions.

Mycerinus, the ſon of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his father ſix years. He would have built as his foregoers did, but, prevented by death, finiſhed not what he had begun. The people thought him a good king, for that he did ſet open the temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept ſhut. But an oracle threaten'd him with a ſhort life of ſix years only, becauſe of this his devotion; *For* (ſaid the oracle) Egypt *ſhould have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years, which thy predeceſſors knew, and performed for their parts, but thou haſt releaſed it, therefore ſhalt thou live but ſix years*. It is very ſtrange, that the gods ſhould be offended with a king for his piety; or that they ſhould decree to make a country impious, when the people were deſirous to ſerve them; or, that they having ſo decreed, it ſhould lie in the power of a king to alter deſtiny, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But theſe were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was doubtleſs more offended with the reſtitution of ſuch idolatry, than with the in-

[a] 1 Kings 9. 16. & 11. c. 9. 18, 19, &c. [b] Iſa. 19. 11. [c] Diodor. l. 1. Herod. l. 2. [d] Diod. Herod.

terruption.

terruption. And who knows, whether *Chemmis* did not learn ſomewhat at *Jeruſalem*, in the laſt year of his father *Seſac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to thoſe that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* ſuperſtition? Moſt ſure it is, that his reign, and the reigns of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* were more long and more happy, than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the oracle, revelled away both days and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into days, and ſo doubled the time appointed: a ſervice more pleaſing to the devil, than the reſtitution of idolatry durſt then ſeem, when it could ſpeed no better. I find in *Reineccius* fifty years aſſigned to this king; which I verily believe to have been ſome error of the print, tho' I find it not corrected among other ſuch overſights: for I know no author that gives him ſo many years, and *Reineccius* himſelf takes notice of the oracle, that threaten'd *Mycerinus* with a ſhort life, as is before ſhewed.

Bocchorus is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who ſpeaks no more of him than this, that he was a ſtrong man of body, and excelling his predeceſſors in wit. He is ſpoken of by divers authors, as one that loved juſtice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Euſebius* reckons four and forty years of his reign.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian* follows, in the catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Aſychis*; who made a ſharp law (as it was then held) againſt bad debtors, that their dead bodies ſhould be in the creditors diſpoſition till the debt was paid. This *Aſychis* made a pyramis of bricks, more coſtly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of thoſe that the former kings had raiſed. Beſides this *Aſychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anycis*, a blind man, before the *Ethiopian*. The reigns of theſe two are perhaps thoſe many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnify their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but ſix years; and ſo long doth *Funccius*, ſo long doth *Reineccius* hold, that theſe two kings, between them both, did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it improbable, that the reigns of two kings ſhould have been ſo ſoon ſpent, he may do it by taking ſome years from *Sethon* or *Pſammeticus*, and adding them to either of theſe: To add unto theſe, without ſubtracting from ſome other, would breed a manifeſt inconvenience; foraſmuch as part of *Seſac*'s reign muſt have been in [a] *the fifth of Rehoboam*; as alſo the laſt of *Pharaoh Neco* was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, and the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part, I like it better to allow ſix years only to theſe two kings, than to loſe the witneſs of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the ſcriptures, doth ſpeak of *Sennacherib*'s war; at which time *Sethon* was king of *Egypt*. I will not therefore add years unto theſe obſcure names; for by adding unto theſe men three years, we ſhall thruſt the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the ſcriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Egyptian* kings. Otherwiſe it were a matter of no great envy, to leave both *Aſychis* and *Anyſis* out of the roll; which were eaſily done, by placing *Seſac* lower, and extending his life yet ſix years further, or more (if the like abridgment ſhall be required of *Pſammeticus*'s reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian*, who took the kingdom from *Anyſis*, it is agreed by the moſt, that he reign'd 50 years. He was a merciful prince, not puniſhing all capital offences with death, but impoſing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whoſe toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their ſervice to hire, and perform'd many works, of more uſe than pomp, to the ſingular benefit of the country. *Zonaras* calls this king *Sua*, the ſcriptures call him *So*. *Hoſea*, the laſt king of *Iſrael*, made a league with him againſt *Salmanaſſar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendſhip could not preſerve the *Iſraelite* from deſtruction.

It ſeems, that the encroaching power of the *Aſſyrian*, grew terrible to *Egypt* about theſe times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulaſſar*, and *Salmanaſſar*, having eaten ſo far into *Syria*, in the reign of this one king *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his days (for his reign began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himſelf did make the firſt entrance into *Paleſtina*. This cauſed *So* to animate the half ſubdued people, againſt their conquerors; but the help which he and his ſucceſſor gave them was ſo faint, that *Sennacherib*'s embaſſador compar'd the *Egyptian* ſuccour to a broken ſtaff of reed. Such indeed had *Hoſea* found it, and ſuch *Ezekia* might have found it, had he not been ſupported by the ſtrong ſtaff of him, that rules all nations with a rod of iron. It appears by the words of *Rabſake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, [a] *for chariots and horſemen*; but this power, whatſoever it was, grew needful within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it ſelf, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his ſucceſſor, having now fulfilled the 50 years of his reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* prieſts, concerning the departure of this king; ſaying, that he left the country, and willingly retired into *Ethiopia*, becauſe it was often ſignified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worſhipped at *Thebes*, that his reign ſhould be neither long nor proſperous, unleſs he ſlew all the prieſts in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he reſign'd his kingdom. Surely theſe *Egyptian* gods were of a ſtrange quality, that ſo ill rewarded their ſervants, and invited kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewiſe did) worſhip dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the property of dogs, which love their maſters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the prieſts ſhould have feign'd this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be ſome device of the fearful old man, who ſeeing his realm in danger of an invaſion, ſought an honeſt excuſe for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himſelf into *Ethiopia*, where he had been bred in his youth. What if one ſhould ſay, that the *Ethiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the king (perhaps at the inſtigation of this man) raiſed an army againſt *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt*, within two or three years after? But I will not trouble my ſelf with ſuch enquiry. This I hold, that *So* or *Sabacus*, was not indeed an *Ethiopian* (for in his time lived the prophet *Iſaiah*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaoh*'s houſe) but only ſo ſurnam'd for his education, and becauſe iſſuing from thence, he got the kingdom from *Anyſis*, who was his oppoſite. The quiet and mild form of his government; his holding the kingdom ſo long without an army; and

[a] 1 Kings 14. 25. 2 Chron. 12. 2. [b] 2 Kings 18. 24.

many

many other circumſtances argue no leſs. But whether finally he betook a private life, or whether he forewent his life and kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and ſpeak of *Sethon* his next ſucceſſor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a ſure token of his having been king.

SECT. VII.

Of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezekia, *and ſided with him againſt* Sennacherib.

THE firſt year of *Sethon*'s reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fifth of *Sennacherib*. It was a troubleſome age, and full of danger; the two great kingdoms of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, being then ingaged in a war, the iſſue whereof was to determine, whether of them ſhould rule or ſerve. The *Aſſyrian* had the better men of war; the *Egyptian*, better proviſion of neceſſaries: the *Aſſyrian*, more ſubjects; the *Egyptian*, more friends; and among the new conquered half ſubjects of *Aſſur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, tho' *Aſſyrian* in outward ſhew.

Of this laſt ſort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concern'd *Pharaoh*, to protect them againſt his own great enemy, preferred the friendſhip of ſo near and mighty a neighbour, before the ſervice of a terrible, yet far remov'd king. But herein was great difference, between *Ezekia* and his ſubjects: for the good king, fixing his eſpecial confidence in God, held that courſe of policy, which he thought moſt likely to turn to the benefit of his country: the multitude of *Judea*, looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promiſed, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was ſafe, and that now they ſhould not need to fear any more of thoſe injuries, which they had ſuffer'd by the *Aſſyrians*, and ſo became forgetful of God, [a] *taking counſel but not of him.* The prophet *Iſaiah* complain'd much of this preſumption; giving the people of *Juda* to underſtand, that [b] *the Egyptians were men, and not God, and their horſes fleſh, and not ſpirit*; that God himſelf ſhould defend *Iſrael* upon repentance, and that *Aſſur ſhould fall by the ſword, but not of man.* As for the *Egyptians* (ſaid the prophet) *they are vanity, and they ſhall help in vain, their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill.*

According to the prophets words it came to paſs. For in the treaty of confederacy that was held at *Zoan*, all manner of contentment and aſſurance was given to the *Jews*, by *Sethon*, or his agents, who fill'd them with ſuch reports of horſes and chariots, that they did *not look* (as ſaith *Iſaiah* xxxi. 1, 2.) *unto the holy one of Iſrael, nor ſeek unto the Lord. But he yet is wiſeſt.*

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his army, and waken'd them out of theſe dreams; for *Sethon* their good neighbour, as near as he was, did ſeem far off, being unready, when his help was moſt needful. It may ſeem that he purpoſed, rather to make *Paleſtina* than *Egypt* the ſtage, whereon this great war ſhould be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Aſſyrians* and *Jews*, weakening one another, ſhould yield unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with money; for he ſent horſes and camels laden with treaſure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom [c] *Iſaiah* calleth *a people that cannot profit.* Theſe *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (beſides that it ſeems by the ſame place of *Iſaiah*, that the rich treaſures miſcarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any help appear'd from *Tirhaca*) all the ſtrong cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, which were in ſore diſtreſs, till the ſword of God, and not of man, defeated the *Aſſyrian*, who did go, [d] *for fear, to his tower*, that is, he fled to *Nineveh*, where he was ſlain.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it; that it was purpoſed againſt *Egypt*, where the men of war, being offended with *Sethon* their king, who had taken away their allowance, refuſed to bear arms in defence of him and their country: that *Sethon* being *Vulcan*'s prieſt, bemoan'd himſelf to his god, who by dream promis'd to ſend him helpers: that hereupon *Sethon*, with ſuch as would follow him (which were craftsmen, ſhop-keepers, and the like) march'd towards *Peluſium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the camp of *Sennacherib* by night, did ſo gnaw the bows, quivers, and ſtraps of his mens armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haſte, finding themſelves diſarm'd. In memory hereof (ſaith *Herodotus*) the ſtatue of this king is ſet up in the temple of *Vulcan*, holding a mouſe in his hand, with this inſcription: *Let him that beholds me, ſerve God.* Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* prieſts, wherein how far they ſwerved from the truth, being deſirous to magnify their own king, it may eaſily be perceiv'd. It ſeems that this image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus*'s time, or elſe perhaps, the prieſts did forbear to tell it him (which cauſed him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told, how much falſehood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this hiſtory ageeable to the ſcriptures, thus far forth: that *Sennacherib* king of the *Aſſyrians* and *Arabians* (ſo *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure ſome borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made war upon *Egypt*, and was miraculouſly driven home. As for that exploit of the mice, and the great pleaſure that *Vulcan* did unto his prieſt; happy it was (if *Sethon* were a prieſt) that he took his god now in ſo good a mood. For within three or four years before this, all the prieſts in *Egypt* ſhould have been ſlain, if a merciful king had not ſpar'd their lives, as it were half againſt the god's will. Therefore this laſt good turn was not enough to ſerve as an example, that might ſtir up the *Egyptians* to piety, ſeeing that their devotion, which had laſted ſo long before, did bring all the prieſts into danger of ſuch a bad reward. Rather I think, that this image did repreſent *Sennacherib* himſelf, and that the mouſe in his hand, ſignified hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expreſſing things) the ſhameful iſſue of his terrible expedition, or the deſtruction of his army, by means which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, ſhewed upon this ungodly king, was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the emblem, together with the temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief temple in that town where this image was erected) might give occaſion to ſuch a fable; the devil helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robb'd of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the devil, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon*, finding himſelf in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had moſt devo-

[a] Iſaiah 30. 1. [b] Iſaiah 31. 3, 8. Iſaiah 30. 7. Iſaiah 3. 4. [c] Iſaiah 30. 6. [d] Iſaiah 31. 9.

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tion. But ſo had other of his predeceſſors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained ſuccour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even ſuch of them as moſt were given to idolatry) would have been aſhamed of the confidence which they repoſed, [a] *in the chariots of Egypt, becauſe they were many, and in the horſemen, becauſe they were very ſtrong*; had it been told them, that *Sethon*, inſtead of ſending thoſe horſemen and chariots, was beſeeching *Vulcan*, to ſend him and them good luck, or elſe (for theſe alſo were *Egyptian* gods) addreſſing his prayers to ſome onyon or cat. Howſoever it was, doubtleſs the prophecy of *Iſaiah* took effect, which ſaid, *They ſhall be all aſhamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good; but ſhall be a ſhame, and alſo a reproach.* Such is commonly the iſſue of human wiſdom, when reſting ſecure upon proviſion that it ſelf hath made, it will no longer ſeem to ſtand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have been ſet down by *Euſebius*, under the name of *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Sethon*. Theſe have well obſerv'd, that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mention'd in the ſcriptures, not as a king of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that country, or at leaſt an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war laſt ſpoken of: the *Ethiopians* (as they are *Engliſhed*) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chuſites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they ſuppoſe aright, that *Euſebius* hath miſtaken one king for another. But whereas they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka*, is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Euſebius*'s account, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the firſt year of *Manaſſes* king of *Juda*. Therefore he, or his years, have no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Functius* peremptorily, citing no author, nor alledging reaſon for it, ſets him down 33 years; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not careful to examine his continuance. In this caſe, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my ſelf at the firſt, for meaſuring the reigns of theſe *Egyptian* kings. The years which paſs'd from the fifth of *Reboboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, I ſo divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the author in whom he is found, the reſt is to be conferred upon him whoſe length of reign is uncertain; that is, upon this *Sethon*. By this account I find the 33 years that are ſet down by *Functius*, to agree very nearly, if not preciſely, with the time of *Sethon*'s reign; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, tho' I could be content to have it one year leſs. The reaſon of this computation I ſhall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Pſammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the courſe of this hiſtory will ſhortly bring me; the *Egyptian* affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manaſſes, *and his contemporaries.*

SECT. I.

The wickedneſs of Manaſſes. *His impriſonment, repentance, and death.*

MANASSES, the ſon of *Ezekias*, forgetting the piety of his father, and the proſperity which followed him, ſet up, repaired, adorned, and furniſhed all the altars, temples, and high places, in which the devil was by the heathen worſhipped. Beſides, he himſelf eſteemed the ſun, the moon, and the ſtars, with all the hoſt of heaven, as gods, and worſhipped them: and of all his acts the moſt abominable was, that he burnt his ſons for a ſacrifice to the devil *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhennon*: wherein was kindled the fire of ſacrifice to the devils.

He alſo gave himſelf to all kind of witchcraft and ſorcery, accompanied and maintained thoſe that had familiar ſpirits, and all ſorts of enchanters: beſides, he ſhed ſo much innocent blood, as *Jeruſalem* was repleniſh'd therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverend prophet [b] *Iſaiah* (who was alſo of the king's race, and, as the *Jews* affirm, the father-in-law of the king) he cauſed the prophet near unto the fountain of *Siloe*, to be ſawn in ſunder, with a wooden ſaw, in the 80th year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monſtrous than hath been heard of. The ſcriptures indeed are ſilent hereof, yet the fame is confirm'd by *Epiphanius*, *Iſidore*, *Euſebius*, and others, too many to rehearſe, and too good to be ſuſpected. [c] *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the hoſt of the kings of Aſſur, which took Manaſſes, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel:* when after he had laid 20 years as a captive, and deſpoil'd of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continual prayer, the God of infinite mercy had reſpect, and mov'd the *Aſſyrians* heart to deliver him.

It is alſo likely that *Merodach*, becauſe he loved his father *Ezekias*, was the eaſilier perſuaded to reſtore *Manaſſes* to his liberty and eſtate. After which, and when he was again eſtabliſh'd, remembring the miſeries which follow'd his wickedneſs, and God's great mercies towards him, he chang'd form, deteſted his former fooliſh and deviliſh idolatry, and caſt down the idols of his own erecting, prepar'd the altar of God, and ſacrific'd thereon. He repair'd a great part of *Jeruſalem*: and died after the long reign of 55 years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manaſſes* was held in a caſe of iron by the *Aſſyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may believe as it ſhall pleaſe their fancies.

SECT. II.

Of troubles in Egypt *following the death of* Sethon. *The reign of* Pſammiticus.

THAT the wickedneſs of king *Manaſſes* was the cauſe of the evil, which fell upon his kingdom and perſon, any Chriſtian muſt needs believe: for it is affirmed in the ſcriptures. Yet was the ſtate of things in thoſe parts of the world ſuch, at

[a] Iſa. 31. 1. [b] Juſt. Mart. Cedrenus, c. 19. Glycas p. 275. Tertull. de Pat. [c] 2 Chron. 33. 11.

that time, as would have invited any prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled God's pleaſure, upon reſpect born to his own ends) deſirous of enlarging his empire, to make attempt upon *Judah*. For the kingdom of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the ſtate of *Judah* leaned, about theſe times was miſerably diſtracted with civil diſſenſion, and, after two years, ill amended by a diviſion of the government between twelve princes. After ſome good agreement between theſe, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally ſubdued by him, who made himſelf abſolute king of all. This *interregnum*, or mere anarchy, that was in *Egypt*, with the diviſion of the kingdom following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reigns of *Sabacus*, and *Pſammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth ſet the ariſtocracy, or twelve governours immediately before *Pſammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occaſion of this diſſenſion ſeems to have been the uncertainty of title to that kingdom (for that the crown of *Egypt* paſſed by ſucceſſion of blood, I have often ſhewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, tho' things were not ſettled, until one had obtained the ſoveraignty.

Theſe twelve rulers governed fifteen years, in good ſeeming agreement, which to preſerve, they made ſtrait covenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their eſtate, becauſe an oracle had foretold, that one of them ſhould depoſe all the reſt, noting him by this token, that he ſhould make a drink-offering, in *Vulcan*'s temple, out of a copper goblet. Whilſt this unity laſted, they joined together in raiſing a monument of their dominion, which was a labyrinth, built near unto the lake of *Meris*; a work ſo admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms) no words could give it commendation anſwerable to the ſtatelineſs of the work it ſelf. I will not here ſet down that imperfect deſcription, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to ſay, that he prefers it far before the pyramids, one of which (as he ſaith) excelled the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, or any of the faireſt works in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this labyrinth to have been the work of *Marus*, or *Menides*, a king which lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the war of *Troy*, and from this labyrinth, ſaith he, *Dædalus* took the pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus* or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to have been *Annemenes*, who reigned immediately before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dædalus* and *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was king. Belike *Reineccius*, deſiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chæremon*, and others, that are found in [a] *Joſephus* touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the ſtory of *Amaſis*, and *Actiſanes* the *Ethiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it conſequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon*'s *Amenophis* to be *Diodorus*'s *Amaſis*, that *Sethon* ſhould be *Actiſanes*, and that *Annemenes* ſhould be *Marus*. If in this caſe I might intrude a conjecture; the times which we now handle, are thoſe, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making ſearch; *Amaſis* was *Anyſis*; *Actiſanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of thoſe twelve princes, to whom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous labyrinth. For *Actiſanes* the *Ethiopian* depoſed *Amaſis*, *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* depoſed *Anyſis*; *Actiſanes* governed well, and was mild in puniſhing offenders; ſo likewiſe was *Sabacus*; *Marus*, the next king after *Actiſanes*, built this labyrinth; and the next (ſaving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the ſame work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living near to the age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* believed the prieſt might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their kings, and boaſting of their antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great halls, parlours, and other circumſtances remembred by *Herodotus*, in ſpeaking of this building, do help to prove, that it was the work of theſe twelve princes. But I haſten to their end.

At a ſolemn feaſt in *Vulcan*'s temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the prieſt forgetting himſelf, brought forth no more than eleven cups. Hereupon *Pſammiticus*, who ſtanding laſt had not a cup, took off his brazen helmet, and therewith ſupplied the want. This cauſed all the reſt to remember the oracle, and to ſuſpect him as a traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon ſet purpoſe, or ill intent, they forbare to kill him; but, being jealous of their eſtate, they baniſhed him into the mariſh countries by the ſea-ſide. This oracle, and the event, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I believe to have been no other: in the reſt *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, ſaying, that *Pſammiticus* hired ſoldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whoſe aid he vanquiſhed his companions, and made himſelf ſole king.

The years of his reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty-four; according to *Euſebius* forty-four; *Mercator*, to reconcile theſe two, gives forty-four years to his ſingle reign, and ten to his ruling jointly with the princes before ſpoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve governours, muſt be thought to have lived unto extream old age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threeſcore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to *Euſebius*, but will not adventure to cut five years from the ariſtocracy: tho' peradventure *Pſammiticus* was not at firſt one of the twelve, but ſucceeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of ſome prince that died, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another ſcruple there is, tho' not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of theſe *Egyptians*, as we find them ſet down, are more by one than ſerve to fill up the time between the fifth of *Rehoboam*, and the fourth of *Jehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we muſt abate one year from *Sethon*'s reign, that was of uncertain length; or elſe (which I had rather do; becauſe *Functius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himſelf alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time ſo nearly agreeing with the truth) we muſt confound the laſt year of one reign, with the firſt of another. Such a ſuppoſition were not inſolent. For no man can ſuppoſe, that all the kings, or any great part of them, which are ſet down in chronological tables, reigned preciſely ſo many years, as are aſcribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think, that the ſurpluſage of one man's time, ſupplied the defect of another's. Wherefore I confound the laſt year of thoſe fifteen, wherein

[a] Joſeph. cont. Appion, l. 1.

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the twelve princes ruled, with the firſt of *Pſammiticus*; who ſurely did not fall out with his companions, fight with them, and make himſelf lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this king, it is recorded, that he was the firſt in *Egypt*, who entertained any ſtrait amity with the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and poſſeſſions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* ſoldiers, by beſtowing them in the left wing of his army, whilſt his mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Upon this diſgrace, it is ſaid, that his ſoldiers, to the number of two hundred thouſand, forſook their natural country of *Egypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind meſſages, nor by the king himſelf, who over-took them on the way; but when he told them of their country, their wives and children, they anſwered, that their weapons ſhould get them a country, and that nature had enabled them to get other wives and children.

It is alſo reported of him, that he cauſed two infants to be brought up in ſuch ſort as they might not hear any word ſpoken; by which means he hoped to find out, what nation or language was moſt ancient; foraſmuch as it ſeemed likely, that nature would teach the children to ſpeak that language, which men ſpoke at the firſt. The iſſue hereof was, that the children cried *Beccus*, *Beccus*, which word being found to ſignify bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, ſerved greatly to magnify the *Phrygian* antiquity. *Goropius Becanus* makes no ſmall matter of this, for the honour of his *Low Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* ſignifies (as baker in *Engliſh*) a maker of bread. He that will turn over any part of *Goropius*'s works, may find enough of this kind, to perſuade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the patriarchs uſed none other tongue than the *Low Dutch*, before the confuſion of languages at *Babel*; the name itſelf of *Babel* being alſo *Dutch*, and given by occaſion of this confuſion; for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not what.

But I will not inſiſt upon all that is written of *Pſammiticus*. The moſt regardable of his acts was the ſiege of *Azotus* in *Paleſtina*, about which he ſpent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (ſaith *Herodotus*) that any city endured ſo long a ſiege as this; yet *Pſammiticus* carried it at the laſt. This town of [a] *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan*, a captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it ſeemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out ſo well.

SECT. III.

What reference theſe Egyptian *matters might have to the impriſonment and enlargement of* Manaſſes. *In what part of his reign* Manaſſes *was taken priſoner.*

WERE it certainly known, in what year of his reign *Manaſſes* was taken priſoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty; I think we ſhould find theſe *Egyptian* troubles to have been no ſmall occaſion both of his captivity and enlargement: God ſo diſpoſing of human actions, that even they, who intended only their own buſineſs, fulfilled only his high pleaſure. For either the civil wars in *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the kingdom as it were into twelve pieces, or the war between *Pſammiticus* and his colleagues; or the expedition of *Pſammiticus* unto *Syria*, and the ſiege of *Azotus* might miniſter into the *Babylonian*, either ſuch cauſe of hope, to enlarge his dominion in the ſouth parts; or ſuch neceſſity of ſending an army into thoſe parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make ſure work with the king of *Judah*. The ſame occaſions ſufficed alſo to procure the delivery of *Manaſſes*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as [b] *Joſephus* hath it) by ſubtilty, not by open force, neither did they, that apprehended him, win his country, but only waſte it. So that the *Jews* having learned wit, by the ill ſucceſs of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumſpect in making their bargain upon ſuch another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters preſented more weighty arguments of hope and fear, than the little kingdom of *Juda* could afford) had no reaſon, to ſpend his forces in purſuing a ſmall conqueſt, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he ſhould compel his mighties enemies to come to ſome good agreement; when by quitting his preſent advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manaſſes*'s reign, wherein he was taken priſoner; or concerning his captivity it ſelf, how long it laſted; the ſcriptures are ſilent, and *Joſephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus*'s three opinions, the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinks that *Manaſſes* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the author of the greater *Hebrew* chronology, who affirms, that it was in his twenty-ſeventh year; the third, of *Rabbi Kimhi* upon *Ezekiel*, who ſaith, that he was forty years an idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The firſt of theſe conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the ſecond, as more improbable, and condemns the third as moſt falſe. Yet the reaſons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the firſt, and refutation of the laſt opinion, are ſuch as may rather prove him to favour the cardinal, as far as he may (for where need requires, he doth freely diſſent from him) than to have uſed his accuſtomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmine*: the one, that *Ammon*, the ſon of *Manaſſes*, is ſaid by *Joſephus* to have followed the works of his father's youth; the other, that, had *Manaſſes* grown old in his ſins, *it is not like that he ſhould have continued as he did*, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of theſe arguments, I ſee no reaſon why the ſins of *Manaſſes* might not be diſtinguiſhed from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve years old; tho' it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimhi*) until he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the ſecond; howſoever it be a fearful thing to caſt off unto the laſt thoſe good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, that the ſins which are not forſaken before the age of two and fifty years, ſhall be puniſhed with final impenitency. But againſt theſe two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of ſcripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, that *Manaſſes* continued longer in his wickedneſs, than *Bellarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimhi*

[a] Iſa. 20. 1. [b] Joſeph. Ant. l. 10. c. 4.

hath

hath affirmed. In the ſecond book of *Kings*, the evil which *Manaſſes* did is remember'd at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; ſo that his amendment may ſeem to have taken up no great part of his life, the ſtory of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth chapter. [a] *Concerning the reſt of the Acts of Manaſſes, and all that he did, and his ſin that he ſinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Juda.* The other place is in the four and twentieth chapter of the ſame book, where, in rehearſing the calamities, with which that nation was puniſhed in the time of *Jehoiakim*, the great grand-child of this *Manaſſes*, it is ſaid; [b] *Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon Juda, that he might put them out of his ſight, for the ſins of Manaſſes, according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he ſhed (for he filled Jeruſalem with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Whoſo conſiders well theſe places, may find ſmall cauſe to pronounce it moſt falſe, that the repentance and amendment of *Manaſſes* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or moſt probable, that when he was twenty-ſeven years old, he repented, and becoming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer diſpute about this matter, ſeeing that the truth cannot be diſcovered. It ſufficeth to ſay, that two years of civil diſſenſion in *Egypt*, fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that kingdom was weaken'd, by partition of the ſoveraignty; the war of *Pſammiticus* againſt his aſſociates; and four and twenty years, of the nine and twenty, wherein the ſiege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manaſſes*, did leave no one part of his reign (after the firſt fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppreſſed by the *Babylonian*, whoſe men of war had continual occaſions of viſiting his country. All which I will add hereto is this, that the fifteenth of *Manaſſes* was the laſt year of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach*'s reign, or (accounting from the death of *Aſarhaddon*) the twentieth: The ſeven and twentieth of *Manaſſes* was the tenth of the twelve princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach:* his fortieth was the twenty-third of *Pſammiticus*, and the fifth of *Nabulaſſar*, the ſon of *Merodach* in *Babylon:* but which of theſe was the year of his impriſonment, or whether any other, I forbear to ſhew mine opinion, leſt I ſhould thereby ſeem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

This was the firſt great maſtery that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdom of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promiſed tribute to *Salmanaſſar*, yet *Ezekias* never paid it. True it is, that he hoped to ſtay [c] *Sennacherib*'s enterpriſe againſt him, by preſenting him with three hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty of gold, beſides the plate which covered the doors and pillars of the temple.

But *Manaſſes* being preſſed with greater neceſſity, could refuſe no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impoſe upon him; among which it ſeems, that this was one (which was indeed a point of ſervitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilſt they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifying with men of war all the ſtrong cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather againſt *Pſammiticus*, whoſe party he had forſaken, than againſt the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controverſy) but likewiſe by that oppoſition, which *Joſias* made afterwards to *Pharaoh Neco*, in favour of *Nabulaſſar*, which had been againſt all reaſon and policy, if it had not been his duty by covenant. Of this I will ſpeak more in convenient place.

SECT. IV.

Of the firſt and ſecond Meſſenian *wars, which were in the reigns of* Ezekia *and* Manaſſes, *kings of* Juda.

NOW concerning ſuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about theſe times of *Manaſſes*, the moſt remarkable were the *Meſſenian* wars; which happened in this age, and being the greateſt action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Perſian* wars, deſerve not to be paſſed over with ſilence.

The firſt *Meſſenian* war began and ended in the days of *Ezekia*; the ſecond in the reign of *Manaſſes:* but to avoid the trouble of interrupting our hiſtory, I have thought it beſt to rehearſe them both in this place. Other introduction is needleſs, than to ſay, that the poſterity of *Hercules*, driving the iſſue of *Pelops*, and the *Acheans*, out of their ſeats, divided their lands between themſelves, and erected the kingdoms of *Lacedemon*, *Argos*, *Meſſene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and ſought one another's ruin with bloody wars, whereof theſe *Meſſenian* were the greateſt.

The pretended grounds of the *Meſſenian* war are ſcarce worth remembrance; they were ſo ſlight. Ambition was the true cauſe of it; wherewith the *Lacedemonians* were ſo tranſported, that any thing ſerved them as a colour, to accompliſh their greedy deſires. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares*, a *Meſſenian*, had ſlain many *Lacedemonians*, for which the magiſtrates of *Sparta*, deſiring to have him yielded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Meſſenians* on the other ſide, excuſed *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, thro' injuries received from *Euæphnes* a *Lacedemonian*. This *Euæphnes* had bargained to give paſture to the cattle of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receive part of the increaſe: but not contented with the gain appointed, he ſold the cattle, and ſlaves that kept them, to merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, ſaying, that they were ſtolen. Whilſt the lie was yet ſcarce out of his mouth, one of the ſlaves that had eſcaped from the merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedemonian* being thus deprehended, confeſſed all, and promis'd large amends; which to receive, he carried the ſon of *Polychares* home with him, but having him at home, he villanouſly ſlew him. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* having refuſed, after long ſuit made by the wretched father to do him right againſt this thief and murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of thoſe things, which he did in that madneſs, whereinto they themſelves had caſt him. So ſaid the *Meſſenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromiſe, or to ſtand unto the judgment of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the general council of *Greece*, or to any other fair courſe. But the *Lacedemonians*, who had a great deſire to occupy the fair country of *Meſſene*, that lay cloſe by them, were not content with ſuch allegations. They thought it enough to have ſome ſhew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and ſo, without ſending any defiance, ſecretly took an oath, to hold war with *Meſſene*, till

[a] 2 Kings 21. 17. [b] 2 Kings 24. 3, 4. [c] 2 Kings 18.

they

they had maſter'd it; which done, they ſeized upon *Amphia*, a frontier town of that province, wherein they put all to the ſword without mercy, very few eſcaping.

Hereupon the *Meſſenians* took arms, and were met by the enemy. A furious battle was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain victory. The *Meſſenians* did ſtrongly encamp themſelves; the *Lacedemonians*, unable to force their camp, returned home. This war began in the ſecond year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the firſt of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having laſted twenty years. The two enemy nations tried the matter for a while with their proper forces, the *Lacedemonians* waſting the inland parts of *Meſſene*, and the *Meſſenians* the ſea-coſt of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends on both ſides were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Meſſene*; the *Spartans* had, beſides many ſubjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired ſoldiers out of *Crete*. So a ſecond, third, and fourth battel were fought with as great obſtinacy as the firſt; ſaving that, in the fourth battle, the *Lacedemonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victory was ſtill uncertain, tho' in one of them the *Meſſenians* loſt *Euphaes*, their king, in whoſe ſtead they choſe *Ariſtodemus*.

Many years were ſpent, ere all this blood was ſhed; for peſtilent diſeaſes, and want of money to entertain ſoldiers, cauſed the war to linger. And for the ſame reaſons did the *Meſſenians* forſake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a mountain with a town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But, as [a] ſome authors tell us, the *Lacedemonians* were ſo obſtinate in this war, becauſe of their vow, that having abſented themſelves ten years from *Sparta*, their wives ſent them word, that their city would grow unpeopled, by reaſon that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they ſent back all their ableſt young men, promiſcuouſly to accompany the young women, who got ſo many of them with child, as they became a great part of their nation, and were called *Parthenians*. [b] *Diodorus* refers the begetting of theſe *Parthenians* to a former time. But in proceſs of this *Meſſenian* war, when the devil in an oracle had adviſed the *Meſſenians* to ſacrifice a virgin of the ſtock of [c] *Egyptus*, that ſo they might be victorious againſt the *Lacedemonians*; the lot falling upon the daughter of one *Lyciſcus*, *Ephibolus* the prieſt, willing to ſave her, ſaid ſhe was only a foſter'd child, and not born of the wife of *Lyciſcus*: which anſwer giving delay to the execution of the maid, *Lyciſcus* ſecretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Ariſtodemus*, which afterwards was king, voluntarily offered his own daughter: but a young nobleman, being in love with the maid, when otherwiſe he could not prevail, ſaid openly that ſhe was no virgin, but that he had defloured her, and got her with child: whereupon the father in a rage ripped up his innocent daughter's belly, to diſprove the lover's ſlander: at the grave of which daughter of his, afterwards falling by other ſuperſtitions into deſpair of prevailing againſt the *Lacedemonians*, he ſlew himſelf, to the great hurt of his country, which he loved moſt dearly. For after his death the *Meſſenians* loſt their courage, and finding themſelves diſtreſſed by many wants, eſpecially of victuals, they craved peace; which they obtained under moſt rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits of their land they were bound to ſend unto *Sparta*; and they, with their wives, to make ſolemn lamentations, at the death of every *Spartan* king; they were alſo ſworn to live in true ſubjection to the *Lacedemonians*; and part of their territory was taken from them, which was given to the *Aſmæi*, and ſuch as had followed the *Spartans* in this war.

This peace being made upon ſo uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Meſſenians* not finding how to help themſelves) and then broke out into a new and more furious war than the former. The able young men, that were grown up in the room of thoſe *Meſſenians*, whom the former war had conſumed, began to conſider their own ſtrength and multitude, thinking themſelves equal to the *Lacedemonians*, and therefore ſcorning to ſerve ſuch maſters, as had againſt all right oppreſſed their fathers. The chief of theſe was *Ariſtomenes*, a noble gentleman, of the houſe of *Egyptus*, who perceiving the uniform deſires of his countrymen, adventured to become their leader. He therefore ſounding the affections of the *Argives*, and *Arcadians*, which he found throughly anſwerable to his purpoſe, began open war upon the ſtate of *Lacedemon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedemonians* haſted to quench the fire before it ſhould grow too hot, with ſuch forces as they could raiſe of their own, without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies ere any ſuccour were lent them. So a ſtrong battle was fought between them, and a doubtful one; ſave that the *Meſſenians* were pleaſed with the iſſue, foraſmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud lords to think them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Ariſtomenes* appeared ſuch in this fight, that his people would have made him their king: but he, refuſing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their general. Within one year another battle was fought, whereunto each party came better provided. The *Lacedemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and ſome other friends to help: the *Meſſenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This alſo was a long and bloody fight; but *Ariſtomenes* did ſo behave himſelf, that finally he made the enemies run for their lives. Of ſuch importance was this victory, that the *Lacedemonians* began to bethink themſelves of making ſome good agreement. But one *Tyrtæus*, an *Athenian* poet, whom by appointment of an oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their ſpirits with his verſes. After this, *Ariſtomenes* took by ſurpriſe a town in *Laconia*, and vanquiſhed in fight *Anaxander* king of *Sparta*, who did ſet upon him, in hopes to have recovered the booty.

But all theſe victories of *Ariſtomenes* periſhed in the loſs of one battle, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or ſurely the profit, fell unto the *Lacedemonians*, through the treaſon of *Ariſtocrates*, king of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Meſſenians* expoſed to a cruel butchery. The loſs was ſo great, that all *Andania*, their principal city, and the towns in *Meſſene*, ſtanding too far from the ſea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be ſafe abroad, was conveyed, as into a place of ſafety. Here the *Lacedemonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For beſides that *Era* it ſelf

[a] Strabo, l. 9. Oroſ. l. 1. cap. 21. [b] Diod. l. 15. [c] *This* Egyptus *was the youngeſt ſon of* Creſphon *by* Merope, *the daughter of* Cypſelus, *king of* Arcadia: *of which* Creſphon *the chief nobility of the* Meſſenians *was propagated.*

was a ſtrong piece, *Ariſtomenes* with three hundred ſtout ſoldiers did many incredible exploits that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the ſiege. He waſted all the fields of *Meſſene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away corn, wine, cattel, and all proviſions, neceſſary for his own people; the ſlaves and houſhold-ſtuff he changed into money, ſuffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this miſchief, the *Lacedemonians* made an edict, that neither *Meſſene*, nor the adjoining parts of their own country, ſhould be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almoſt undone by it. Yet the poet *Tyrtæus* appeas'd this uproar with pleaſing ſongs. But *Ariſtomenes* grew ſo bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the town, ſurpriſed and ſack'd *Amyclæ*, and finally cauſed the enemies to encreaſe and ſtrengthen their companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing theſe and other ſervices, thrice *Ariſtomenes* was taken priſoner; yet ſtill he eſcaped. One eſcape of his deſerves to be remembred, as a thing very ſtrange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to ſet upon both the kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up ſenſeleſs, and carried away priſoner, with 50 of his companions. There was a deep natural cave into which the *Spartans* uſed to caſt headlong ſuch as were condemn'd to die for the greateſt offences. To this puniſhment were *Ariſtomenes* and his companions adjudg'd. All the reſt of theſe poor men died with their falls; *Ariſtomenes* (howſoever it came to paſs) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be impriſoned in a deep dungeon, among dead carcaſſes, where he was like to periſh through hunger and ſtench. But after a while he perceived by ſome ſmall glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himſelf, that this beaſt muſt needs know ſome way, to enter the place and get out. For which cauſe he made ſhift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, ſaved himſelf from biting with the other hand, by thruſting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, until the way was too ſtrait for him, and then diſmiſs'd it. The fox being looſe, ran thro' a hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Ariſtomenes* delve ſo long with his nails, that at laſt he claw'd out his paſſage. When ſome fugitives of *Meſſene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Ariſtomenes* was return'd home, their tale ſounded alike, as if they had ſaid, that a dead man was reviv'd. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to help the *Lacedemonians* in the ſiege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their captains ſlain, and their camp taken; then was it eaſily believed that *Ariſtomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus 11 years paſs'd whilſt the enemies hovering about *Era*, ſaw no likelihood of getting it; and *Ariſtomenes* with ſmall forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the laſt, a ſlave, that had fled from *Sparta*, betray'd the place. This fellow had entic'd to lewdneſs the wife of a *Meſſenian*, and was entertain'd by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happen'd in a rainy winter night, that the husband came home unlook'd for, whilſt the adulterer was within. The woman hid her paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him, by what good fortune he was return'd ſo ſoon. He told her, that the ſtorm of foul weather was ſuch, as had made all his fellows leave their ſtations, and that himſelf had done as the reſt did; as for *Ariſtomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be fear'd, that the enemies would ſtir, in ſuch a dark rainy night as this was. The ſlave that heard theſe tidings, roſe up ſecretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedemonian* camp with the news. There he found *Emperamus* his maſter, commanding in the king's abſence. To him he utter'd all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the army into the town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the alarm was preſently taken; and the extreme darkneſs, together with the noiſe of wind and rain, hindred all directions. All the next day was ſpent in moſt cruel fight; one part being incited, by mere hope of ending a long work; the other inrag'd by mere deſperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenſed partly by the aſſiſtance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of ſervitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowneſs of the ſtreets and other paſſages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Meſſenians* were in continual toil; their enemies fought in courſe, refreſhing themſelves with meat and ſleep, and then returning, ſupplied the place of their weary fellows, with freſh companions. *Ariſtomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men, for want of relief, were no longer able to hold out (as having been three days, and three nights, vexed with all miſeries, of labour, watching, fighting, hunger and thirſt, beſides continual rain and cold) gather'd together all the weaker ſort, whom he compaſs'd round with armed men, and ſo attempted to break out thro' the midſt of the enemies. *Emperamus*, general of the *Lacedemonians*, was glad of this: and to further their departure, cauſed his ſoldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair paſſage to theſe deſperate madmen. So they iſſued forth, and arrived ſafe in *Arcadia*, where they were moſt lovingly entertained.

Upon the firſt bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themſelves to the reſcue: but *Ariſtocrates* their falſe-hearted king, ſaid it was too late, for that all was already loſt. When *Ariſtomenes* had placed his followers in ſafety, he choſe out 500 the luſtieſt of his men, with whom he reſolv'd to march in all ſecret haſte to *Sparta*, hoping to find the town ſecure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the ſpoil of *Meſſene*. In this enterpriſe, if he ſped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedemonians* would be glad to recover their own, by reſtitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worſt that could happen. There were 300 *Arcadians* that offer'd to join with him; but *Ariſtocrates* mar'd all, by ſending ſpeedy advertiſement thereof, to *Anaxander* king of *Sparta*. The epiſtle which *Anaxander* ſent back to *Ariſtocrates*, was intercepted, by ſome that miſtruſted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falſehood, which being publiſhed in open aſſembly, the *Arcadians* ſtoned him to death, and caſting forth his body unburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note, that the perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Ariſtomenes* no more is remaining to be ſaid, than that committing his people to the charge of his ſon *Gorgus* and other ſufficient governours, who ſhould plant them in ſome new ſeat abroad, he reſolv'd

ſolv'd himſelf to make abode in thoſe parts, hoping to find the *Lacedemonians* work at home. His daughters he beſtow'd honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus* who reign'd in the iſle of *Rhodes* took to wife, being willed by an oracle to marry the daughter of the beſt man in *Greece*. Finally, *Ariſtomenes* went with his daughters to *Rhodes*, whence he purpoſed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the ſon of *Gyges* king of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* king of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* were invited by *Anaxilas* (whoſe great grandfather was a *Meſſenian* and went into *Italy* after the former war) being lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italy*, to take his part againſt the *Zancleans* in *Sicily*, on the other ſide of the ſtraits. They did ſo; and winning the town of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This ſecond *Meſſenian* war ended in the firſt year of the 28th *Olympiad*. Long after which time, the reſt of that nation, who ſtaying at home ſerv'd the *Lacedemonians*, found means to rebel; but were ſoon vanquiſh'd, and being driven to forſake *Peloponneſus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewiſe, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedemonians*, and then followed their ancient countrymen into *Italy* and *Sicily*; ſome of them went into *Africa*, where they choſe unto themſelves a ſeat.

It is very ſtrange, that during 280 years, this baniſh'd nation retain'd their name, their ancient cuſtoms, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forſaken country, with a deſire to return to it. In the third year of the 102d *Olympiad*, that great *Epaminondas*, having tam'd the pride of the *Lacedemonians*, revok'd the *Meſſenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponneſus*. There did *Epaminondas* reſtore unto them their old poſſeſſion, and help them in building a fair city; which, by the name of the province, was called *Meſſena*, and was held by them ever after, in deſpight of the *Lacedemonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth ſtood in fear.

SECT. V.

Of the kings that were in Lydia *and* Media, *while* Manaſſes *reigned. Whether* Deioces *the* Mede *were that* Arphaxad *which is mentioned in the book of* Judith. *Of the hiſtory of* Judith.

ARDYS king of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are ſpoken of by *Pauſanias*, as reigning ſhortly after the *Meſſenian* war. *Ardys* ſucceeding unto his father *Gyges*, began his reign of 49 years, in the 2d of the 25th *Olympiad*. He follow'd the ſteps of his father, who encroaching upon the *Ionians* in *Aſia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardys* won *Priene*, and aſſailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expell'd out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Aſia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this man's grand-child, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into *Lydia*, but won the city of *Sardes*; tho' the caſtle or citadel thereof was defended againſt them, and held ſtill for king *Ardys*; whoſe long reign was unable, by reaſon of this great ſtorm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not king until the third year of the 29th *Olympiad*, which was 6 years after the *Meſſenian* war ended; the ſame being the laſt year of *Manaſſes*'s reign over *Juda*.

Deioces, the father of this *Phraortes*, was king of *Media*, three and fifty of theſe five and fifty years in which *Manaſſes* reign'd. This *Deioces* was the firſt that ruled the *Medes* in a ſtrict form, commanding more abſolutely than his predeceſſors had done. For they following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people ſo much licence, as cauſed every one to deſire the wholſome ſeverity of a more lordly king. Herein *Deioces* anſwered their deſires to the full. For he cauſed them to build for him a ſtately palace; he took unto him a guard for defence of his perſon; he ſeldom gave preſence, which alſo when he did, it was with ſuch auſterity, that no man durſt preſume to ſpit or cough in his ſight. By theſe and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awful regard, and highly upheld the majeſty, which his predeceſſors had almoſt letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his royal office, he did uprightly and ſeverely adminiſter juſtice, keeping ſecret ſpies to inform him of all that was done in the kingdom. He car'd not to enlarge the bounds of his dominion, by encroaching upon others; but ſtudied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this king, and ſuch as were before him, ſeems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus*, *l.* 1. delivers, that *Deioces* was the firſt who reign'd in *Media*.

This was he that built the great city of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he ſhould be that king *Arphaxad*, mention'd in the ſtory of *Judith*, as alſo *Ben Merodach*, by the ſame account, ſhould be *Nabuchodonoſor* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was ſlain, and *Holophernes* ſent to work wonders, upon *Phud* and *Lud*, and I know not what other countries. For I reckon the laſt year of *Deioces* to have been the 19th of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwiſe, ſome earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, ſome later, in the reign of *Nabulaſſar*, who is alſo called *Nabuchodonoſor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath much labour been ſpent, with ill ſucceſs. The reigns of *Cambyſes*, *Darius*, *Hyſtaſpis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been ſought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times foregoing the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have now in hand, choſen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing beſt with the ſtory; tho' others herein cannot (I ſpeak of ſuch as fain would) agree with him. Whilſt *Cambyſes* reign'd, the temple was not rebuilt, which in the ſtory of *Judith*, is found ſtanding and dedicated. The other *Perſian* kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonoſor*, whoſe part they refuſed to take, and who ſent to deſtroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath ſome conveniences, aptly fitting this hiſtory; and above all the opinion of a few ancient writers (without whoſe judgment the authority of this book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Perſian* monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious king. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitled him to the buſineſs. Manifeſt it is, and granted, that in the time of this hiſtory, there muſt be a return from captivity lately foregoing; the temple rebuilt; *Jehoachim* high prieſt; and a long peace, of threeſcore and ten years, or thereabout, enſuing. All theſe were to be among the *Jews*. Likewiſe on the other ſide, we muſt find a king that reign'd in

Nineveh,

Nineveh, eighteen years at the leaſt; that vanquiſhed and ſlew a king of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refuſed to aſſiſt; one that ſought to be generally adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples of ſuch as were accounted gods to be deſtroyed; one whoſe viceroy or captain-general knew not the *Jewiſh* nation, but was fain to learn what they were, of the bordering people.

Of all theſe circumſtances; the prieſthood of *Joachim*, with a return from captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manaſſes* before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the reſt of circumſtances requiſite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the captivity of the *Jews* and deſolation of the city. Wherefore the brief deciſion of this controverſy is, *that the book of* Judith *is not canonical.* Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was poſſible in ſo deſperate a caſe. For he ſuppoſeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps reſtored and re-edified the city of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonoſor* might be another. This granted, he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that is, five or ſix years, the abſence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Grecian* expedition (which he ſuppoſeth to have been ſo long) might give occaſion unto *Arphaxad* of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonoſor* having vanquiſhed and ſlain *Arphaxad*, might then ſeek to make himſelf lord of all by the army which he ſent forth under *Holofernes*. So ſhould the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their ſoveraign lord, and reſiſting one that rebelled againſt him; as alſo the other circumſtances rehearſed before be well applied to the argument. For in theſe times, the affairs of *Jewry* were agreeable to the hiſtory of *Judith*, and ſuch a king as this ſuppoſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we ſhall need to think him. But the ſilence of all hiſtories takes away belief from this conjecture: and the ſuppoſition itſelf is very hard, that a rebel, whoſe king was abroad, with an army conſiſting of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men, ſhould preſume ſo far, upon the ſtrength of twelve hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand archers on horſeback, as to think that he might do what he liſts, yea, that there was none other God than himſelf. It is indeed eaſy to find enough that might be ſaid againſt this device of *Torniellus*; yet if there were any neceſſity of holding the book of *Judith* to be canonical, I would rather chuſe to lay aſide all regard of profane hiſtories, and build ſome defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text itſelf. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Perſian* kings, *Bellarmine* (whoſe works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That ſhe lived not in the reign of *Manaſſes*, *Torniellus* hath proved very ſubſtantially, ſhewing how the cardinal is driven, as it were, to break thro' a wall, in ſaying that the text was corrupted, where it ſpake of the deſtruction of the temple foregoing her time. That the kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonoſor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of mere phantaſy, it is ſo plain, that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly ſay, that they, which have contended about the time of this hiſtory, being well furniſhed of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themſelves (like naked men in a ſtony field) have chas'd *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *extra anni ſoliſque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Surely to find out [a] *the borders of* Japheth, *which were towards the ſouth, and over-againſt* Arabia, or the countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofornes*'s his way; I think it would as much trouble coſmographers, as the former queſtion hath done chronologers. But I will not buſy my ſelf herewith; having already ſo far digreſſed, in ſhewing who lived not with *Manaſſes*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearſe what others I find to have had their part in the long time of his reign.

SECT. VI.

Of other princes and actions that were in theſe times.

THE firſt year of *Manaſſes* was the the laſt of *Romulus*; after whoſe death, one year the *Romans* wanted a king. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabin* choſen; a peaceable man and ſeeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had emyloyed only in wars, to ſome good civility, and a more orderly faſhion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with ſuperſtition; as perſuading them, that he had familiarity with a nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him many ceremonies, which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all theſe devices of *Numa* were, in his own judgment, no better than mere deluſions, that ſerved only as rudiments, to bring the ſavage multitude of thieves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to ſome form of milder diſcipline, than their boiſterous and wild natures was otherwiſe apt to entertain. This appeared by the books that were found in his grave, almoſt ſix hundred years after his death, wherein the ſuperſtition taught by himſelf was condemned as vain. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belong'd to one *L. Petilius* a ſcribe. Two coffins or cheſts of ſtone were in it, with an inſcription in *Greek* and *Latin* letters, which ſaid that *Numa Pompilius* the ſon of *Pompo*, king of the *Romans* lay there. In the one coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly conſumed. In the other were his books wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own conſtitutions ſeven, and other ſeven of philoſophy. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner freſh and new. The prætor of the city deſiring to have a ſight of theſe books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refuſed to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a ſolemn oath, that they were againſt the religion then in uſe. Hereupon the ſenate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It ſeems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himſelf into wiſer ages which he thought would follow, as one that had not been ſo fooliſh as to believe the doctrine wherein he inſtructed his own barbarous times. But the poiſon wherewith he had infected *Rome* when he ſat in his throne had not left working, when he miniſtred the antidote out of his grave. Had theſe books not come to light, until the days of *Tully* and *Ceſar*, when the miſt of ignorance was ſomewhat better

[a] Judith 2. 23, 25.

diſcuſſed;

diſcuſſed; likely it is that they had not only eſcaped the fire, but wrought ſome good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they ſerved as a confutation, without remedy, of idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third king choſen, in the ſix and fortieth year of *Manaſſes*, and reigned two and thirty years, buſied, for the moſt part in war. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cauſe to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thuſcanes*, cauſed them to bethink themſelves of a courſe, whereby, without effuſion of ſo much blood as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who ſhould command, and who obey.

There were in each camp three brethren twins born at one birth (*Dionyſius* ſays, that they were couſin-germans) of equal years and ſtrength, who were appointed to fight for their ſeveral countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, champions for the *Romans*, got the victory, tho' two of them firſt loſt their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tells it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their oppoſites were ſlain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reaſon of their hurts could not follow him with equal ſpeed, to follow him at ſuch diſtance one from another, that returning upon them, he ſlew them, as it had been in ſingle fight, man after man, ere they could join together, and ſet upon him all at once. *Dionyſius* reports it ſomewhat otherwiſe, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and ſaying, that firſt one of the *Horatii* was ſlain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a ſecond *Horatius*, and laſtly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly ſever the one from the other, as is ſhewed before.

This is one of the moſt memorable things in the old *Roman* hiſtory, both in regard of the action it ſelf, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in wager, againſt *Alba*, and in reſpect of the great increaſe which thereby the *Roman* ſtate obtained. For the city of *Alba* did immediately become ſubject unto her own colony, and was ſhortly after, upon ſome treacherous dealing of their governour, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome*, where they were made citizens. The ſtrong nation of the *Latins*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother city, had been chief, became ere long dependant upon *Rome*, tho' not ſubject unto it, and divers petty ſtates adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were ſmall, yet many, I will forbear to rehearſe (as being the works of ſundry ages, and few of them remarkable conſidered apart by themſelves) until ſuch time as this fourth empire, that is now in the infancy, ſhall grow to be the main ſubject of this hiſtory.

The ſeventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the firſt of *Manaſſes*. Alſo the three laſt governors for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the ſame king's time. Of theſe I find only the names, *Leocrates*, *Apſander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly rulers were elected.

Theſe governors for ten years were alſo of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was ſhortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years; it being thought likely, that they would govern the better, when they knew, that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow [a] *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, in applying their times unto thoſe years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the chronological table, following this work, doth ſet them. For he not only profeſſeth himſelf to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted always the years of the *Greeks*, how they did anſwer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of his hiſtory. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the firſt year of the ſeventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the ſame was the firſt year of *Charop*'s government in *Athens*; I hope I ſhall not need excuſe, for varying from *Pauſanias*, who ſets the beginning of theſe *Athenians* ſomewhat ſooner.

In the reign of *Manaſſes* it was, that *Midas*, whom the poets feigned to have had aſſes ears, held the kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deviſed of him; eſpecially that he obtain'd of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he ſhould touch, might immediately be chang'd into gold: by which means he had like to have been ſtarv'd (his meat and drink being ſubject to the ſame tranſformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miſerable faculty, by cauſing him to waſh himſelf in the river *Pactolus*, the ſtream whereof hath ever ſince forſooth abounded in that precious metal. Finally it is ſaid, he died by drinking bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flouriſh'd that *Antimachus*, who (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obſerv'd the moon's eclipſe at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Mileſians*, or (as *Euſebius* hath it) the *Athenians*, having obtain'd ſome power by ſea, founded *Macicratis* a city on the eaſt of *Egypt*. *Pſammiticus* herein ſeems to have aſſiſted them, who uſed all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his ſureſt ſtrength. For neither *Miletus*, nor *Athens*, were now of power ſufficient to plant a colony in *Egypt* by force.

About this time, *Archias* with his companion *Miſcellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded [b] *Syracuſe* in *Sicily*: a city in after-times exceeding famous.

The city of *Nicomedia*, ſometime [c] *Aſtacus*, was inlarg'd and beautify'd in this age, by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sibylla* of *Samus* according to *Pauſanias* lived much about this time.

About theſe times alſo was *Croton* founded upon the bay of *Tarentum* by *Miſcellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuſe*: *Strabo* makes it ſomewhat more ancient, and ſo doth *Pauſanius*.

About the ſame time, the *Parthenians*, being of age, and baniſhed *Lacedemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*, where it is ſaid they founded *Tarentum*: but [d] *Juſtin* and *Pauſanias* find it built before, and by them conquer'd and amplify'd. Alſo about the ſame time, *Manaſſes* yet living, the city *Phaſelis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the region of the *Umbri*, now called *Urbin* in *Italy*. About which time alſo *Chalcedon* in *Aſia*, over-againſt *Byzantium* (now *Conſtantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenſes*: who therefore were upbraided as blind, becauſe they choſe not the other ſide of *Boſphorus*. It were a long work to rehearſe all that is ſaid to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manaſſes*: that which hath already been told is enough: the reſt, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reſerving only *Ben Merodach* and *Nabulaſſar*, to the buſineſs that will ſhortly require more mention of them.

[a] Dion. Halic. l. 1. fol. 43. & 45. [b] Plut. & Euſeb. [c] *Whence in* Strabo *there is* ſinus Aſtacenus, *a part of* Propontis *where this city ſtandeth.* Pauſ. l. 5. Hal. l. 3. Strabo l. 6. [d] Juſtin. l. 3. Pauſ. l. 10.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manaſſes *to the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem.

SECT. I.

Of Ammon *and* Joſias.

AMMON the ſon of *Manaſſe*, a man no leſs wicked than was his father before his converſion, reſtored the exerciſe of all ſorts of idolatry: for which [a] God harden'd the hearts of his own ſervants againſt him: who ſlew him after he had reigned two years: *Philo*, *Euſebius* and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the *Septuagint*.

Joſias ſucceeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of eight years old. He began to ſeek after the God of *David* his father; and in his twelfth year he purged [b] *Juda and Jeruſalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten images: and they broke down in his ſight the altars of Baalim.* He cauſed all the images, as well thoſe which were graven, as molten, to be ſtamp'd to powder, and ſtrew'd on their graves that had erected them: and this he commanded to be done throughout all his dominions. He alſo ſlew thoſe that ſacrified to the ſun and moon, and cauſed the chariots and horſes of the ſun to be burnt. Of *Joſias* it was propheſied, in the time of *Jeroboam* the firſt, when he erected the golden calf at *Bethel*, that a child ſhould be born unto the houſe of *David*, *Joſias* by name, and [c] *upon thee* (ſaid the prophet ſpeaking to the altar) *ſhall he ſacrifice the prieſts of the high places, that burn incenſe upon thee.* A prophecy very remarkable.

In the 18th year of his reign, he rebuilt and repaired the temple, at which time *Helkiah* the prieſt found the book of *Moſes* called *Deuteronomy*, or, *of the Law*, which he ſent to the king: which when he had cauſed to be read before him, and conſidered of the ſevere commandments therein written, the proſperity promiſed to thoſe that obſerve them, and the ſorrow and extirpation to the reſt, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask counſel of the propheteſs *Huldah*, or *Olda*, concerning the book, who anſwered the meſſengers in theſe words: [d] *Thus ſaith the Lord, behold I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curſes that are written in the book, which they have read before the king of Juda, becauſe they have forſaken me, and burnt incenſe to other Gods.* Only for the [e] king himſelf, becauſe he was a lover of God and of his laws, it was promis'd that this evil ſhould not fall on *Juda* and *Jeruſalem* in his days, but that he himſelf ſhould inherit his grave in peace.

Joſias aſſembled the elders, cauſed the book to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and cauſed all that were found in *Jeruſalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promiſing thereby to obſerve the laws and commandments in the book contained.

The execution done by *Joſias* upon the altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the falſe prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his dominion to have extended unto thoſe countries, that had been part of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victory of *Joſias* in war got poſſeſſion of theſe places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* oppoſed himſelf againſt *Aſarhaddon*, did uſe the advantage which the faction in the north preſented unto him, and laid hold upon ſo much of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, as he was able to people. Otherwiſe alſo it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himſelf unable to deal with *Pſammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raiſe the ſiege of *Azotus*, tho' the town held out 29 years) did give unto *Manaſſes*, together with his liberty, as much in *Iſrael* as himſelf could not eaſily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the kings of *Juda* had ſo long held with thoſe of *Egypt*, by caſting a bone between them, and withal by this benefit of enlarging their territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendſhip of the *Jews*, which had been loſt by injuries done, in ſeeking to bereave them of their own. When it is ſaid, that *Manaſſes* did after his deliverance from impriſonment, [f] *put captains of war in all the ſtrong cities of Juda*; it may be that ſome ſuch buſineſs is intimated, as the taking poſſeſſion, and fortifying of places deliver'd into his hands. For though it be manifeſt that he took much pains, in making *Jeruſalem* it ſelf more defenſible; yet I ſhould rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortify himſelf againſt the *Egyptians*, whoſe ſide he had forſaken, than that he travelled in making ſuch proviſions, only for his mind's ſake. The earneſtneſs of *Joſias* in the king of *Babel*'s quarrel doth argue, that the compoſition which *Manaſſes* had made, with that king or his anceſtor, was upon ſuch friendly terms, as required not only a faithful obſervation, but a thankful requital. For no perſuaſions could ſuffice to make *Joſias* ſit ſtill, and hold himſelf quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharaoh Neco* king of *Egypt* paſſed along by him, to war upon the countries about the river of *Euphrates*.

The laſt year of *Joſias*'s it was, when as *Neco*, the ſon of *Pſammiticus*, came with a powerful army towards the border of *Judea*, determining to paſs that way being the neareſt towards [g] *Euphrates*, either to ſtrengthen the paſſages of that river about *Carchemiſh* or *Cercuſium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Diocleſian* is ſaid by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it ſelf. For it ſeemeth that the travel of *Pſammiticus* had not been idlly conſumed about that one town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in poſſeſſion of no ſmall part of *Syria*, eſpecially in thoſe quarters, that had formerly belonged unto the *Adads* kings of *Damaſco*.

Neither was the induſtry of *Neco* leſs than his father's had been, in purſuing the war againſt *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly have avail'd the *Egyptians*, and advanc'd their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better ſoldiers than *Egypt* could of it ſelf afford; and the danger wherein *Aſſyria* ſtood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more abſolute princes began to feel it ſelf better, and to ſhew what it could do. Theſe were great helps, but of ſhorter endurance than was the war; as in place more convenient ſhall be noted. At the preſent it ſeems, that either ſome preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or ſome diſability of theirs to make reſiſtance, did invite the king of *Egypt* into the countries border-

[a] 1 Kings 21. 2 Chron. 33. [b] 2 Kings 22. 2 Chron. 34. [c] 1 Kings 13. [d] 2 Chron. 34. 24. [e] 2 Kings 22. 18. 2 Chron. 34. [f] 2 Chron. 33. 14. [g] 2 Chron. 35. 20.

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ing upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharaoh Neco* aſcended with a mighty army.

Theſe two great monarchs, having their ſwords drawn, and contending for the empire of that part of the world, *Joſias* adviſed with himſelf to which of theſe he might adhere, having his territory ſet in the mid way between both, ſo as the one could not invade the other, but that they muſt of neceſſity tread upon the very face and body of his country: now tho' it were ſo, that *Neco* himſelf deſired by his embaſſadors [a] leave to paſs along by *Judea*, proteſting that he directed himſelf againſt the *Aſſyrians* only, without all harmful purpoſe againſt *Joſias*; yet all ſufficed not, but the king of *Iſrael* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught what little good the friendſhip of *Egypt* could bring to thoſe that had affiance therein: as that of *Hoſea*, the laſt king of *Iſrael*, who, when he fell from the dependance of the *Aſſyrian*, and wholly truſted to *Sabacus* or *Sous*, king of *Egypt*, was utterly diſappointed of his hopes, and in concluſion loſt both his life and eſtate, which the *Aſſyrian* ſo rooted up, and tore in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or re-planted. The calamities alſo, that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezekia*, whilſt that good king and his people relied upon *Sethon*, and more lately, the impriſonment of *Manaſſes*, were documents of ſufficient proof, to ſhew the ill aſſurance, that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours tho' they were) were always unready, when the neceſſities of their friends required their aſſiſtance. The remembrance hereof might be the reaſon why *Neco* did not ſeek to have the *Jews* renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to ſit ſtill, and behold the paſtime between him and the *Aſſyrians*. This was an eaſy thing to grant, ſeeing that the countenance of ſuch an army, as did ſoon after this out-face *Nabulaſſar*, upon his own borders, left unto the *Jews* a lawful excuſe of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe, that this religious and virtuous prince *Joſias* was not ſtirred up only by politick reſpects, to ſtop the way of *Neco*, but thought himſelf bound in faith and honour, to do his beſt in defence of the *Babylonian* crown; whereunto his kingdom was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of *Manaſſes*, or by the gift of ſuch part as he held in the kingdom of the ten tribes. As for the princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occaſion to ſhew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendſhip was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think, that this action of *Joſias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the prophet; which I do not find in the prophecy of *Jeremy*, nor can find reaſon to believe. Others hold opinion, that he forgat to ask the counſel of God: and this is very likely, ſeeing he might believe that an enterpriſe grounded upon fidelity and thankfulneſs, due to the king of *Babel*, could not but be diſpleaſing unto the Lord. But the wickedneſs of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken ſuch root, as all the care of *Joſias* in reforming the land could not pluck up) was queſtionleſs far from hearkening how the matter would ſtand with God's pleaſure, and much farther from enquiring into his ſecret will, wherein it was determined, that their good king, whoſe life ſtood between them and their puniſhment, ſhould now be taken from among them, and that in ſuch ſort, as his death ſhould give entrance to the miſeries enſuing. So *Joſias*, levying all the ſtrength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half tribe of *Manaſſes*, encounter'd *Neco*: and there he received the ſtroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jeruſalem*, brought him to the ſepulchres of his anceſtors. His loſs was greatly bewailed of all the people and princes of *Juda*, eſpecially of *Jeremy* the prophet; who inſerted a ſorrowful remembrance thereof in his book of [b] *Lamentations*.

SECT. II.

Of Pharaoh Neco, *that fought with* Joſias: *Of* Jehoahaz *and* Jehoiakim, *kings of* Juda.

OF theſe wars, and particularly of this victory, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Necco*. He tells us of this king, that he went about to make a channel, whereby ſhips might paſs out of *Nilus* into the *Red* ſea. It ſhould have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two gallies to row in front. But in the midſt of the work, an oracle foretold that the barbarians ſhould have the benefit of it, which cauſed *Neco* to deſiſt when half was done. There were conſumed in this toilſome buſineſs twelve hundred thouſand *Egyptians*; a loſs great enough to make the king forſake his enterpriſe, without troubling the oracle for admonition. Howſoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a fleet, and levied a great army, wherewith he marched againſt the king of *Babel*. In this expedition he uſed the ſervice, as well of his navy as of his land forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, ſave only this victory againſt *Joſias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolus*, and the *Jews Syrians*; which is a ſmall error, ſeeing that *Judea* was a province of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the ſame place (though diverſly named) in which this battle was fought. After this, *Necus* took the city of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemiſh*, by *Euphrates*, and made himſelf lord in a manner of all *Syria*, as [c] *Joſephus* witneſſeth.

Particularly we find, that the *Phenicians*, one of the moſt powerful nations in *Syria*, were his ſubjects, and that by his command they ſurrounded all *Africa*, [d] ſetting ſail from the gulf of *Arabia*, and ſo paſſing along all the coaſt, whereon they both landed, as need required, and ſowed corn for their ſuſtenance, in that long voyage which laſted three years. This was the firſt navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great *Cape*, now called *of good hope*, was diſcovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vaſco de Gama*, the *Portugueſe*, found it out, following a contrary courſe to that which the *Phenicians* held; for they, beginning in the eaſt, ran the way of the ſun, ſouth and then weſtward, after which they returned home by the pillars and ſtreights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africk* ſtill on the right-hand: but the *Portugueſe*, beginning their voyage not far from the ſame ſtreights, leave *Africk* on the larboard, and bend their courſe unto the eaſt. That report of the *Phenicians*, which *Herodotus* durſt not believe, how the ſun in this journey was on their right-hand, that is, on the north ſide of them, is a matter of neceſſary truth; and the obſervation then made hereof makes me the bet-

[a] 2. Chron. 35. [b] Lament. 4. 20. [c] Joſ. Ant. Jud. l. 10. cap. 7. [d] Herod. l. 4.

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ter to believe, that ſuch a voyage was indeed performed.

But leaving theſe diſcourſes of *Neco*'s magnificence, let us tell what he did in matters more importing his eſtate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were buſy at *Carchemiſh*, had made *Jehoahaz* their king, in the room of his father *Joſias*. The prophet [a] *Jeremy* calls this new king *Shallum* by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the ſhort reign of *Shallum* king of the ten tribes: for *Shallum* of *Iſrael* reigned but one month, *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldeſt ſon of *Joſias*. Wherefore it may ſeem that he was ſet up as the beſt affected unto the king of *Babel*; the reſt of his houſe being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the ſequel. An idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had diſpatched his buſineſs in the north parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judea*. This country was now ſo far from making any reſiſtance, that the king himſelf came from *Riblath* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went ſo ill on his ſide, that *Neco* did caſt him into bonds, and carry him priſoner into *Egypt*, giving away his kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This city of *Riblath*, in after-times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the kings and princes of *Juda*, as may be obſerv'd in divers examples. Yet here *Jehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his kingdom; an ill gain, ſince he could no better uſe it. But however *Jehoiakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharaoh* ſped well, making that kingdom tributary, without any ſtroke ſtricken, which three months before was too ſtout to give him peace, when he deſired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waſte his forces upon *Judea:* but now the reputation of his good ſucceſs at *Megiddo* and *Carchemiſh*, together with the diſſenſion of the princes *Joſias*'s ſons (of whom the eldeſt is probably thought to have ſtormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what ſhould pleaſe himſelf. Yet he did forbear to make a conqueſt of the land; perhaps upon the ſame reaſon which had made him ſo earneſt in ſeeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had ſuffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrel, and being left by theſe their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven to forſake that party, and join with the enemies; to whom if they ſhew'd themſelves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them, ſeeing they were ſuch a people, as would not upon every occaſion ſhift ſide, but endure more than *Pharaoh*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth ſhould lay upon them: ſo good a patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheleſs he laid upon them a tribute of an hundred talents of ſilver, and one talent of gold; that ſo he might both reap at the preſent ſome fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them ſome document, in the future, of greater puniſhment than verbal anger, due to them, if they ſhould rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate king *Jehoahaz*, who died in his captivity.

The reign of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his father's laſt year; otherwiſe it would hardly be found, that *Jehoiakim* his ſucceſſor did reign ten whole years, whereas the ſcriptures give him eleven; that are current, and incompleat. If any man will rather caſt the three months of this ſhort reign into the firſt year of the brother, than into the father's laſt; the ſame arguments that ſhall maintain his opinion, will alſo prove the matter to be unworthy of diſputation; and ſo I leave it.

Jehoiakim, in impiety, was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his crown at the hand of *Pharaoh*. The wickedneſs of theſe laſt kings, being expreſſed in ſcripture none otherwiſe than by general words, with reference to all the evil that their fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poiſon wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manaſſes* had infected the land, was not ſo expelled by the zealous goodneſs of *Joſias*, but that it ſtill cleaved unto the chief of the people, [b] *Yea unto the chief of the prieſts alſo*; and therefore it was not ſtrange that the kings had their part therein. The royal authority was much abaſed by the dangers wherein the country ſtood, in this troubleſome age: the princes did in a manner what they liſted; neither would the kings forbear to profeſs, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehoiakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him inſolent and cruel; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the prophet: tho' herein alſo the princes do appear to have been inſtigators. This holy man denounced God's judgments againſt the city, and temple, in like ſort as other prophets had formerly done, and did in the ſame age. The king, with all the men of power, and all the princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but ſuch regard was had unto *Jehoiakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his ambaſſador, and ſent back to the death; contrary to the cuſtom uſed, both in thoſe days and ſince among all civil nations of giving refuge unto ſtrangers, that are not held guilty of ſuch inhuman crimes, as for the general good of mankind ſhould be exempted from all privilege.

It concerned *Pharaoh* to give all contentment poſſible to *Jehoiakim*; for the *Aſſyrian* lion, that had not ſtirred in many years, began about theſe times, to roar ſo loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatning to make himſelf lord of all the foreſt. The cauſes that hitherto had withdrawn the houſe of *Merodach* from oppoſing the *Egyptian* in his conqueſts of *Syria*, require our conſideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemiſh*, where ſhortly after this the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

SECT. III.

Of the kings of Babylon *and* Media. *How it came to paſs that the kings of* Babel *could not give attendance on their buſineſs in* Syria; *which cauſed them to loſe that province.*

Merodach the ſon of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib*'s miſadventure and death, together with the diſſenſion between his children preſented, made himſelf king of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful enemy *Aſarhaddon* the ſon of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Aſſyrians* in *Nineveh*; from whom whilſt he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all buſineſs in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly ſhewed) to make over unto *Ezekia* ſome part of the kingdom of the ten tribes. From this moleſtation, the death of *Aſarhaddon* did not only ſet him free, but gave unto him

[a] Jer. 22. 32. [b] 2 Chron. 36. 14.

ſome

ſome part of *Aſſyria*, if not (as is commonly but leſs probably thought) the whole kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Aſſyrians*, I will not here ſtand to enquire; his long reign following, and his little intermeddling in matters of *Syria* make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or eſtabliſhing that which he had gotten. *Joſephus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineveh* it ſelf; which we may believe; but ſurely he did not hold it long. For in the times ſoon following, that great city was free, and vanquiſhed *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon ſome capitulation: and refuſed afterwards to continue ſubject when the king being of the *Chaldean* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Aſſyrian* king whoſe captains took *Manaſſes* priſoner; but I rather believe thoſe that hold the contrary; for which I have given my reaſons in due place. To ſay truth, I find little cauſe why *Merodach* ſhould have looked into thoſe parts, as long as the *Jews* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligned the northern empire, held themſelves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Pſammiticus*, about the end of this king's reign, or the beginning of his ſon.

Ben Merodach the ſon and ſucceſſor of this king, is not mentioned in the ſcriptures; yet is he named by good conſent of authors, and that ſpeak little of his doings. The length of his reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years, for ſo much remaineth of the time that paſſed between the beginning of his father's and his nephew's reigns (which is a known ſum) deducting the years of his father, and of his ſon *Nabulaſſar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manaſſes* priſoner, and releas'd him. He ſped ill in *Syria*, where *Pſammiticus*, by virtue of his mercenary *Greeks*, did much prevail. This may have been ſome cauſe that he releaſed *Manaſſes*, and did put into his hands ſome part more of the kingdom of *Samaria:* which is made probable by circumſtances alledged before.

Nabulaſſar, that reigned in *Babylon* after his father *Ben Merodach*, had greater buſineſs in his own kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad; inſomuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or overſight of *Pſammiticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupy ſome good part of his dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* king of the *Medes* invaded *Aſſyria*, and beſieged *Nineveh*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulaſſar*, but conſtrained to remove by the coming of *Scythians*, who in theſe agaes did overflow thoſe parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could maſter by ſtrong hand. Of theſe *Scythians*, and the lordſhip that they held in *Aſia*, it is convenient that I ſpeak in this place; ſhewing briefly aforehand, how the *Medes*, upon whom they firſt fell, were buſied in the ſame times with hopes of conquering *Aſſyria*.

Phraortes, the ſon of *Deioces*, king of the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarged his dominions, conceived at length a fair poſſibility of making himſelf lord of *Nineveh*.

That city (as [a] *Herodotus* reports it) having been a ſoveraign lady, was not forſaken of all her dependants; yet remained in ſuch caſe, that of herſelf ſhe was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howſoever *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this imperial ſeat, and made it ſubject as was the reſt of the country; yet it found the means to ſet it ſelf at liberty: as after this again it did appear, when it had been regained by *Nabulaſſar* his grand-child.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of ſudden violence, uſe to diſmay any ſtate or country, not inur'd to the like: but cuſtom of danger hardneth even thoſe that are unwarlike. *Nineveh* had been the palace of many valiant kings lately reigning therein; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted all the fury, wherewith either domeſtic tumults between the ſons of *Sennacherib*, or foreign war of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leſs wonderful, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his journey againſt it. He and the moſt of his army periſhed in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumſtances (perhaps he undervalued their forces, and brought a leſs power than was needful.) It is enough that we may herein believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares, the ſon of *Phraortes*, a braver man of war than his father, won as much of *Aſia* the leſs, as lay eaſtward from the river of *Halys*; he ſought revenge upon the *Aſſyrians* for the death of his father, and beſieged *Nineveh* it ſelf, having a purpoſe to deſtroy it. I rather believe *Euſebius*, *That he took the city and fulfilled his diſpleaſure upon it*, than *Herodotus*, *That the* Scythian *army came upon him whilſt he lay before it*. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as *Euſebius*, tho' far later than *Herodotus*, yet having ſeen other authors, that are now loſt, is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it beſt, to yield unto the beſt likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whilſt he lay before *Nineveh*, were to accuſe him of greater improvidence, than ought to be ſuſpected in one commended as a good ſoldier. But to ſuppoſe that he was fain to leave the town, when a war ſo dangerous fell upon his own country, doth well agree both with the condition of ſuch buſineſs as that *Scythian* expedition brought into thoſe parts, and with the ſtate of the *Chaldean* and *Aſſyrian* affairs enſuing.

The deſtruction of this great city is both foretold in the book of *Tobit*, and there ſet down as happening about theſe times; of which book whoſoever was the author, he was ancient enough to know the ſtory of thoſe ages, and hath committed no ſuch error in reckoning of times, as ſhould cauſe us to diſtruſt him in this. As for the prophecy of *Nahum*, tho' it be not limited to any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final deſtruction of *Nineveh* by *Nabuchodonoſor*, according to the common opinion. For the prophet hath mention of a conqueſt of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will ſpeak in due place. Some that aſcribe more authority, than the reformed churches yield, to the book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of neceſſity, to affirm, that about theſe times *Nineveh* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it, to *Ben Merodach:* a needleſs conjecture, if the place of *Euſebius* be well conſidered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulaſſar* the ſon of *Ben Merodach* did ſeize upon it, and place a king or viceroy therein, about ſuch time as the country of *Aſſyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* war overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the conqueſt wrought out ready to his hand; the ſwelling ſpirits of the *Ninevites* were allay'd, and their malice to *Babylon* ſo much aſſwaged, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nubulaſſar*, appointing unto them a peculiar king, took him and them

[a] Herod. lib. 1.

into protection: though afterwards, to their confuſion, this unthankful people and their king rebelled again, as ſhall be ſhewed in the reign of *Nabuchodonoſor*.

SECT. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, *who ruled in* Aſia *eight and twenty years.*

† I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I have ſhewed, what impediment was given by the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much diſabled to perform any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I ſpeak of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievouſly afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the countries adjacent, in ſuch wiſe that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themſelves. Of the *Scythian* people in general, *Herodotus* makes very large diſcourſe, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many fables; of this expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with conſent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needleſs to recite them, for they are far enough diſtant from the buſineſs in hand. The computation of times, which by inference out of his relations, may ſeem very ſtrange, needeth ſome anſwer in this place: leſt otherwiſe I ſhould either ſeem to make my ſelf too bold with an author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale, or elſe to be too forgetful of my ſelf, in bringing to act upon the ſtage thoſe perſons which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years he ſaith that the *Scythians* reign'd in *Aſia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the country from them. Yet he reports a war, between *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the ſiege of *Nineveh*; the ſiege of *Nineveh* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tells, how the *Scythians*, having vanquiſhed the *Medes*, did paſs into *Syria*, and were encounter'd in *Paleſtina* by *Pſammiticus* king of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. Theſe narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true, tho' not in ſuch order of time as he hath marſhal'd them. For *Pſammiticus* was dead, before *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares* had ſpent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was king of *Lydia*; ſo that he could not, after thoſe *Lydian* wars, reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Euſebius* doth alſo call *Pſammis*, the ſon of *Pharaoh Neco*, by the name of *Pſammiticus*; and this king *Pſammis* may, by ſome ſtrain'd conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*; for he lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Euſebius* himſelf refers all that buſineſs of the *Scythian* eruption into *Paleſtina*, to *Pſammiticus* the father of *Neco*, whom he leaves dead before the reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus* in this matter, otherwiſe than to believe him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can thoſe memorials which I find of this expedition ſcattered in divers places; a work neceſſary, for that the greatneſs of this action was ſuch, as ought not to be omitted in a general hiſtory; yet not eaſy, the conſent of thoſe that have written thereof being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of *Ardys*, king of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* over-ran that kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes*, the nephew of *Ardys*, got the upper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sadyattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Aſia*. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the *Egyptian* had ſome dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their proſperity, we muſt needs allow more than one or two of his laſt years unto this their dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes*'s reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaves the ſpace very ſcant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meet the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increaſe this difficulty, the victorious reign of *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Babylon* is of no ſmall moment. For how may we think it poſſible, that he ſhould have adventured the ſtrength of his kingdom againſt the *Egyptians* and *Jews*, had he ſtood in daily fear of loſing his own; to a more mighty nation, that lay upon his neck? To ſpeak ſimply; as it appears to me, the victories aſcribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*, over theſe warlike people, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their army, but were the defeatures of ſome troops, that infeſted their ſeveral kingdoms; other princes, and among theſe, *Nabulaſſar* having the like ſucceſs, when the pleaſures of *Aſia* had mollified the courage of theſe hardy northern lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*'s reign, in compaſs whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein *Aſia* ſuffered the violence of theſe oppreſſors.

† II.

What nations they were that broke into Aſia; *with the cauſe of their journey.*

TOuching the expedition it ſelf, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians*, being driven out of their country by the *Scythians*, invaded and waſted ſome part of *Aſia*; and that the *Scythians*, not contented with having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the world, ſo (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this purſuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and baſe people; the *Scythians*, as miſchievous and fooliſh; or elſe *Herodotus*, and ſome other of his countrymen, great ſlanderers of thoſe by whom their nation had been beaten, and *Jonia* more than once grievouſly ranſack'd. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is ſo well known, and their many conqueſts ſo well teſtified in hiſtories of divers nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is inſufficient to ſtain them with the note of cowards. Theſe were the poſterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greateſt part of our weſtern world, and whoſe re-flow did overwhelm no ſmall portion of *Greece* and *Aſia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now intreat. He that would more largely inform himſelf of their original and actions, may peruſe *Goropius Becanus*'s *Amazonica*; of many things in which book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is ſaid to have ſpoken of all *Goropius*'s works, *That it is eaſy to laugh at them, but hard to confute them.* There we

we find it proved, by ſuch arguments and authorities as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one lineage and nation, howſoever diſtinguiſhed in name, by reaſon of their divers tribes, profeſſions, or perhaps dialect of ſpeech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whoſe country whether he placeth in the weſt, as near unto the ocean and bounds of the earth, or in the north, as being far from the ſun, and covered with eternal darkneſs, certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to hell; for he had the ſame quarrel to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them ſeem a kind of goblins. It was the manner of this great poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to inſert into his works the names of ſuch as lived in his own times, making ſuch mention of them, as the good or ill, done by them to himſelf, deſerved. And for this reaſon it is proved by *Euſtathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were ſo diſgraced by him, becauſe they had waſted his country. Perhaps, that invaſion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus*'s diſcourſe with *Helen*, was the very ſame, which *Euſebius* noteth to have happen'd ſomewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons* together invaded *Aſia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Aſia*; which tho' it be not in expreſs terms written, that they did with joint forces, yet ſeeing they invaded the ſelf-ſame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned alſo by *Euſebius*, was by the ſtreights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in [a] *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them aſſiſtance. [b] The ſame author, before his entry into thoſe diſcourſes of the *Amazons*, which himſelf acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been wives of the *Scythians*, and no leſs warlike than their husbands; alledging the example of that queen, who is ſaid to have ſlain the great *Perſian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their wives along with them to the wars, and how deſperate the courage was of thoſe women, the terrible deſcent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof ſufficient. I will not here enter into a diſcourſe of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leiſure to ſpeak of them: but ſeeing that they are noted by divers hiſtorians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius*'s concluſion, that theſe three nations were one, at leaſt that they were near allies.

Now as concerning the expulſion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the ſending a colony of them forth into *Aſia*, with an army of *Scythians* to help them, in purchaſing a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing the plantation.

The *Sarmatians* alſo were companions in this journey. For the city of *Novograd* in *Ruſſia* (which country is the ſame that was call'd *Sarmatia*) ſtood in their way homewards, as ſhall anon be further ſhew'd. So that all the north was up in arms: and therefore it is no marvel, though many countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the ſame people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encounter'd by the *Romans*. For they iſſued from the parts about the lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted (ſaith [c] *Plutarch* in the moſt likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their army above three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides a huge multitude of women and children; they wander'd over many countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have ſettled themſelves in *Italy*, they divided their company, for the more eaſy paſſage thither, and were conſum'd in three terrible battels by the *Roman* conſuls. Mere neceſſity enforc'd theſe poor nations to trouble the world, in following ſuch hard adventures. For their country, being more fruitful of men than of ſuſtenance, and ſhut up on the north ſide with intolerable cold, which denied iſſue that way to their overſwelling multitudes; they were compelled to diſcharge upon the ſouth, and by right or wrong to drive others out of poſſeſſion, as having title to all that they had power to get, becauſe they wanted all, that weaker, but more civil, people had. Their ſturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardineſs, gave them great advantage over ſuch as were accuſtom'd unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thouſand ſuperfluities. Wherefore moſt commonly they prevail'd very far; their next neighbours giving them free paſſage, that they might the ſooner be rid of them; others giving them, beſides paſſage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great preſents; ſo as the farther they went on, the more pleaſant lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

† III.

Of the Cimmerians *war in* Lydia.

THE firſt company of theſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* ſeas, which they had ſtill on the right hand; leaving on the other ſide, and behind them, the great mountains of *Caucaſus*. Theſe having paſs'd thro' the land of *Colchis*, that is now call'd *Mengrelli*, enter'd the country of *Pontus*, and being arrived in [d] *Paphlagonia*, fortify'd the promontory whereon *Sinope*, a famous haven town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it ſeems that they beſtow'd the weakeſt and moſt unſerviceable of their train, together with the heavieſt part of their carriages, under ſome good guard: as drawing near to thoſe regions, in conqueſt whereof they were to try the utmoſt hazard. For in like ſort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I ſpoke even now) diſpoſe of their impediments, leaving them in a place of ſtrength, where *Antwerp* now ſtands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determin'd to adventure themſelves in the purchaſe. From *Sinope*, the way into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of mountains or any deep rivers to ſtay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already paſſed.

What battels were fought between theſe invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable ſucceſs the one or other part won and loſt, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got poſſeſſion of *Sardes* the capital city of *Lydia*; only the caſtle holding out againſt them. Further I obſerve, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* kings of *Lydia*, before this invaſion, and by *Halyattes* and *Cræſus* in the times following; all that *Ardys* did againſt the *Cimmerians*, and all, ſave

[a] Diod. l. 4. c. 2. [b] Diod. l. 2. c. 11. [c] Plutarch *in the life of* Marius. [d] Herod. l. 4.

burning

burning the *Mileſians* corn-fields, that was done in 12 years by *Sadiattes* his ſon (who perhaps had his hands ſo full of this buſineſs, that he could turn them to nothing elſe) is quite omitted: whereby it may ſeem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in thoſe wars, but were glad enough that they did not loſe all.

Certainly, the miſeries of war are never ſo bitter and many, as when a whole nation, or great part of it, forſaking their own ſeats, labour to root out the eſtabliſh'd poſſeſſors of another land, making room for themſelves, their wives and children. They that fight for the maſtery are pacify'd with tribute, or with ſome other ſervices and acknowledgments, which had they been yielded at the firſt, all had been quiet, and no ſword bloodied. But in theſe migrations, the aſſailants bring ſo little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their lands and cattel, their houſes and their goods, even to the cradles of the ſucking infants. The mercileſs terms of this controverſy arm both ſides with deſperate reſolution: ſeeing the one part muſt either win, or periſh by famine; the other defend their goods, or loſe their lives without redemption. Moſt of the countries in *Europe* have felt examples hereof; and the mighty empire of *Rome* was overthrown by ſuch invaſions. But our iſle of *Britain* can beſt witneſs the diverſity of conqueſts; having, by the happy victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all civil arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but ſlenderly inſtructed therein before; whereas the iſſue of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* wars, was, as were the cauſes, quite contrary. For theſe did not ſeek after the dominion only, but the entire poſſeſſion of the country, which the *Saxons* obtain'd, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the *Britiſh* race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants thro' the greater part of the land. But the *Danes* (who are alſo of the *Cimmerian* blood) found ſuch end of their enterpriſe, as may ſeem that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Aſia*, did arrive unto. So that by conſidering the proceſs of the one, we ſhall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battels the *Danes* won; yet none of ſuch importance, as ſuffic'd to make them abſolute conquerors: many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not ſo great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in courſe of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred ſuch acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both theſe people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their diſagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduc'd into one mild temper, no ſmall number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great ſlaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own country wide enough to receive them, as having diſburthened it ſelf of many thouſands, that were ſent to ſeek their graves abroad. And ſuch (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* war in *Lydia*; whereunto tho' ſome victory of *Halyattes* may have haſten'd the concluſion, yet the weariſome length of time ſeems to have done moſt in compelling them to deſire of reſt. I know not why I ſhould fear to add hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was ſo compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the river of *Halys* ſhould divide their territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the eaſtern-ſide of the river was the country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed of the *Cimmerians* and other *Scythian* people, whoſe wives and daughters theſe warlike women are ſuppoſed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel enſuing, between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is ſaid) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* ſought revenge. And it ſtands with reaſon, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weaken'd with mutual ſlaughters, ſhould have join'd in a league of mutual defence, for their common ſafety: though otherwiſe it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his kingdom ſo far weſtward, whatſoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon ſuch as had ſpoil'd each of their countries. As for that occaſion of the war between theſe two kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little weight, and leſs propability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chas'd out of their country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*; who committed unto them certain boys, to be inſtructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of archery. Now it ſo fell out (ſaith he, *lib.* 1.) that theſe *Scythians* uſing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home ſomewhat with them, did nevertheleſs otherwhiles miſs of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the king being froward and cholerick, bitterly revil'd them; and they, as impatient as he, kill'd one of the boys that was under their charge, whom, dreſſing like veniſon, they preſented unto him; which done they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a war that laſted ſix years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one king demanding theſe fugitives to be deliver'd into his hand; the other refuſing to betray ſuch men as were become his ſuppliants. To this I will ſay no more, than that I ſee no cauſe that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themſelves to either of theſe kings, unto whom their nation had wrought ſo much diſpleaſure. Particularly they had reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he ſhew'd in the maſſacring of their countrymen, that were in his kingdom; of whom it is now meet that we ſhould ſpeak.

† IV.

The war of the Scythians *in the higher* Aſia.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their courſe weſterly, along the ſhores of the *Euxine* ſea: ſo the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caſpian* ſea on their left hand, paſſed between it and *Caucaſus* through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obſcure nations, where now are the countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and ſo they enter'd into *Media*. The *Medes* encounter'd them in arms; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any ageement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilſt *Pſammiticus* reign'd in *Egypt*. If it were in the 6th year of *Nabuiaſſar*'s reign over *Babylon* (ſuppoſing him to have reigned 35; otherwiſe we muſt allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the 28 years of their dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonoſor* was king; ſo giving him good leave to provide ſecurely, for the invaſion of *Syria*, which expedition he began while his father yet liv'd, as *Joſephus* out of *Beroſus* relates the hiſtory.

Now the *Medes*, deſirous to ſave themſelves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no luſt to a ſecond trial of the ſword, refuſed not to undergo the burthen of a tribute, but thought

thought nothing diſhonourable, that would ſerve to remove theſe troubleſome gueſts into ſome other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding ſtill the countries pleaſanter and better, the further that they marched into the ſouth, did ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded, that a little more travel would add a great deal more to their content. For they rely'd ſo much upon their own valour, that they feared no reſiſtance; and being the braveſt men, they thought it reaſon that they ſhould dwell in the beſt region. That *Phraortes* perſuaded them into *Egypt*, I do not think: *Babylon* was near enough; whither if he could ſend theſe locuſts to graze, then ſhould not his unfriendly neighbours have cauſe to laugh at his misfortune. What ſhift *Nabulaſſar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known, that his dominions lay in the midſt between *Media* and *Egypt*; as alſo, that they made all thoſe parts of *Aſia* tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they water'd their horſes in his rivers, and that he alſo was content to give them provender.

Pſammiticus hearing of their progreſs (like the jealous husband of a fair wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*; leſt the ſight thereof ſhould more eaſily detain them there, than any force or perſuaſion, that he could uſe, would ſend them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, preſuming more on the great gifts which he meant to beſtow upon them, than on his army that ſhould keep them back. *Egypt* was rich; and half the riches thereof had not been ill ſpent in ſaving all. Yet *Pſammiticus* took the moſt likely courſe, whereby to make his part good againſt them by ſtrong hand, in caſe they had been ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all indifferent compoſition. For he lay cloſe upon the edge of the wilderneſs in *Gaza* (as I take it) the ſouthermoſt border of *Paleſtina:* whence he never advanc'd to meet with the *Scythians*; but gave them leave to feel as much of the ſcalding ſun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Aſcalon*, the next city to *Gaza*, then did he aſſay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work ſo much the better, by how much the worſe they were pleaſed with the heat of a climate ſo far different from their own. *Pſammiticus* had at his back a vaſt wilderneſs, over the ſcorching ſands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diſtempers, could ill have indured to purſue him, thro' unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed; eſpecially the kingdom of *Egypt* being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, return'd back to viſit their acquaintance in the high countries. The *Egyptian* king (beſides that he preſerv'd his own eſtate from a dangerous adventure, by hiring this great army to depart from him) found all his coſt well repay'd in the proceſs of his wars in *Syria*, where the nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to moleſt him, being more than ever troubled themſelves, with the return of their oppreſſors. For the *Scythians*, reſolving now to ſeek no further, began to demand more than the tribute formerly impoſed. And not contented to fleece the naturals with grievous exactions, they preſumed to live at diſcretion upon the country, taking what they liſted from the owners; and many times (as it were to ſave the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous dominion they long uſed over the higher *Aſia*, that is, over the country lying between the *Caſpian* and *Red* ſeas, and between *India* and *Aſia* the leſs. Happy it was for the poor people, that in ſo large a ſpace of ground, there was room enough for theſe new comers; otherwiſe the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon thoſe private men, to whoſe wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it ſeems that the heavieſt burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitful country not far from their own home, and lay under a climate well agreeing with the conſtitution of their bodies; there alſo it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their inſolent rule was taken from them.

[a] *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better than a rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his land lay unmanured and waſte, through the negligence of his people that were out of heart by daily oppreſſions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, reſolved to prove what might be done by ſtratagem. The managing of the buſineſs is thus delivered in brief; that he, and his *Medes*, feaſted the better part of the *Scythians*, made them drunk, and ſlew them, recovering hereby the poſſeſſion of all that they had loſt.

Such another ſlaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their countrymen, with greater cruelties than ever they had practiſed before. That the *Scythians*, which eſcaped this bloody feaſt, made any ſtir in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read, that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by invaſion from *Scythia* in time following.

This is the more ſtrange, for that the army returning home out of *Media* was very ſtrong, and encountred with oppoſition (as [b] *Herodotus* reports it) no leſs than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares*, to free his country, took good effect, with leſs bloodſhed than hath been ſuppoſed. For if he ſurpriſed all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compoſition. Many of them doubtleſs in 28 years had ſo well ſettled themſelves, that they were deſirous of reſt, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the country; many (of whom I ſhall ſpeak anon) having done what they could in the buſineſs, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes, might go join with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or ſeek their fortunes in other provinces among their own companions. Whereas *all the families of the north* are ſaid to have been with *Nebuchadnezzar*, it may be underſtood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or deſire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become ſubject unto *Nabulaſſar:* mens love of their wealth being moſt effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that [c] *Nebuchadnezzar*, as ever after, ſo in his firſt beginning of war, did beat the *Egyptians*, who in ages foregoing had been accuſtomed to deal with the *Babylonians* after another faſhion: and this new ſucceſs of that king may be imputed, in regard of human means, to ſuch addition as this of new forces.

[a] Herod. l. 1. [b] Herod. l. 4. [c] Jer. 25. 9.

Of the *Scythian* army returning out of *Media*, divers authors report a ſtory, which confirms me in the opinion, that this company went forth to aſſiſt their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing their plantation. For theſe had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themſelves in their husbands abſence, became bedfellows to their ſlaves. Theſe got a luſty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were only the children of ſlaves which compounded an army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tells us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it muſt needs be that they were very boys, or elſe that the women did very little while continue chaſt. Wherefore I rather believe the tale as it is told by the *Ruſſes* themſelves, who agreeing in the reſt with the conſent of hiſtories, make that report of their anceſtors returning homewards, which I will ſet down, as I find it, in [a] *Doctor Fletcher*'s exact diſcourſe of the *Ruſſe Common-wealth*. *They underſtood by the way that their cholopey, or bond-ſlaves whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their towns, lands, houſes, wives, and all. At which news being ſomewhat amazed, and yet diſdaining the villany of their ſervants, they made the more ſpeed home: and ſo not far from* Novograd *met them in warlike manner marching againſt them. Whereupon adviſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed alſo to ſet upon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe-whips* (*which, as their manner is, every man rideth withal*) *to put them in remembrance of their ſervile condition, thereby to terrify them, and abate their courage. And ſo marching on, and laſhing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onſet; which ſeemed ſo terrible in the ears of their villains, and ſtruck ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like ſheep before the drivers. In memory of this victory, the* Novogradians *ever ſince ſtamped their coin* (*which they call Novogrodskoy, current through all* Ruſſia) *with the figure of a horſeman ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may ſeem, that all the women in that country, have fared the worſe ever ſince, in regard of this univerſal fault: for ſuch a pudkey or whip, as terrified thoſe ſlaves, curiouſly wrought by her ſelf, is the firſt preſent that the *Muſcovian* wife, even in time of wooing, ſends to him that ſhall be her husband, in token of ſubjection; being well aſſur'd to feel it often on her own loins. But this was a document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Sarmatians* (for *Novograd* ſtands in the country that was call'd *Sarmatia*) to beware of abſenting themſelves any more ſo long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to ſet down of the *Scythian* Expedition; not only becauſe it is the moſt memorable act perform'd abroad by that nation, famous in hiſtories, and terrible to many countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cauſe of the *Egyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judea*, which continues yet a while the centre of our diſcourſe.

SECT. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries in theſe Ages.

HAving thus far digreſſed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoid all further occaſion of doing the like, I will here inſert a note of ſuch kings and men of mark, as were between the death of *Manaſſes*, and the ruin of *Jeruſalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I have ſpoken as much as I thought needful. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hoſtilius* held the kingdom, until the one and twentieth year of *Joſias*; at which time *Ancus Marcius* ſucceeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priſcus*, a new come ſtranger, but very rich, prevail'd ſo far by his graciouſneſs among the people, that he got the kingdom to himſelf, diſappointing the ſons of *Ancus*, over whom he was tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely in the ſecond year of the thirtieth olympiad, that the *Lacedemonians*, bethinking them how to be aveng'd of the *Arcadians*, who gave ſuccour to the *Meſſenians* againſt them in the former war, enter'd the territory, took the city of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their garriſons were ſoon after beaten out. *Cypſelus* expelling the race of the *Bacidæ* made himſelf lord of *Corinth* about theſe times, and govern'd it in peace thirty years; leaving for ſucceſſor his ſon *Periander*, one of the ſeven ſages, but a cruel tyrant: who, among other vile acts, ſlew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, ſtripped all the *Corinthian* women ſtark naked, burning their apparel, as an acceptable offering to her ghoſt. Hereby we may perceive that the wiſdom of the *Greeks*, was not excellent in thoſe days; when ſuch a one as this could be admired as excelling all the country.

In theſe times alſo were *Zaleucus*, and *Draco*, famous law-givers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the city of *Athens*. The laws of *Draco* were ſo rigorous, that he was ſaid to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every ſmall offence with death. Wherefore his conſtitutions were ſoon abrogated, and power given to *Solon* by the *Athenians* to make new in their ſtead. But the laws of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbad any gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one bond-woman attending on her, *unleſs it were when ſhe was drunk*; or to go forth of the town by night, unleſs it were to ſome ſweet-heart's bed; or to dreſs herſelf up in immodeſt bravery, unleſs it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleaſant ordinances, he affected his deſire: for none would ſeem, in breaking the ſtatutes, to be in ſuch caſe as challenged the diſpenſation. It is noted in this man as a ſingular example of juſtice, that when his own ſon had committed adultery, and was therefore to loſe both his eyes, he did not cauſe him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to ſave the young man (who alſo loſt one) from utter blindneſs.

I ſhall not henceforth need ſo far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in purſuing of actions collateral to the hiſtory, for inſerting them in their order of time. The *Chaldeans* will ſoon fall under the *Perſians*; the *Perſians*, ere long, encounter with the *Greeks*; the *Greeks* with the *Romans*; the *Romans* with many nations. Concerning all theſe, as they ſhall ſucceſſively preſent themſelves, in their flouriſhing eſtate, it will be enough to recapitulate the moſt memorable accidents, that befel them in their minority. But in the long ſpace of more than thirteen hundred years, which paſſed between the *calling of Abraham*, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, we find little matter, wherein the hiſtory of *Iſrael* had any dealing with other nations, than the very neareſt borderers. Yet read we

[a] Ruſſe's *Commen-wealth*, chap. 4.

of

of many kingdoms, that in theſe many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewiſe, many memorable acts were perform'd in *Greece* and elſewhere, though not following one another at any near diſtance; all which muſt have been quite omitted, or elſe reſerved unto a very unſeaſonable rehearſal, had they not been diſpoſed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the neceſſity.

SECT. VI.

The oppreſſion of Judea, *and deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *by the* Chaldeans.

NOW to return to the *Jewiſh* ſtory, from whence we have ſo far digreſſed. In the third year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonoſor* the ſecond, his Father yet living, enter'd *Judea* with a great Army, who beſieging and forcing *Jeruſalem*, made *Jehoiakim* his vaſſal in deſpight of *Necho* that had eſtabliſhed him king, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Miſael*, and *Azarias*. Alſo he took a part of the church-treaſures; but ſtay'd not to ſearch them throughly; for *Necho* haſted to the ſuccour of *Jehoiakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Judea*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no diſpoſition to hazard himſelf and his army, it being a country of an evil affection towards him, as alſo far off from any ſuccour or ſure place of retreat. If he had, as may be ſuppoſed, any great ſtrength of *Scythian* Horſemen in his army; it was the more wiſely done of him, to fall back, out of that rough, mountainous, and over-hot country, into places that were more even and temperate. But beſides all theſe reaſons, the death of his father happening at the ſame time, gave him juſt occaſion to return home; and take poſſeſſion of his own kingdom, before he proceeded further in the ſecond care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reaſonable good leiſure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him ſo far and to bid him battle, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the laſt of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the bank of *Euphrates* (his own territory bounding it on the north-ſide) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a reſolved ed contention for victory, *Necho* was ſlain, and his army remaining forced to ſave it ſelf, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victory *Nabuchodonoſor* ſo well purſued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatſoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper territory towards the north. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the preſent diſcouraged, *Jehoiakim* held himſelf quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Egyptian*; yet having made his peace with the *Chaldean* the year before, who contented with ſuch profit as he could then readily make, had forborn to lay any tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reſervedneſs of *Jehoiakim* was, on both ſides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* king *Pſammis*, who ſucceeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon reſtoring *Jehoahaz*, taken priſoner by his father, and ſetting him up as a domeſtic enemy, againſt his ungrateful brother. Againſt all ſuch accidents the *Judean* had prepared the uſual remedy, practiſed by his fore-fathers: for he had made his own ſon [a]*Jechonia* king with him long before, in the ſecond year of his own reign, when the boy was but *eight years old*. As for this rumour of *Jehoahaz*'s return; the prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it ſhould prove idle, ſaying: [b]*He ſhall not return thither, but he ſhall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and ſhall ſee this land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having ſpent all their mercenary forces, and receiv'd that heavy blow at *Carchemiſh*, had not remaining ſuch proportion of ſharp ſteel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Pſammis*. *Apries*, who reigned after *Pſammis*, did once adventure to ſhew his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battle. Wherefore this decaying nation fought only with brave words, telling ſuch frivolous tales, as men, that mean to do nothing, uſe, of their glorious acts forepaſſed, againſt *Joſias* and *Jehoahaz*. In this caſe it was eaſy for *Jehoiakim* to give them ſatisfaction, by letting them underſtand, the ſincerity of his affection towards them; which appear'd in time following. But *Nabuchodonoſor* went to work more roundly. He ſent a peremptory meſſage to *Jehoiakim*, willing him not to ſtand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himſelf a ſubject, and pay him tribute: adding hereunto ſuch fearful threats, as made the poor *Judean* lay aſide all thought of [c]*Pharaoh*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonoſor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the prophet cried out againſt the *Jews*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but becauſe they had ſtop'd their ears againſt him, and the reſt of the prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they ſhould endure the yoke of bondage full 70 years. The ſame calamity he threaten'd to all the neighbouring nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumeans*, and the reſt; foretelling that they ſhould all drink out of the *Babylonian* pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forſaken, and after the ſeventy years expir'd, that the [d]*Babylonians* themſelves ſhould taſte of the ſame cup, and be utterly ſubverted by the *Medes* and *Judeans* permitted to return again into their own fields and cities. The firſt impriſonment of the prophet *Jeremy* ſeems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the ſcribe wrote all his prophecies out of his mouth, whom he ſent to read them unto the people, and afterward to the princes, who offer'd them to the king; but fearing the king's fury they had firſt ſet *Jeremy* at liberty, and adviſed him and *Baruch* to hide themſelves.

Jehoiakim after he heard a part of it and perceiv-ed the ill news therein delivered, made no more ado but did cut the book in pieces and caſt it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* cauſed to be new written, with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehoiakim*, ſhould be caſt out, expoſed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the froſt, and that there ſhould be none of his ſeed to ſit on the throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehoiakim* reſted ſecure of all danger, as tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptian*; the mighty city of *Tyre* oppoſed it ſelf againſt the *Chaldean* forces; and upon juſt confidence of her own ſtrength, deſpiſed all preparation that could be made againſt her. Now foraſmuch as the term of ſeventy years, was preſcribed unto the deſolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jeruſalem*, and other towns and countries; it is apparent, that they which refer the expugnation of this city unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, have ſure Authority for their warrant.

[a] 2 Chron. 36. 9. [b] Jer. 22. 11, & 12. [c] Joſeph. Ant. lib. 10. cap. 7. [d] Jer. 25.

Whereupon

Whereupon likewiſe it follows of neceſſity, that the ſiege thereof began in the ſeventh of his reign; as having laſted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the ſeveral beginnings that are reckoned of this great prince's rule, whereupon hath riſen much diſputation. The third year of *Jehoiakim* was the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of ſuch as had revolted from him unto *Pharaoh Necho*, and ſent this noble prince, his ſon, with an army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was [a] *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the ſame year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, was the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which [b] *Jeremy* affirmeth in expreſs words, and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquer'd *Egypt*, and then began to reign as a great monarch, finding none that durſt offend him. The ſecond from this year it was, wherein he ſaw that viſion, of the image conſiſting of ſundry metals; which did prefigurate the ſucceſſion of great kingdoms, that ſhould rule the earth, before the coming of Chriſt. I will not ſtand to diſpute about this, which is the beſt concluſion, that I find, of long diſputations; but return unto the ſiege of *Tyre*, which began in the ſeventh of his reign.

The city of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an iſland, that was divided from the main by a deep and broad channel of the ſea. The *Chaldeans* had no fleet, and were no ſeamen; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly ſhips, and skill to uſe them, excelled all other nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needful proviſions into the city. Wherefore neither force nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheleſs the judgments of God (denounced againſt it by [c] *Iſaiah*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*) had threaten'd the deſtruction; and the obſtinate reſolution of *Nabuchodonoſor* had fully determined to perform it. This high-minded king, impatient of reſiſtance, undertook a vaſt piece of work; even to fill up the ſea, that parted the iſland from the continent. The city of old *Tyrus*, that ſtood oppoſite to the new, upon the firm land, and the mountain of *Libanus* near adjoining, that was loaden with cedars and abundance of other trees, might furniſh him with materials. Thirteen years were ſpent in this laborious and almoſt hopeleſs buſineſs. Which needeth not ſeem ſtrange; for *Alexander*, working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s pier, and being withal aſſiſted by a ſtrong fleet, was yet ſeven months ere he could make way into the city. Wherefore, if the raging of the ſea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* labour'd to cover a ſhelve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were conſume the work of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; ſtriving, as it were, to fill the empty belly of this cormorant; whereas the *Macedonian* did only ſtop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have further'd the accompliſhment of his own threats againſt this place (tho' it had not pleaſed him to uſe either miracle, or ſuch of his more immediate weapons, as are earthquakes and the like) by making at leaſt the ſeas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all ſecond helps. But ſo it pleaſeth him oftentimes, in chaſtiſing the pride of man, to uſe the hand of man; even the hand of man ſtriving, as may ſeem, againſt all reſiſtance of nature and fortune. So in this exceſſive labour of the *Chaldeans*, [d] *every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare.* Yet *Nabuchodonoſor* would not give over till he was maſter of the town.

When he was enter'd upon this deſperate ſervice, whether it were ſo, that ſome loſſes received, ſome mutiny in his army, or (which is moſt likely, and ſo [e] *Joſephus* reports it) ſome glorious rumours of the *Egyptians*, gave courage to his evil-willers; *Jehoiakim* renounced his ſubjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonoſor* gave him no leiſure to do much hurt; but with part of his army marched directly into *Judea*, where the amazed king made ſo little reſiſtance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were in a dream) that he enter'd *Jeruſalem*, and laid hands on *Jehoiakim*; whom he firſt bound, and determin'd to ſend to *Babylon*, but changing counſel, he caus'd him to be ſlain in the place, and gave him the ſepulchre of an aſs, to be devoured by beaſts and ravenous birds, according to the former prophecies: leaving in his place *Jehoiakim* or *Jechonias* his ſon; whom after three months and ten days *Nabuchodonoſor* removed, and ſent priſoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardochæus*, and *Joſedech*, the high-prieſt. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his ſervants, eunuchs, and all the ableſt men, and beſt artificers of the land, were alſo then carried away captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counſel of *Jeremy* the prophet, made no reſiſtance, but ſubmitted himſelf to the king's will: wherein he both pleaſed God, and did that which was beſt for himſelf; tho' at the preſent it might ſeem otherwiſe, to ſuch as conſider'd the evil that befell him, rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it ſeems that he was partaker, at leaſt of his father's faults, if not an inſtigator: which was the cauſe, that his ſubmitting himſelf to God's pleaſure did not preſerve his eſtate: for ſo we read in general words, that *he did evil in the ſight of the Lord, according to all that his father had done.* In his ſtead *Nabuchodonoſor* eſtabliſhed *Mathania* his uncle in the kingdom of *Juda*, and call'd him *Zedekias*, which is as much as to ſay, *the juſtice of God.* For like as *Necho* king of *Egypt*, had formerly diſplaced *Jehoahaz*, after his father *Joſias* was ſlain, and ſet up *Jehoiakim* the ſon of another mother; ſo *Nabuchodonoſor* ſlew *Jehoiakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his ſon *Jechonias* priſoner to *Babel*, gave the kingdom to this *Zedekias*, that was whole brother to that *Jehoahaz*, whom *Necho* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedekias* he required an oath for his faithful obedience, which *Zedekias* gave him, and called the living God to witneſs in the ſame, that he would remain aſſured to the kings of *Chaldea*.

In the firſt year of *Zedekias*, *Jeremy* ſaw and expounded the viſion of the ripe and rotten grapes, the one ſignifying thoſe *Judeans* that were carried away captive, the other thoſe that ſtay'd and were deſtroyed.

In the fourth year of *Zedekias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evil that ſhould fall upon *Babylon*, which book or ſcroll he gave to *Sheraia*, when he went with the king *Zedekias* to *Babylon*, to viſit *Nabuchodonoſor*; willing him firſt to read it to the captive *Jews*, and then to bind it to a ſtone, and caſt it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing theſe words: *Thus ſhall Babel be drowned, and ſhall not riſe from the evil that I will bring upon her.* This journey of *Zedekias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been

[a] Dan. 1. 1. [b] Jer. 25. 1. [c] Iſa. 23. Jer. 25. Ezek. 26. [d] Ezek. 29. [e] Joſ. Ant. Jud. l. 10. c. 7.

in

in way of viſitation, carrying ſome preſents. But I further think that he had ſome ſuit there to make which his lordly maſter refuſed to grant, and ſent him away diſcontented. For at his return all the bordering princes ſent meſſengers to him, inciting him (as it ſeems) to thoſe unquiet courſes, from which [a]*Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The prophet, by God's appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his own neck, others he ſent unto the five kings of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Zidon*, by thoſe meſſengers which came to viſit *Zedekias*: making them know, that if they and the kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they ſhould then poſſeſs and enjoy their own countries; if not, they ſhould aſſuredly periſh by the ſword, by fire, and by peſtilence.

He alſo foretold them, that thoſe veſſels, which as yet remained in *Jeruſalem*, ſhould alſo travel after the reſt, and at length they ſhould be reſtored again.

The ſame year *Ananias* the falſe prophet took off the wooden chain which *Jeremy* wore in ſign of the captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: vaunting, that in like manner, after two years, God would break the ſtrength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he laid on all nations; reſtore *Jechonias*, and all the *Jews*, with the veſſels and riches of the temple, and give an end to all theſe troubles. But *Jeremy*, inſtead of his wooden yoke, wore a collar of iron: and in ſign that *Ananias* had given a deceitful and falſe hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold prophet, which ſeized upon him in the ſecond month. After this, when *Zedekias* had wavered long enough between faith and paſſion, in the eighth year of his reign he practiſed more ſeriouſly againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, with his neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promiſed great aids of the *Egyptians:* in confidence of whoſe reſiſtance, he determined to ſhake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonoſor* had knowledge, he march'd with his army in the dead of winter, toward *Jeruſalem*, and beſieged it. *Jeremy* perſuaded *Zedekias* to render the city and himſelf: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being perſuaded by his counſellors, and falſe prophets, that it was impoſſible that the kingdom of *Juda* ſhould be extirpate, until the coming of *Silo* (according to the prophecy of [b]*Jacob*) he deſpiſed the words of [c]*Jeremy* and impriſoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the king, that the city ſhould be taken and burnt; that the king ſhould not eſcape, but be taken priſoner, and brought to the preſence of *Nabuchodonoſor*; that he ſhould not periſh by the ſword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his natural death.

Jeruſalem being, the following year, ſurrounded by *Nabuchodonoſor*'s army; the king of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh Hophra* according to [d]*Jeremy* (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) enter'd the border of *Juda*, with his army, to ſuccour *Zedekias*, of whoſe revolt he had been the principal author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jews* faithful counſel, willing them not to have any truſt in the ſuccours of *Egypt:* for he aſſured them, that they ſhould return again, and in no ſort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jeruſalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, theſe vanting patrons abandon'd their enterpriſe, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, return'd into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough; leaving the poor people of *Jeruſalem* to their deſtin'd miſeries.

In the mean while the *Jews*, who, in their firſt extremity, had manumiſed their [e]*Hebrew* bondmen (as God's law required at the year of *Jubilee*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now, upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* army, repent them of their charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former ſlavery. But the *Chaldees* being return'd to the ſiege, the prophet [f]*Jeremy*, when the ſtate of *Jeruſalem* began now to grow to extremity, counſelled [g]*Zedekias* to render himſelf unto them; aſſuring him of his own life, and the ſafety of the city, if he would ſo do. But his obſtinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjury, had provided for him.

Three and twenty months (as ſome do reckon it) or according to *Joſephus* eighteen; the [h]*Babylonian* army lay before *Jeruſalem*, and held it exceeding ſtraitly beſieged. For [i]*they built forts againſt it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum*; *they ſurrounded the city with wooden towers*, ſo as the beſieged could neither ſally out, nor receive into the city any ſupply of men or victuals. [k]*Joſephus* reports, that they over-top'd the walls, with high towers raiſed upon mounts; from which they did ſo beat upon the wall with their engines, that the defendants were compelled to forſake their ſtations. Now although it were ſo that the beſieged alſo raiſed counter-buildings like unto theſe, yet the great king of *Babel*, who commanded all the regions thereabouts, and had the woods and rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the citizens endeavours; and to beat down as faſt from without, as they raiſed from within; the body and foundation of his own works being guarded, by the walls of *Jeruſalem* interpoſed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies diſturbance. Beſides, both famine and peſtilence (which commonly accompany men ſtraitly beſieged) grew on faſt upon them, whereby, when the number, ſtrength, and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their princes did ſeat themſelves, as lords of the town, in the middle gate. *Zedekias* beholding this uncomfortable ſight, and finding no remedy of the danger preſent, loſt both his courage and his hope at once; and ſhifted himſelf, together with his wives, children, princes, and principal ſervants, out of the city, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideleſs people, to the mercileſs ſwords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the prophet perſuaded him to render himſelf, deſpiſed both the counſel of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonoſor*, uſed now that remedy, which *Wolpius* truly termeth, *triſte turpe, & inſelix*, woful, ſhameful, and unfortunate.

By this ſecret ſubterrane vault, *Zedekias* making his ſtealth, recover'd (by the help of the dark night) the plains or deſarts of *Jerecho:* but by reaſon of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him thoſe whom they held moſt dear unto them) he was eaſily traced and purſued. How great ſoever the company was that attended on him, yet, as [l]*Joſephus* reports it, they on whoſe fidelity he moſt repoſed himſelf, no ſooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandon'd his defence, and ſhifted themſelves into the deſarts as they

[a] Jer. 27. [b] Gen. 49. 10. [c] Jer. 32. & 34. [d] Jer. 44. Herod. l. 2. [e] Levit. 25. 39, 40, &c. [f] Jer. 34. [g] Jer. 39. [h] Jer. 39. [i] 2 Kings 25. 1. [k] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 11. [l] Joſeph. Ant. lib. 10. cap. 11.

could. For whom God had forſaken, no man follow'd, but the miniſters of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias*, being made priſoner, with his children and princes, he was conveyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a city (as ſome think) of *Nepthalim*, where *Nabuchodonoſor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jeruſalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after *Nabuchodonoſor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferr'd upon him, together with the notable falſhood and perjury wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his children, princes and friends to be ſlain before his face. This being done, to the end that ſo lamentable a ſpectacle ſhould be the laſt that ever he ſhould behold in the world, he cauſed his eyes to be torn out of his head, and ſo carried him in a ſlaviſh manner to *Babel*, where he conſumed the reſt of his wretched life in perpetual impriſonment. Herein this moſt marvelous prophecy of *Ezechiel* was perform'd; [a] *Adducam eum in Babylonem, & ipſam non videbit*; *I will bring him into* Babylon, *and he ſhall not ſee it.*

Thus in the eleventh and laſt year of *Zedekias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, the *Chaldeans* enter'd the city by force, where ſparing no ſex nor age, they committed all to the ſword that they therein found.

In the year next following, [b] *Nabuzaradan*, general of the army, burnt the king's palace, and the reſt of *Jeruſalem*: and after this fire had laſted from the ſeventh to the tenth day, he alſo burnt the temple of God to the ground, when it had ſtood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a ſecond ſearch, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet ſatiated with blood) commanded ſeventy and two others to be ſlaughtered, which had hidden themſelves from the firſt fury, to wit, the chief and the ſecond prieſt, two commanders of *Zedechias* his men of war, five of his houſhold-ſervants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ableſt of the people throughout all *Judea*, and leaving the pooreſt labouring ſouls, with ſome that followed the party of *Nabuchodonoſor*, to till the ground: over whom he left governour, *Godolia* the nephew of that *Saphan* whom *Joſias* had formerly employed in the reformation of religion, who is, for his juſtice and equity, by *Joſephus* highly commended. This man, a *Jew* by nation, left *Zedechias*, as it ſeemeth, in the beginning of the war; and by *Jeremy*'s deſire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the ſame advice, which the prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to ſubmit himſelf altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordained by God to exerciſe his juſtice, was therefore reſiſtleſs. The prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldea*, or elſewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jews* that were left under his charge, promiſing them favour and liberty, ſo long as they remain'd obedient ſubjects to *Nabuchodonoſor*, by whom he was eſtabliſh'd provincial governour of his own nation.

But ere that year was expir'd, a prince of the late king's houſe (who, during the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, had kept himſelf out of the ſtorm, with *Baalis* king of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other choſen men, while *Godoliah* feaſted them in *Maſpha* or *Mitſpa*, the city of his reſidence, traiterouſly ſlew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jews* that accompany'd him. This done, he made an eſcape, and in his way encountering with eighty perſons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with preſents, he ſlew the moſt of them, and ſpared the reſt, becauſe they promiſed to diſcover unto him ſome treaſures hidden in the fields during the war. He alſo took with him a daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonoſor*. This practice and intent of *Iſmael* had been formerly diſcovered unto *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judea being now left without a governour (for *Iſmael* durſt not take it upon him, but retired himſelf, or rather fled as faſt as he could to the *Ammonites*) the reſidue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldeans*, reſolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and beſought *Jeremy* to ask counſel of God for them: who readily made them anſwer, That if they remained in *Judea* God would provide for them and ſhew them mercy; but if they ſought to ſave themſelves in *Egypt*, that they ſhould then undoubtedly periſh. Notwithſtanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determination; and deſpiſing the oracle of God, and conſtraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permiſſion of *Pharaoh*, near unto *Tophnes*, where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their idolatry, foretelling both the deſtruction of themſelves, and the *Egyptians* alſo, he was by theſe his own hard-hearted and ungrateful countrymen ſtoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reverenced him, buried near the ſepulchre of their own kings.

[a] Ezech. 12. 13. [b] 2 Kings ult.

The End of the Second Book.

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